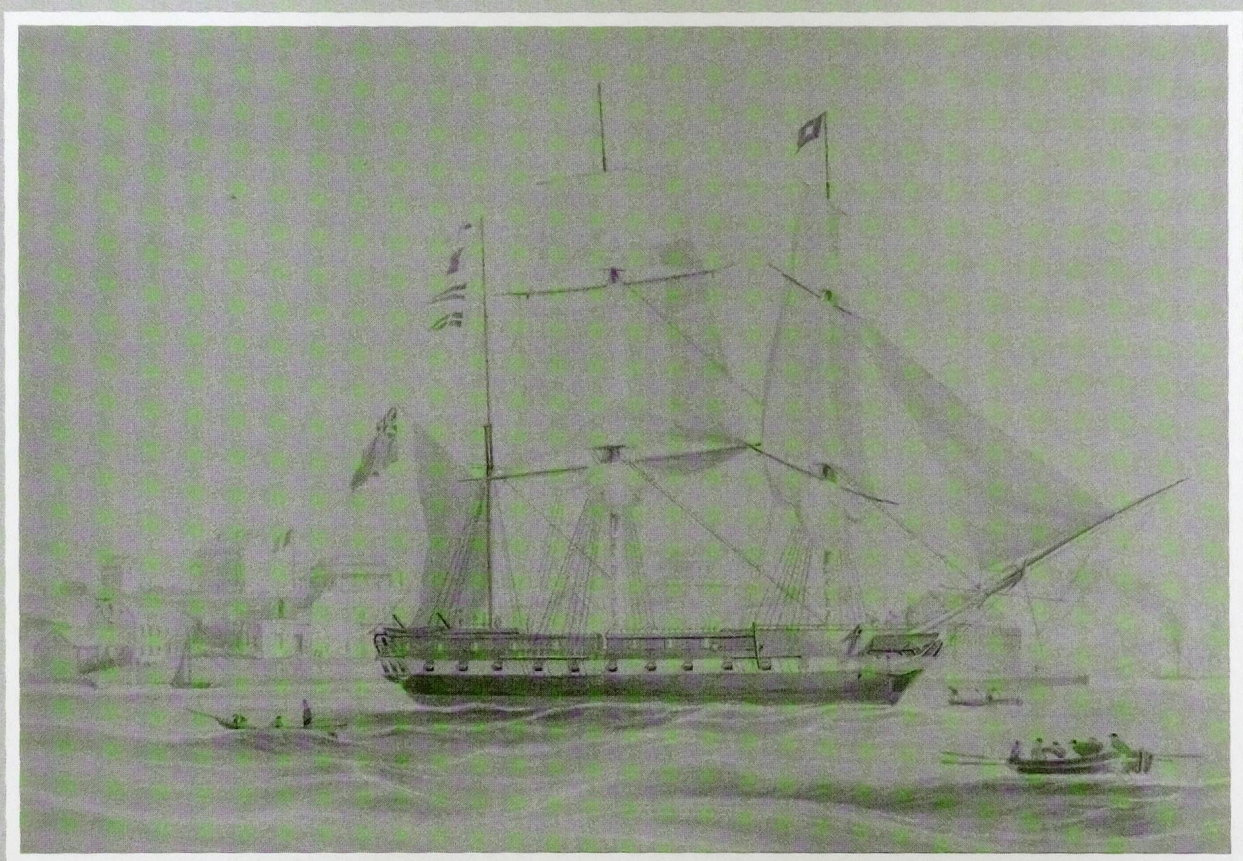


AUSTRALIAN JEWISH HISTORICAL SOCIETY JOURNAL



VOL XX 2012



PART 4

AUSTRALIAN JEWISH HISTORICAL SOCIETY JOURNAL

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

EDITORIAL

E editing the Sydney edition of the *Australian Jewish Historical Society Journal* has been an ongoing commitment for me since 1991, and each year a range of interesting and different journal articles are sent my way. This year is no different, with the articles ranging in time from the early colonial period to the pre and post World War II era.

The first two articles deal with the early colonial period. Greg McCarry's article deals with the early history of the Myers' branch of his family. Emanuel Myers arrived as a convict in chains, convicted as a pickpocket, in 1819. The article traces his family story, which includes so many of the challenges and vicissitudes of the early Jewish convict experience: the shortage of Jewish women leading to marriage with a non-Jew and the subsequent issue of conversion and bringing up children within the Jewish faith. His experiences included loss of a spouse, a second marriage, managing a large family and constant financial difficulties. Emanuel Myers' occupations followed the traditional patterns of the early Jewish convicts and settlers, being involved as a shopkeeper and auctioneer, but he experienced periods of financial difficulties and his life story is by no means a straight trajectory.

Cris George has taken the original log of Elias Moses, written during his voyage to Australia on the barque, *Ann* travelling as a free settler in 1833. Australian Jewish Historical Society past president, Dennis Bluth, who is a collector, had managed to acquire the original copy of the log. Fortuitously, Cris George, a descendent of Elias Moses, managed to establish contact with Dennis Bluth and offered to transcribe the log into a more readable form so that it would be more accessible to researchers. His full transcription is lodged in the AJHS Sydney Archives. His article provides the historical background to the context of Elias Moses, ships and shipbuilding, and travel to the colonies in this early period. Cris George takes some key episodes that occurred during the voyage, from initial departure, to difficulties and challenges experienced during the voyage and final arrival first at

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Hobart Town, Van Diemen's Land and afterwards at Sydney Harbour. He briefly traces Moses' subsequent life in the colony, including his business partnership with his fellow shipmate, Samuel Benjamin.

Rabbi Apple then deals with the connection of the Australian Jewish rabbinate and freemasonry in Australia. His focus is on the reasons why Australian orthodox rabbis have been so closely associated as members of the Masons from the nineteenth century to quite recently. He also analyses the reasons why this is no longer the case. The story of Jews and their activities in Australian Freemasonry is also a wider story. Many key community figures were also active Masons and some rose to high rank. One of the most prominent of these was John Goulston, who became Grand Master of the United Grand Lodge of New South Wales in the 1920s. John Goulston was a very active Jewish community leader, and served as president of the Great Synagogue as well. The broader history of the Freemasons has been told by the late Maurice Herman (Harry) Kellerman.¹ He was also very active in our society and served as Journal editor, as well as being vice-president of the Society. When I first became involved in the Society, writing my first book, *Seventy-Five Years: the History of a Jewish Newspaper*, in 1970, I remember going many times to Harry Kellerman's home on the North Shore to work on drafts. I learnt a lot from him. Rabbi Apple's focus on Jewish ministers adds a new dimension to this topic.

Georges M. Teitler has researched an interesting and little known chapter in Australian diplomatic history in terms of the role of Eugen Bloch representing Switzerland as Consul General for Australia from 1920 to 1933. He has sought to leave no stone unturned to clarify Bloch's biographical background, as well as the reason for his sudden dismissal on 1933, drawing on Swiss archival material, which has shed important historical light on this story and clarified the reasons for the dismissal. Interestingly, Bloch was not the only Sydney Jew to act as an honorary representative of Australia during this period. Sir Samuel Cohen, a leading figure in Sydney Jewry as well as an important businessman, served as Australian Honorary Consul for Greece. He has been described as 'the most prominent' of the series of Honorary Consuls who represented the Hellenic Kingdom between the 1890s and 1926.²

Finally, Rabbi Apple has traced the life story of one of the most significant Jewish academics and outstanding linguistics in Australia – Maurice David Goldman. As professor in the Department of Hebrew, Biblical and Jewish Studies at the University of Sydney, I am very aware of the important contribution that the late Professor Goldman made to Jewish scholarship in Australia. As such, I feel that this article is a very important contribution to that history of this development.

In addition to the various articles, a number of different and interesting books have been written over the past year and have been reviewed in this edition of the journal. I would like to draw readers attention, in particular, to the new edition of the *Bibliography of Australian Judaica* by Serge Lieberman, the first edition of which appeared in 1987, when Dr Lieberman worked with my late sister, Joy Ruth Young.

Two obituaries have been included paying tribute to Morris Ochert and Sam Fisher, AM. Morris Ochert served as our Queensland representative for many years, and for a long period of time he would send me two to three articles every year, written in longhand. I would need to have the articles typed up, although he later organised this himself. In his later years, he was no longer able to be involved, and I missed our ongoing communications, at first by letter and phone and later by email. Similarly, Sam Fisher's passing is a great loss to the community.

It gives me great pleasure to present to you in this journal Sophie Caplan's annual report for 2011. This will be her final report, since Sophie is stepping down as president of the Australian Jewish Historical Society, Inc. She has contributed so much to the society over many years and has agreed to continue as a committee member. Our vice-president, Russell Stern, has accepted the mantle of president, and I look forward to working with him. Russell has contributed a number of articles to the journal over the years, particularly in regard to the contribution of Australian Jews to the Australian military forces. He is continuing to research in this area.

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 ongoing assistance both in the sub-editing and in supplying information and references. Philip Moses has joined the Journal sub-committee and his assistance has proved invaluable. He continues to assist 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. M.H. Kellerman, *The history of the Order of the Secret Monitor or Brotherhood of David and Jonathan, with biblical references, glossary and traditions and the development of the order in New South Wales and*

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the Australian Capital Territory (Sydney: Grand Concave of the Order of the Secret Monitor, NSW and ACT, 1994).

2. Panayiotis Diamadis, 'The Greeks', *Dictionary of Sydney*, 2011, <http://dictionaryofsydney.org/entry/greeks>, accessed 15 April 2012.

THE LOG OF ELIAS MOSES

Cris George

INTRODUCTION

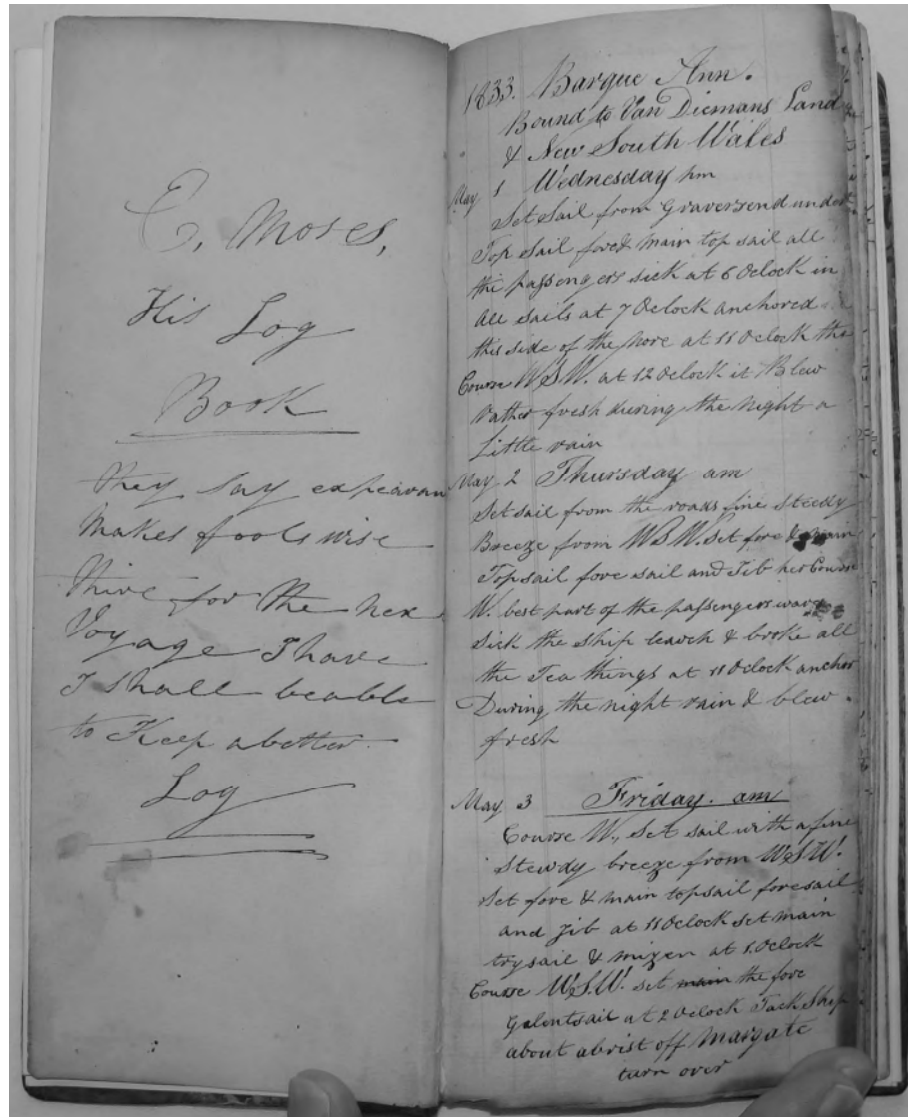
Elias Moses emigrated from England to New South Wales in 1833. He is my great-great grandfather on my mother's side. Most of what I know of Elias, his wife Julia (nee Moses) and their descendants I have learned from the research and books of Rabbi Dr John Levi AM which I found after I migrated from New Zealand to Australia with my wife and two infant daughters in 1978. I came to serve in the Royal Australian Navy. The research of my family would not have been practicable without the assistance of the Australian Jewish Genealogical Society (AJGS) and the Australian Jewish Historical Society (AJHS).

I knew nothing about Elias Moses, Julia or any other of my Jewish ancestors until shortly after our arrival in Australia, when I was given a short essay¹ by a relative, Alfred Price. He had summarised the Moses line of our family history for the purpose of informing the unaware amongst our extended family of our heritage and place within the Australian Jewish community. However, he included relatively little personal information about individual family members. The history briefly covers names, relationships and 'who was where' including a complex family 'tree'.

When I came to formalise my Jewish background and personal status some years later, the Beth Din directed me to gather a formal and comprehensive array of information verifying my ancestry so they could consider my situation more objectively. Getting this data together was quite a journey. Fortunately, my first Australian ancestors Elias and Julia are well documented² as members of the early Jewish community, which they helped to establish and nurtured from their arrival in 1833.

About three years ago I was excited to read in Dr Levi's recently published *These are the Names*³ that Elias had recorded his 1833 immigration voyage to Australia on the barque *Ann* and that his log

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1. Inscription inside the cover of the Diary.

was in the possession of a Sydney collector. I learned from Dr Levi that the collector was Mr Dennis Bluth, himself a past president of the AJHS who kindly permitted me to copy and transcribe the log. I preserved as closely as I was able the spelling and grammar that Elias used (while undoubtedly committing some new mistakes of my own). I was fortunate to find in the NSW State Library another passenger's account of the same voyage of the *Ann*. This account was by Thomas Sloman who was to become a noted citizen of New South

Wales.⁴ A third account of the voyage is provided from a different perspective in an address given by the *Ann*'s owner and caterer – Horton James, to the passengers upon the ship's arrival in Sydney in late 1833. An additional bonus was finding a picture of the barque *Ann* painted in 1845 by the early Australian artist Frederick Garling.⁵ A broadsheet advertisement of Elias's voyage also recently emerged from the archives of the National Library of Australia. The log and other accounts are too lengthy to reproduce in full here and the transcripts of these are available from the archives of AJHS. Dennis Bluth retains the original log of Elias. The only first-hand account that I have of Elias is his log. There are no family traditions of Elias or his descendants known to me. My only sources are contemporary newspapers, public records and the research of others, primarily Dr Levi. I expect that experts of handwriting, demography and history will learn much more than my relatively simple interest in Elias's record. Perhaps, because I have spent my working life with ships and the sea, I found the log a fascinating account of the immigrant's maritime experience in the days of sail. In this regard Elias represents the many thousands that took the 'long journey' to distant colonies in the early nineteenth century.

I have supposed Elias Moses to be of interest not just because he is my ancestor and the first Jewish Australian member of my family but also because he with his friend Samuel Benjamin who voyaged with him on *Ann* in 1833, were an early and important business partnership in New South Wales. Elias's story is undoubtedly comparable in most respects to the experiences of the many thousands of other immigrants but Elias immigrated relatively early and it is possibly unusual that his log and that of another passenger are both available to us with an overarching commentary⁶ by the owner of the ship which brought them safely to Australia. Although we will see that Samuel Benjamin was seriously injured onboard during the voyage and appears fortunate to escape with his life, Elias considered himself blessed not to be injured or worse in a house fire, which occurred in his lodgings while he was sleeping ashore during the *Ann*'s short visit to Plymouth before the ship set sail for Rio de Janeiro.

These incidents aside, the first thing that struck me from his account was the apparent normality of his voyage as Elias saw it. As an unassisted (that is not subsidised by the government) cabin passenger, Elias was not accommodated in the more crowded 'steerage' berths (or mess) below decks so he would not have been exposed to the stress of living in the crowded conditions of a mess deck with strangers that is mentioned in many immigrants'

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accounts. There is little hint of a perception of danger, sickness, hardship or even boredom having been experienced by him or other passengers. To qualify this observation, it is perhaps important to mention that the *Ann* with approximately 120 crew and passengers (30 cabin, 51 steerage and 35 to 40 crew) on board was much less crowded than many of ships of *Ann*'s displacement on the Australian run.

It is also significant that *Ann* spent 14 days in Rio de Janeiro, which would have provided passengers with fresh food and a welcome break from shipboard conditions and would have been a new and fresh experience for most passengers. In the early days of the immigration trade to Australia, ships routinely broke their journey at Rio and/or Cape Town. As immigration 'hubs' these cities were the equivalent of the busy major airport terminals of today. Later in the nineteenth century, in order to save expense, ships usually made the trip without stopping at intermediate ports.

Ann sailed from London on 1 May 1833 and called at Plymouth on 8 May to enable more passengers to embark before finally departing from England's shores on 12 May. *Ann* spent time at Rio de Janeiro from 9 to 23 July 1833 and arrived in Hobart on 29 September. After sailing from Hobart on 26 October, *Ann* reached her final destination, Sydney, NSW on 13 November 1833 being at sea for a total of 152 days. During that time she covered approximately 16,000 miles. By comparison, the First Fleet took about 250 days to reach Australia. *Ann*'s time en-route was about average for that period.⁷ By 1849 the passage duration had reduced to about 120 days as a result of improved and faster ship design and because most ships no longer stopped at intermediate ports.

I would like to recreate something of the journey using highlights of Elias's account as a background. The limited space available to me prevents my summary from being exhaustive, but hopefully during our short journey the reader may, as did Elias, sense a little of the call of a new and distant land with all of its opportunities. The reader may also feel a hint of deck heaving beneath your feet, smell the tang of tar with salt spray and hear a sea gull's lonely cry.

THE BARQUE ANN

The *Ann* was built at Bombay (Mumbai) in 1812 and measured 801 tons. Originally carrying a full ship rig, which means that the sails on all of her three masts were 'square', she was later re-rigged as a barque. That modification required a 'fore and aft' sail called a 'spanker' to be substituted for the previously square variety on the

third or after-most mast which is commonly referred to as the mizzen mast. This was a common practice to reduce crewing costs later in the century. Some authorities claim the modification also improved the handling characteristics of a ship.

In 1845, she was recorded outward bound for Calcutta with a cargo of 129 horses purchased by the government of India. After many years in the immigrant and Indian trade, the *Ann* had become well known on the Australian and New Zealand runs and she was also chartered as a troopship in 1847 to convey soldiers (and their families) to Auckland, New Zealand, to fight in the wars against the Maoris. After approximately 50 years service *Ann* was a long-lived vessel, she was still apparently afloat in the mid-1860s after which she disappears from the record. The well-known marine artist Frederick Garling, who arrived in Sydney in 1815, painted the *Ann* leaving Millers Point. Above the wharf can be seen the Victoria Terraces and the offices of the French Consul. *Ann* was a well-regarded vessel even though little is known of her commercial service.

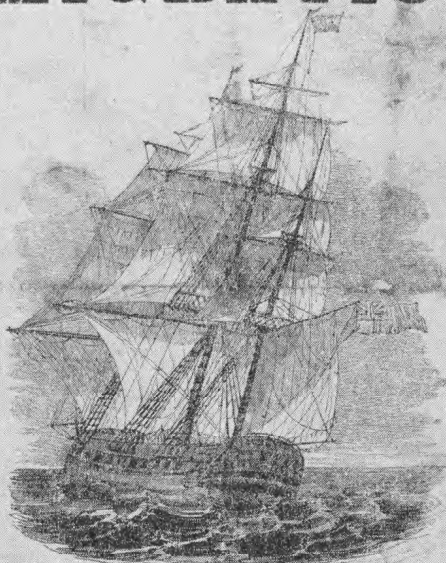
Built by the master shipbuilder, Jamsetjee Bomanjee,⁸ for his brother Pestonjee, *Ann* initially served the Honourable East India Company (HEIC). Built of teak, because of her origin *Ann* with her many sister vessels was known as a 'Country Ship'. Her work included service as a transport for the English military during several campaigns including New Zealand. They were important cargo and trading vessels which helped facilitate the booming maritime trade of the Industrial Revolution with the vast new markets of India, China and USA - wool, cotton, settlers to the new world - but also opium, slaves (the English maritime slave trade was prohibited in 1833) and convicts to the penal colonies including Australia were the usual cargoes.

I have not been able to determine when *Ann* was purchased by Horton James, himself a notable citizen in New South Wales, who is identified as the owner on the broadsheet sailing advertisement. I have also not confirmed that she carried convicts although there is a record of *Ann*'s owner unsuccessfully applying to the Admiralty to do so in the 1830s.⁹ She was rejected due to some wood decay being found in her stern, a finding that caused the owners of *Ann* to mount an unsuccessful claim against the Admiralty for ruining the character of their ship.

I propose that in general appearance (from a distance), size and sail plan *Ann* is similar in appearance to the NSW's National Maritime Museum's Barque *James Craig*¹⁰ though sailing ship purists may dispute that. The *James Craig* is an extraordinary restoration project by the museum, which provided Australia with a

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EMIGRATION.



For Hobart Town, Van Diemen's Land, & Sydney, NEW SOUTH WALES.

TO SAIL IN FEBRUARY, THE BEAUTIFUL FAST-SAILING SHIP

ANN,

500 TONS BURMESE, COPPER-FASTENED, AND NEWLY COPPERED.—LYING IN THE LONDON DOCKS, WAPPING BASIN.
JAMES HERD, Commander.

Thus this Vessel has been expressly fitted up with spacious and elegant Cabins for Ladies and Gentlemen going as Passengers to these Colonies, and the Stowage Accommodations are very superior, having nearly 7 Feet height between Decks; is well armed, and carries an experienced Surgeon. The Climate of New South Wales and Van Diemen's Land is universally admitted to be the finest in the World; and, as Wages are very High, and Provisions remarkably Cheap, every thing may be had in the Colonies, with common industry, to make life easy and happy.

There is little doubt, from the sailing qualities of this Vessel, she will make a very quick and agreeable voyage; and, as the Owner is going to the Colonies himself, Passengers may be assured of meeting with the most handsome treatment, as well as the fullest information before they sail, on every subject connected with their voyage. In addition to which, from the long residence of the Owner in these Colonies, he is enabled to introduce respectable Passengers, being chiefly laden with the Owner's Goods, there will be none of those repeated and vexatious delays so justly complained of in other Vessels. No Passengers being considered as engaged, until half the passage money is paid.

For further Particulars apply to the Owner, Mr. HORTON JAMES
16, Great Trinity Lane, Broad Street, Cheapside.

WHERE THE SCALE OF RATIONS FOR SEVERAGE PASSENGERS MAY BE INSPECTED.

That showing information has been published here by instruction of the Commanders for Emigration:—PENSIONERS OF THE ARMY who receive 4 years' Pension, by way of Commutation, to enable them to emigrate to New South Wales & Van Diemen's Land. UNMARRIED FEMALES between the age of 15 & 30, may obtain a Free Gift of Eight Pounds, towards the expense of their Passage; and MECHANICS & ARTIZANS (if married) may obtain a Loan of Twenty Pounds, for the same purpose. But no time should be lost in making application, as the fund is nearly exhausted. The terms may be seen at No. 16, Great Trinity Lane, and every assistance given to fill up their up and transmitting them to the Government Office.

THE FOLLOWING TRADESMEN ARE MUCH WANTED IN THESE COLONIES, VIZ.

Carpenters, Coopers (Wet Dry, and Oil), Joiners, Turners, Stone Masons, Bricklayers, Brick-Makers, Well-Sinkers, Pump-Borders, Sawyers, Plasterers, Slaters, Glaziers, Builders and Architects, Cabinet-Makers, Upholsters, Tailors and Dress-Makers, Shoemakers, Vintners and Cellarkeepers, Cartwrights and Loom-makers, Dyers, Saddlers and Harness-Makers, Brewers and Distillers, Bakers, Butchers, Cooks and Confectioners, Biscuit Bakers, Hatters, Chemists and Druggists, Soap-Makers, Tobacco-Chandlers and Melters, Provision Carriers, Sailors, Sail-Makers, Caulkers, Shipwrights, Ship-Chandlers, Boat-Builders, Blacksmiths, Tinsmiths and Brassiers, Plasterers and Plasterers, Black and Meat-Makers, Rope-Makers, Gun and Lock-Smiths, Printers, (Compositors and Pressmen), Farmers, Shepherds, Cattle-Dealers, Wool-Sorters, Horse-Dealers, Furriers, Millers, Millwrights, Gardeners, Nurserymen, Land Surveyors, Sheep-Farmers, Sheep-Shears, Engravers, Spectacle-Makers, and a variety of other Trades.

Prices of Provisions in the Colonies:—Beef 1d. per pound, Mutton 1½d., Tea 1s. 6d., Sugar 2d., Soap 1d., Wine 6d. per bottle, Peaches 1s. 6d. per bushel, and not a Farthing Taxes of any description whatever.

RATES of PASSAGE MONEY per Ship ANN, from LONDON to VAN DIEMEN'S LAND	
FIRST CABIN, ... A Single Gentleman, ...	£75.
... A Single Lady, ...	£65.
... A Married Couple, ...	£120.
... Children, 9 to 14 Years, ...	£40.
... Children, 5 to 9 Years, ...	£30.
... Children under 5 Years, ...	£20.
SECOND CABIN, ...	£35.
...	£35.
...	£25.
...	£25.
...	£15.
STEERAGE, ...	£25.
...	£20.
...	£15.
...	£15.
...	£10.

Provisions, Wines, Spirits, Beer, &c. included; but Passengers to provide their own Bedding, Earthenware, &c. as usual.—The Passage to Sydney is a trifling

**Broadsheet advertisement of Elias's voyage.
Courtesy of the National Library of Australia**

maritime treasure and a useful reference for us. I do not have a precise record of *Ann*'s leading particulars but as an 800-ton barque (the 500 ton Burthen specified in the immigration advertisement refers to the approximate cargo carrying capacity of *Ann* and has nothing to do with the ship's displacement or weight), she would have been about 50 metres in length and about 10 metres wide (or beam); thus of similar dimensions to *James Craig*. From the appearance of Garling's portrait, *Ann*'s rig (sails and masts) may not have been quite as 'tall', but it was of similar barque configuration even though *James Craig* was built 62 years after *Ann* and reflects the transition to iron and other advances of shipbuilding in the mid to late nineteenth century.

As important as the *Ann* was to Elias Moses and his business partner, Benjamin, the ship was merely one of many hundreds of similar vessels which transported the hundreds of thousands of new Australians in addition to the less permanent visitors to and from our vast country and other colonies and outposts of empire. In 1833 the population of New South Wales of European origin is recorded (and the figures are unreliable) to have been 61,000¹¹ and increasing at about ten percent annually. About 3000 indigenous peoples¹² lived in New South Wales. In 1833 there were three males in the population for every female. Approximately 40 percent of the population were convicts in 1833. In 1833, 8,000¹³ immigrants arrived in New South Wales, 2500 of these like Elias, were 'free' or unassisted by government bounty. His destination must have seemed very strange and exciting, especially to Elias who probably lived in one of the most densely populated suburbs of London in the heart of the frenetic commerce of Wapping and the docks of London.

THE EARLY LIFE OF ELIAS MOSES

Amongst records in United Kingdom National Archives of the Sun Fire Offices, which was an insurance company, I found an 1831 notation of Elias Moses and I presume his father Moses as 'the Insured' of 143 and 149 Rosemary Lane. In 1831 Elias was 21 years of age. Rosemary Lane (now Royal Mint Street) was established in the late 1700s as one of the centres of the second-hand and cheap clothes trade, much of which was owned and operated by Jewish merchants. The Rosemary Lane congregation (*Mahazike Torah*),¹⁴ located near the Tower, was founded in 1748 and I speculate for further research work that Elias and his family were members of this. It seems safe to presume that Elias Moses was probably in the clothing business (or 'rag-trade'). I have little information about his father Moses, although in a Navy List of 1814 there is mention of a Moses Moses (and

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Abraham Moses – the name of Elias’s future father-in-law) as a Naval Agent at Dover. There were many Jews employed in these important positions due to their commercial experience and reliability in supporting the Royal Navy. The job of a Naval Agent would be similar to that of a civilian clothes merchant of the time but would have covered a much broader range of goods and services. There is insufficient information to draw any conclusion that Elias or his father was so employed. Rosemary Lane was very close to the London Docks where *Ann* and many other ships lay. I imagine that Elias would have seen the throngs of emigrants, seamen and merchants associated with the maritime trade. I can imagine that his eye may have been attracted by the advertisement of *Ann*’s forthcoming voyage at the beginning of this article because the broadsheet poster may have been pasted on a wall close to Elias’s shop. The owner and agent located in Bread Street, Cheapside where (according to the poster) Elias would have purchased his berth was not far from Rosemary Lane. Records of the period during 1830-1839 indicate that an average of upwards of a thousand emigrants and outward bound convicts, businessmen, soldiers, sailors and adventurers passed across the English docks on an outward passage each week. The majority of these would have embarked at London Docks, a short distance from Elias’s business where reportedly up to 500 vessels could be berthed. I suppose that he would have met many seamen, merchants and emigrants as they purchased last minute clothing and perhaps other supplies in Rosemary Lane. He would have been familiar with many of the ships that plied the emigrant and convict trade from London, including the Barque *Ann*. Good and well regulated ships are likely to have been well known then just as the better airlines and transport companies are known by their reputation to us today.

Rosemary Lane was located in Wapping, close to the London Docks, and was about a kilometre long. Its activity mainly involved the sale of cheap and second hand clothing. Household goods and bric-a-brac were also sold from established shops probably like that operated by Elias and also by street vendors who sold their stock from barrows and small stalls. Alongside the various small workshops and outlets of the clothing trade were what we would call fast-food outlets selling beverages and take-away food to the busy, ever present throng – as commentators, including Charles Dickens, record. It was evidently a noisy and bustling part of London. There were other well-known markets including Petticoat Lane, Oxford Street, Royal Exchange and St George’s Market, but none seem to have had the character of Rosemary Lane, which also had a reputation for cheapness and value for money. Dickens often focussed

The Log of Elias Moses 509

upon the petty criminal element although I am not certain that actually existed to the degree he writes of. Through the consequences of deliberate town planning policies by city authorities Rosemary Lane accommodated large Jewish and Irish communities. Many lodging houses are recorded to have been located in the vicinity presumably to provide for the local maritime industries.

An 1849 newspaper account of the London Docks, just down the road from Elias's business, captured the scenery and activity much better than I am able to:

The courts and alleys round about the London Docks swarm with low lodging-houses, and are inhabited either by the Dock labourers, sack-makers, watermen, or that peculiar class of London poor who pick up a precarious living by the water side. The open streets themselves have all, more or less, a maritime character. Every other shop is either stocked with gear for the ship or for the sailor. The windows of one house are filled with quadrants and bright brass sextants, chronometers and huge mariner's compasses, with their cards trembling with the motion of the cabs and waggons passing in the street. Then comes the sailor's cheap shoe-mart, rejoicing in the attractive sign of 'Jack and his Mother.' Every public-house is a Jolly Tar,' or something equally taking. Then come sail makers, their windows stowed with ropes and lines smelling of tar. All the grocers are provision agents, and exhibit in their windows tin cases of meat and biscuits, and every article is warranted to keep in any climate. The corners of the streets, too, are mostly monopolised by slopsellers, their windows party-coloured with bright red and blue flannel shirts, the doors nearly blocked up with hammocks and well-oiled 'nor' westers,' and the front of the house itself nearly covered with canvas trousers, rough pilot coats, and shiney black dreadnoughts. The passengers alone would tell you that you were in the maritime districts of London. Now you meet a satin-waistcoated mate, or a black sailor with his large fur cap, or else a Custom-house officer in his brass-buttoned jacket. As you enter the dock, the sight of the forest of masts in the distance, and the tall chimneys vomiting clouds of black smoke, and the many-coloured flags flying in the air, has a most peculiar effect; while the sheds, with the monster wheels arching through the roofs, look like the paddle-boxes of huge steamers. Along the quay, you see new men with their faces blue with indigo, and now gaugers with their long brass-tipped rule dripping with spirit from the cask they have been probing; then will come a group of flaxen-haired

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sailors, chattering German; and next a black sailor with a cotton handkerchief twisted turban-like around his head. Presently a blue-smocked butcher, with fresh meat and a bunch of cabbages in the tray on his shoulder, and shortly afterwards a mate with green parroquete in a wooden cage. Here you will see sitting on a bench a sorrowful-looking woman, with new bright cooking tins at her feet, telling you she is an emigrant preparing for her voyage. As you pass along this quay the air is pungent with tobacco, at that it overpowers you with the fumes of rum. Then you are nearly sickened with the stench of hides and huge bins of horns, and shortly afterwards the atmosphere is fragrant with coffee and spice. Nearly everywhere you meet stocks of cork, or else yellow bins of sulphur or lead-coloured copper ore. As you enter this warehouse, the flooring is sticky, as if it had been newly tarred, with the sugar that has leaked through the casks, and as you descend into the dark vaults you see long lines of lights hanging from the black arches, and lamps flitting about midway. Here you sniff the fumes of the wine, and there the peculiar fungous smell of dry-rot. Then the jumble of sounds as you pass along the dock blends in anything but sweet concord. The sailors are singing boisterous songs from the Yankee ship just entering, the cooper is hammering at the casks on the quay, the chains of the cranes, loosed of their weight, rattle as they fly up again; the ropes splash in the water; some captain shouts his orders through his hands; a goat bleats from some ship in the basin; and empty casks roll along the stones with a hollow drum-like sound. Here the heavy laden ships are down far below the quay, and you descend to them by ladders, whilst in another basin they are high up out of the water, so that their green copper sheathing is almost level with the eye of the passenger, while above his head a long line of bow-sprite stretch far over the quay, and from them hang spars and planks as a gangway to each ship.

This immense establishment is worked by from one to three thousand hands, according as the business is either brisk or slack. He who wishes to behold one of the most extraordinary and least known scenes of this metropolis should wend his way to the London Dock gates at half-past seven in the morning. There he will see congregated within the principal entrance masses of men of all grades, looks, and kinds. There are decayed and bankrupt master butchers, master bakers, publicans, grocers, old soldiers, old sailors, Polish refugees, broken-down gentlemen, discharged lawyers' clerks, suspended

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Government clerks, almsmen, pensioners, servants, thieves—indeed, every one who wants a loaf and is willing to work for it. The London Dock is one of the few places in the metropolis where men can get employment without either character or recommendation.¹⁵

So, perhaps attracted by the prospects of an import industry in Australia in partnership with his family's business in England and surely often energised by the hub-bub of activity at the London Docks, Elias firmed his plans to emigrate. I know nothing of his business arrangements, but he appears to have had sufficient finances to embark as a self funded second-class or cabin passenger, sailing from London on 1 May 1833. We do not know if he was acquainted with Julia Moses, his future bride before they both left England on different ships at about the same time, Julia a little earlier; nor is it clear if Elias and Samuel worked together in business before establishing their partnership in Australia.

ELIAS'S LOG

In my transcription of Elias's log I have tried to preserve his word formation, spelling and grammar and will reproduce that here. I have used a hand-writing font and the magic of 'cut and paste' to render obvious the extracts of his text. It does not do justice to Elias's beautiful writing style.

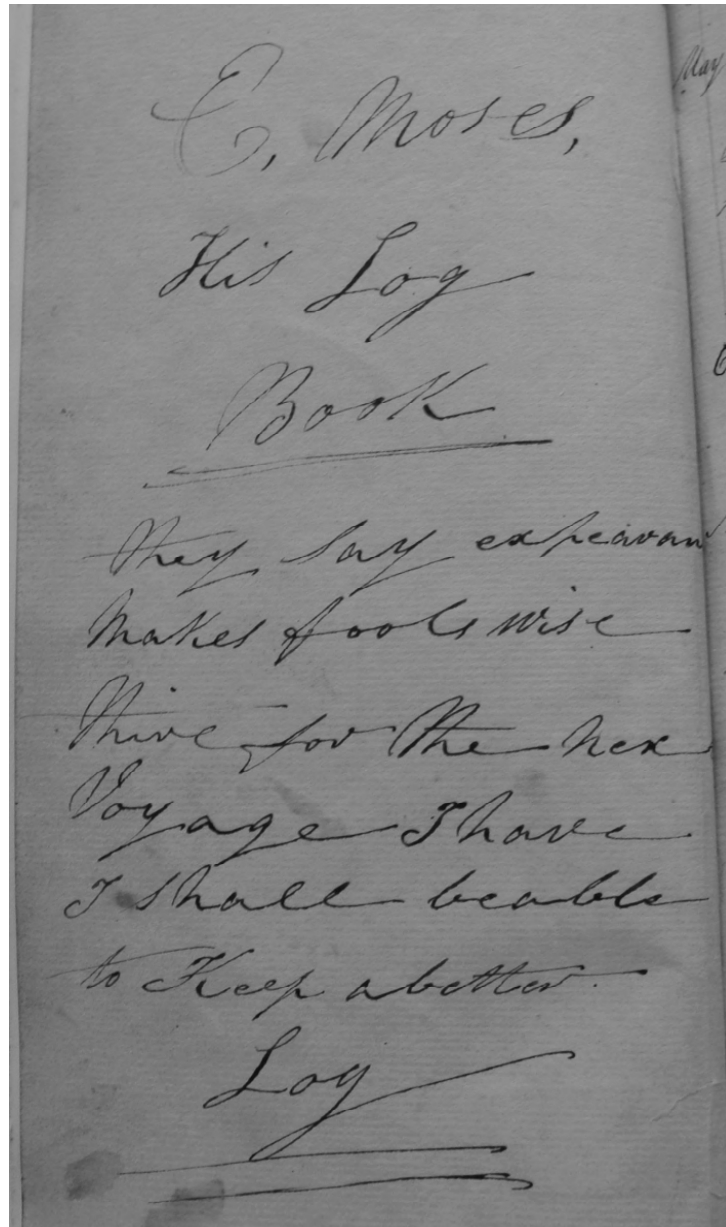
E. Moses, His Log Book

"They say experience makes fools wise. Thirefor the next voyage I have I shall be able to keep a better Log"

These pithy one or two line introductions seem to have been a fashion of nineteenth century logs and journals and often appear at the beginning of the accounts. They seem to be usually reflective and humble in their intent. Elias made at least one other voyage to and from England, but we are unable to say if his log of that journey was actually better as he intended it to be because it is not available to us. However, his literary skills are evident, and reflect the higher literacy skills of both the Jewish convicts and the free settlers who arrived in Australia in the nineteenth century. Elias's writing improves as the voyage progresses. This indicates positively on his self discipline and also perhaps his diet.

The following excerpts, which I have chosen, illustrate the vicissitudes of the journey and Elias's various experiences and reflections during the trip.

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Elias Moses' signature

EMBARKATION

These first extracts provide a picture of the initial departure from Gravesend and highlight the difficulties travellers could experience, even before they left the English shores.

*The Log of Elias Moses 513**May 1 Wednesday pm*

Set sail from Gravesend under Top Sail fore main top sail all the passengers sick at 6 O'clock in All sails 7 O'clock anchored this side of the Nore at 11 O'clock the Course WSW. At 12 O'clock it Blew rather fresh during the night a Little rain

May 2 Thursday am

Set sail from the roads fine steady Breeze from WSW. Set fore & main Top Sail foresail and jib her course W. best part of the passengers were Sick the Ship heaved and broke all the Tea things at 11 O'clock anchor During the night rain and blew fresh

So Ann is underway. It is May 1833. I am immediately struck by the absence of personal reflection recorded by Elias as he experiences what I presumed to be a new world to him - that of a large sailing ship on a deep sea voyage with many other passengers. He seems familiar with the maritime vocabulary as that relates to Ann's masts and sails. To a landsman a large sailing ship and its 18 kilometres or so of rigging and when the full suit was spread, approximately 1000 square metres of sails would seem extraordinarily complex. As the ship sailed her decks were likely to have been packed with un-stowed provisions and gear. The crew would have been developing the teamwork necessary to operate the ship in a seaway and they would have been working hard to get the upper deck ship-shape. Elias does not comment about these aspects but notes, many passengers were seasick and that china was broken. So he is a little short of being overwhelmed. From his account, I suspect Elias was familiar with ships and the marine world before his voyage, but he makes no explicit mention of this in his account.

AT PLYMOUTH

Immigrant ships sailing from London frequently called into Plymouth to collect passengers from the south-eastern counties and sometimes passengers from Ireland. They undoubtedly would have used the short passage to 'shake out' any defects in the ship and her rigging so these could be repaired if necessary at their last English port of call. The passengers including Elias would have proceeded eagerly ashore in Plymouth for one last day on land before the voyage and to purchase last minute necessities.

May 8th Wednesday

am. Course S by W. wind SE. by E. at 7 o'clock weighd anchor stood towards Plymouth harbour with all sail set and cloudy weather anchor in Plymouth Sound Light winds and Cloudy weather Light winds and fine weather nearly all the passengers ashore the Chief mate made Captain of the Ship Wind SE by E. a dispute with the Seaman I went ashore and stop all the Day. At the Night I sleep

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at the half moon and to my surpris the next morning when I came Down Stairs I found that the Lower part of the houses had been on fire it was found out by the Servant Girl as she was truble with a cough & the Smoke affected her breth She alarmed her master & mistress & with their assistance and the assistance of God they made it out without Doing much Damage I ashore you that I was in a Dangerous Situation for my bedchamber was up a Long narrow passage at the back part of the House with a high wall in front of the window wich was about 14 or 15 feet High had it not been found out socarley as it was & made out with the help of God it would been impossible for me to make my escape

May 9th. Thursday. am.

on shore. During the Day the wind shifted around to the N.W. by N. Light wind and thick Cloudy weather Some of the men employed at work a fresh secont mate Came on board one of the passengers went overboard Coming to the Ship I believe he was Drunk at the time he was not Drowned several of the Seaman Drunk wind N.W. by N. sleep on board

Today there are several hotels in or near Plymouth called 'Half Moon'. Several of these were trading in 1833 when Ann called at Plymouth. The present owner of Elias's log during 2011 visited what we believe to be Elias's Half Moon. It is still trading although as a café without the accommodation provided in 1833. As can be seen, Elias recorded that, unknown to him when it occurred, he was in danger of being trapped by fire.

When he returned to the ship, the Captain and Second Mate appear to have been changed (Captain Free was the voyage Captain though a James Herd is specified as Commander on the broadsheet advertisement of Ann). He described some further fairly typical episodes often accompanying a ship's departure. Passengers and crew are still 'settling in'. Every small community has its teething problems as it becomes established.

DEPARTURE FROM PLYMOUTH

Elias spends the day onboard and makes one of his infrequent observations of a fellow passenger. He takes an interest in the crew throughout the log. One of the seamen appears to have last minute doubts about sailing and takes matters into his hands by diving overboard. He was a competent swimmer but was recovered and brought back to the ship. Captain Free, instead of detaining the man below until the ship was clear of the coast, 'makes him some promises'. This is instructive and indicates either that Captain Free used enlightened management techniques for that time or and more probably that the temporarily absent sailor was needed on deck because Ann could not afford to be short one hand.

*The Log of Elias Moses 515****May 11th. Saturday am.***

Wind ENE. fine weather During the Day towards the afternoon Cloudy two of the old Seaman turn to work Wind N by W. one of the steorage passengers went on shore and Borrowed aboat he Bought a small Goat with the intention to bring it on board and in so doing & as thire was no one else in the boat he took the advantage of the poor goat and shot him & brought him on Board with a Smile & said he had been out shooting and shot this Goat I... am Glad to say that when this young man was taking the advantage of a poor innocent thing he shot a hole in the boat wich Cost him 2 pound for repair of it the passengers Give him the name of Don Pedro fine weather I was on board all the Day wind NW by W.

May 12th Sunday. am.

At eight oclock Light winds fine weather fire a Gun for the owener & passengers to come on Board wind SW by W. a Great noise among the Seaman Set sail from Plymouth Sound with fore & main topsail and Gallant sail one of the Seaman swore he would not goin the Ship the Captain would not allow him to Leave he than Jumped overboard & swem the Distance of one mile he was picked up by two waterman & brought Back the Captain than made him some promises he than was quiet at 4 oclock out of Plymouth Sound the pilot Left the Ship set the mizzen Gaftop sail Light wind & fine weather Course WSW. wind NW. Tack about at 8 oclock fresh breeze & fine weather with all sail set Course N. NW. Wind W.-

May 13th. Monday am.

at 8 oclock Light winds & fine weather about a boat came a Long Side from the Ship Austin in distress of Potatoes we gave them Some they was 6 weeks coming from Jamaica Tack Ship at 12 oclock Course NW by N. wind NE by N. Light winds & fine weather Several Vessel in sight at 2 oclock Hazy weather at 4 oclock Light wind & fine weather at 8 oclock Light wind & Cloudy weather Several Vessel in sight Saw 2 Lights off the Lizard point bearing NNE. about 8 miles Distance Course W by N. During the night fine weather

We are introduced to Elias's sense of fair play and maybe he also sees some humour in 'Don Pedro' (whose surname name was Tomlins) shooting a hole in the boat. It is not clear why it was necessary to dispatch the goat as the owner records the *Ann* carried 12 fat sheep, 24 hog, 180 ducks and chickens, and 12 turkeys. So it seems likely that there would have been room for one goat. Perhaps the animal was unhappy with the impromptu boat journey and was resisting dangerously.

Throughout his log, Elias showed an interest in identifying and recording passing ships. It seemed to be a custom of the times to hail other vessels and to exchange stores that may have been needed by one or the other and exchanging mail. Here the *Austin* is provided with potatoes. *Ann* had taken on five tons of these so presumably could afford to gift some to the *Austin*.

FIRST DAYS AND THE PETITION OF THE SECOND CLASS PASSENGERS

The next excerpts include Elias's description of some of the conditions on the *Ann*. As a middle cabin and second class passenger, Elias was party to a letter of grievance to the owner, James. He would have been accommodated in a single or perhaps a double berth cabin either on the upper deck or more probably on the *Ann* immediately beneath the 'weather deck' which was the uppermost continuous deck running from bow to stern of the ship. First class passengers were likely to have been accommodated in single and double berth cabins probably on the upper deck or outside the weather deck. Steerage or third class passengers were accommodated below decks in a compartment that usually extended to almost the entire length of the ship and which was used for cargo when passengers were not carried.

In steerage, sleeping arrangements were provided usually in two tiers of bunks. The accommodation space in steerage may have been partitioned to provide some privacy but that is unlikely and the long mess tables, which were permanently fastened to the deck, would have divided the space down the middle. Although not mentioned by Elias, it seems that men and woman were likely to have been segregated. The sparse records of *Ann*'s voyage in 1833 tell us that there were approximately 50 to 60 passengers in steerage. If that number is about right, then steerage was not crowded, although we do not know how much space was taken up by the cargo. Ships of *Ann*'s size routinely carried three times that number in steerage.

Such tightly packed accommodation almost completely lacking in privacy (except for perhaps a bunk curtain) was and remains normal practice upon naval ships so it is not a situation unique to the immigration trade of the nineteenth century. The sudden imposition of communal living in the strange new world of a ship would have been a very difficult experience at first for those used to privacy and 'personal space' ashore. For others, particularly the less well-off, living close together would be little different from their normal existence ashore. Many immigrants later reflected fondly and sometimes wistfully upon the plentiful food and the idle days they had experienced during their voyage.

THE COMPLAINT

The extract below deals with a series of complaints from the second class passengers and the owner's response to their petition. One author has noted after reading many voyage accounts, complaints usually came from the 'better-off' traveller who was ordinarily attended by ship's

stewards and therefore did not have cooking or cleaning duties to perform.¹⁶ So the more privileged had more time on their hands to contemplate and to demand 'rights'. Such seems to be the case here. They have now been at sea for two weeks and they have found their sea legs and probably are becoming comfortable in each others' company. These seemingly trivial matters have caused them to confer and to document the problems. Most were easily remedied, but the demanded provision of beer and porter is not agreed to by James even though this was an undertaking given on the broadsheet advertisement of the voyage regardless of his defence. The owner's list¹⁷ of victuals records that 25 dozen bottles of ale and porter were embarked. There appears to have been sufficient to share amongst the second class passengers.

May 15th. Wednesday am.

Light wind & hazy weather the men employed at the riggen at 10 oclock Calm- & hazy weather at 12 oclock Course SW by S Wind NW by W. Light air & hazy weather at 4 oclock Course SW by S. wind NW by W. Light wind & a Brig in sight outward bound at 8 oclock Tack Ship Light wind and fine weather a man of war in sight Course NW by W. Wind N by E. at 2 oclock fresh Breeze & Cloudy weather in foretopgallantsail & reef in the foretopsail Course W by N. wind SW by S. one of the passengers in the secont Cabin wrote a Letter & we all sind it & sent it to Mr James Sir we the undersigned passengers in the 2 Cabin in the Ann have received notice not to Come on the Quarter Deck under the penalty of having our grog stoped we beg to refer you to your agreement With us passengers in the above named Vessel the first that we ware to Walk the Quarter Deck With the Cabin passengers Whenever we felt so inclined & we ware to be allowed ale & porter as well as the first Cabin passengers none of wich we have had the third that we ware to have a table earrected with seats round it wich has not been Done fourth that we ware to be allowed a boy to wait on us to Clean the Lamp wich we have never had fifth when we joined the Ship at Gravesend we ware put to great expense in purchasing nessaries prior to any allowance being served out to us Lastly we considered we have been entily Deceived By your misrepresentation and we are sorry we ever had anythink to Do with the Ship However we trust as we have Keep our agreement with you you Will fillfill yours with us Sind by the passengers of the middle Cabin May 16./33 During the night fine weather

For at least the last two centuries the process covering dealing with complaints remains a strictly formal procedure within English-patterned uniformed and merchant navies. The adherence to form and process is to maintain discipline, good order and fairness within a tightly regulated hierarchy, which is frequently exposed to difficult conditions that might otherwise cause the system to break down. The owner, James, took care to explain his position and he concludes with an appeal to the complainants' 'breeding' and spirit of endurance, which seems to strike the right note.

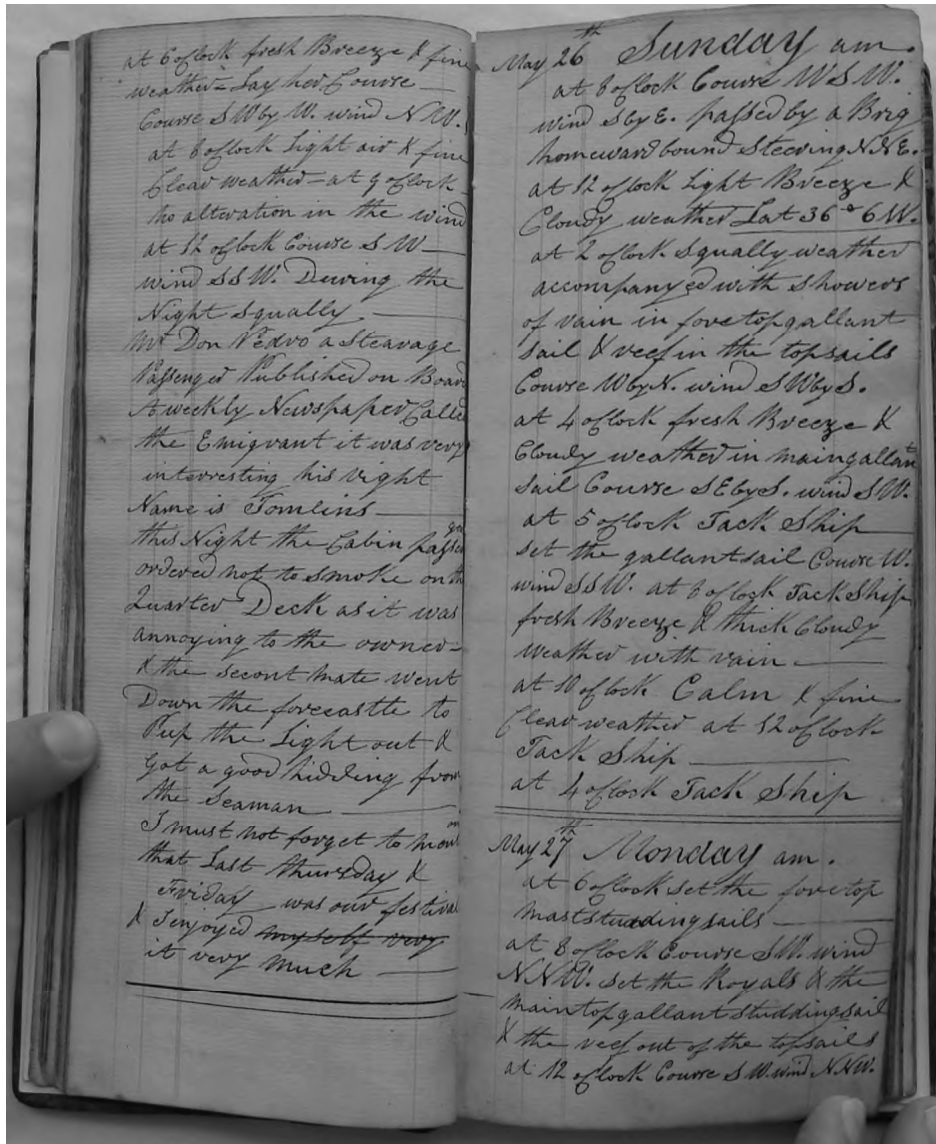
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May 16th. Thursday am.

at 8 oclock Course W by N. wind SW by S fresh Breeze & fine weather in Gaf topsail maintopgallants entering the Bay of Biscay at 12 oclock Course W by N. wind SW by S. Light wind and a Little swell set the maintopgallant sail a reef in the foretopsail at 4 oclock Course W. wind SSW. fresh Breeze & Cloudy weather rather cold one of the Cabin passengers Loss a Cap at 8 oclock fresh Breeze & Cloudy weather in maintopgallantsail & reef in the maintopsail Course W by S. Wind S by W. at 10 oclock in mainsail at 2 oclock Course SW by W. wind NE. in reef fore & maintopsails the sudden Shift of wind put all the sails aback & ware a hour getting her round. During the Day received a answer of the Letter wich was Sent to James- Mr. James present his complements to the Gentlemen of the middle Cabin & acnoleges the receipt of thire note yesturday wich he handed to the Captain who has given direction about the seats & table to be erected it is much to be regreted that the Crouded state of the quarter Deck at present will not afford room for all the Cabin passengers but things will improve as the Ship proseedes & then thire will be no objection to an occational extension of the walk Mr. J. is not ignorant of the high respectability of the Gentleman & Ladies in 2 Cabin & is sory that circumstance Influence them to take that part of the Ship & thus to Deprive him & the rest of the passengers aft of the pleasure of thire society but the gentleman will remember that the regulations of Ships in all East India voages & most particular on this head & that a Line must be drawn someware with regard to the article of Porter & ale thir must be some mistake as it is by reason taking up so much room one of the most expensive articals to bring to Sea & totally out of the question for any but the Captains table & it requires No thank from me to Convince the Gentlemen how innadequate the rate of passage money in the middle Cabin would be to allow anythink so unusual at the same time Mr. James as far as he as any power wich is very trifling only Connected with the mess as Caturar Begsit to be borne in mind that nothank on his part Shall be wanted to make the Middle Cabin as comfortable as possible & though the Gentlemen as been used to verry Different- accommodations on shore he takes Leave to recommend as an old hand that they would excuse a Little & treatit with Good humar & not expect too much as thire is a good Ship under them well maned & Stored & the voage is not going to Last forever beside when on arrival at the end of it thire names will appear in the publiet newspaper under the head of Cabin Passengers- Ship Ann at Sea May 16/33.

Elias and the other passengers become increasingly disappointed with the owner, James, and his conduct during the voyage, which was the subject of some acrimony after the ship's arrival in Sydney. The caterer (or as we would call him, the purser) is often the focus of passenger and crew disfavour when food becomes stale and boring or when some other malfunction of logistics occurs during a long voyage and such events do occur - not infrequently. As difficult as he may have been, James with the surgeon and captain, must be given credit for keeping everyone as far as we know free of disease during the voyage.

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Entry for 25 May

The caterer's mention of East India Company rules and procedure is interesting because I have been unable to find any evidence that Ann was associated with the East India Company (or Honourable East India Company-HIEC) in 1833. Perhaps because Ann had trade goods to land in Australia and because in 1833 (the monopoly ended in 1833) HEIC had a total monopoly on trade to the east of the Cape of Good Hope and some licensing arrangement or relationship applied. Captain James Herd, who was succeeded as Master of Ann by

Captain R. Free when the ship called at Plymouth, had commercial interests in HEIC¹⁸ as he provided the company with charts.

JEWISH OBSERVANCE

The Jewish calendar for 1833 confirms that the festival Elias is referring to was Shavuot. This is the only explicit mention of observance I noted in the log. That does not mean that other Jewish observance did not occur. Apart from Samuel Benjamin, two other couples could have been Jews – John Solomon¹⁹ and his wife, Sarah, and his son, Israel Solomon²⁰ together with his wife, also named Sarah, and it is possible that they joined Elias and Benjamin for Shavuot prayers. There may have been other Jewish passengers on board, but they cannot be easily identified. On English naval ships religious observance was mandated and consistently Protestant Anglican until well into the nineteenth century when Catholic services were first routinely permitted. Anything else is likely to have been prohibited and the rules of the period probably applied to most merchant vessels of any note.

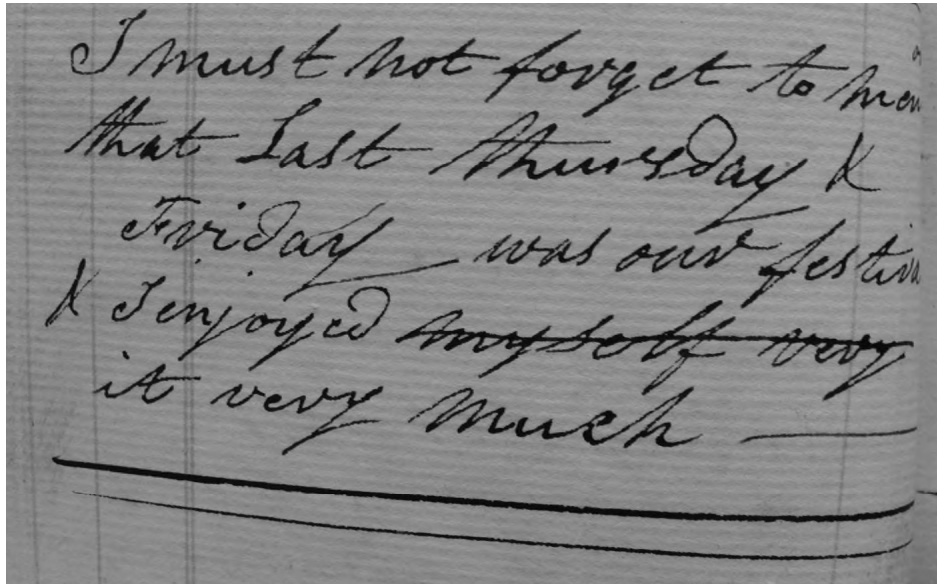
May 25th. Saturday am.

at 8 o'clock Course W by N. wind SW by S. Light wind & Cloudy weather at 10 o'clock Course NW by N. wind W by S. Light wind & fine weather-at 12 o'clock Course SSE. wind WSW. Tack Ship fresh Breeze & fine weather in Royals & flyjib

Lat 36 degrees 50. N Long 15 degrees 20. N.

at 4 o'clock fresh Breeze & fine Clear weather- at 6 o'clock fresh Breeze & fine weather Lay her Course- Course SW by W. wind NW. at 8 o'clock Light air & fine Clear weather-at 9 o'clock no alteration in the wind at 12 o'clock Course SW- wind SSW. During the Night squally- Mr Don Pedro a steorage passenger Published on Board a weekly Newspaper Called the Emigrant it was very interesting his right name is Tomlins-this night the Cabin passengers ordered not to smoke on the Quarter Deck as it was annoying to the owner-& the second mate went Down the fore-castle to Put the Light out & got a good hiding from the Seaman-I must not forget to mention that Last Thursday & Friday was our festival & I enjoyed it very much-

Another custom of the sea is probably evident in this extract, relating to mess deck protocol. With merchant and uniformed navies then and now, persons other than members of a mess are not permitted to enter a mess-deck without invitation and this unwritten rule applies to ship's officers. On this occasion recorded by Elias, the second mate's entry to have lights extinguished would have been an affront to the occupants, but the lights may have been interfering with the vision of lookouts and the helmsman (the person steering the ship). The incident reflects some of the complexities associated with a ship's company 'getting along' on a ship at sea.



Close up of the comment re the Observance of the Jewish Festival

MAN OVERBOARD!

The loss of a crew member over the side was not a rare event in sailing ships because of the frequent exposure of the crew to risk as men worked aloft in bad weather and often in the dark. The loss overboard of the Robson boy who appears to have been outboard on the bowsprit (the long spar mounted forward of the ship's bows) immediately before falling (what was he doing there?) must have been a devastating event for his parents, Ann's passengers and crew.

June 4th. Tuesday am.

at 6 oclock fresh Breeze & fine weather no alteration with the sails-at 8 oclock Course SW1/2W-wind N.E. at 12 oclock fresh Breeze & fine weather in the fore royal-at Lat 20 degrees 3 N

a rough with one of the Stearage passengers & the Captain & Mr James interfeared & said Confine him to his Cabin for 6 weeks & then there was a general rough with the passengers the Captain ordered him be Low to his Cabin-at 4 oclock Course SW- wind N.E. fresh Breeze & fine weather in foretopmast & Lower studding sail on the

Starboard side-at half past seven a Boy of the name henry Robson fell from the Bowesprit in to the water & was Drowned a boat was Lowered & also a Chair was thrown over for the poor Boy, but in vain he was 9 year Old he Left father mother sister & 2 Brothers to morn- they was stearage passengers when the boat was lowed the second mate & four sailors whent in it they was soon out of sight for a Little time after it got Dark we ware oblige to hoist a Light for the

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boat-I must not forget to write the Danger we ware in as the Ship was going at the time 8 miles a hour she was a back all sails floging about I ashore you that we ware in great Danger-for nearly all the passengers was Crying & sorry for the Loss of the Boy-the sails Lowered studding sail in & the main royal furlled up.

A 'rough' seems to denote an argument and Elias records several off these. 'Confined to quarters' for six weeks is a stiff punishment. If the guilty party was a steerage passenger as Elias records it is unclear why he is confined to a cabin or why his confinement was so lengthy. Ann is likely to have had cells for detaining unruly or delinquent passengers.

The danger that Elias mentions while the ship's boat is looking for the Robson boy was presented by the ship being stopped in the water and, therefore, unable to be manoeuvred by the rudder. Thus, the sails were likely to be no longer filled with the wind as the *Ann* drifted possibly beam-on (or sideways) to the waves and swell causing heavy rolling with spars and sails flapping and loose objects thrown about by the probably violent motion. The prospect of damage to the ship's structure and fittings was probably as real as Elias emphasises and getting the ship underway again after recovering the boat (in the dark) would have been a difficult and potentially troublesome manoeuvre.

THE SHARK

A feature of many immigration voyage records is a shark being caught and subsequently eaten, as their authors' ship passed into warmer waters. From the captain's point of view, it would have been a useful activity to entertain and engage passengers. This was also the case on this voyage, as described in this short extract, after a shark had been caught.

June 18th. Tuesday am.

at 8 oclock Course E by S-wind S by E Continualey heavy raining-this morning most of all the Ships Company had some of the Shark for breakfast & some of the passengers could not get Saucepans to boil it in as they ware all anchous to have a Treat.

The variation in diet provided by the shark would also have been worthwhile. The shortages of personal cooking pots provides evidence that meals were centrally prepared in large communal facilities as was the rule in naval vessels but not always in immigrant ships. I cannot help contemplating the dreadful mess this impromptu shark butchering activity is likely to have generated on the upper decks and through the mess-decks!

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The ships provisioning and diet is not mentioned often or in much detail by Elias but the victuals list provided by the owner in his address gives us some indication and provisioning of immigration ships was regulated by Government authorities as early as 1833. The weekly ration or allowance for a person over 14 years of age was approximately: meat 7lbs, flour or split peas & bread 7lbs, oatmeal 1lb, potatoes 4lb, tea 2oz, sugar 1lb, cheese 1lb, butter 1/2lb, raisins 1/2lb, onions and vinegar as required, water 1 gallon per person per day. This diet was not significantly different to that provided to navy personnel of the time although the immigrants did not require the calorific value provided to an active sailor and the scale of provisions was different for each class of passenger. Elias did not make favourable comment about the food and he did twice complain about the poor quality of the meat and the absence of cheese. I think from the absence of comment we can conclude that at least the second class passengers were adequately and possibly even well fed.²¹ The caterer believed that the ship's freedom from sickness was due to 'the constant use of wheaten flour and other farinaceous food, together with a large and daily consumption of sugar and other sweet substances, which he had always found on other voyages, far superior as anti-scorbutics to either lime-juice or any other acids as usually recommended'. The caterer's views on diets to prevent disease were not unusual for the time and it seems that there were many theories on how best to go about the task of preventing disease including the dreaded scurvy.²²

THE HONORABLE EAST INDIA COMPANY (HEIC)

During the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries the East India Company was a vast and powerful trading organisation, which spanned the globe and often monopolised or otherwise dominated trade by force. Hence, Elias included this reference to the passage of an East India Company ship.

June 23rd Sunday. am

*Early this morning passed East Indiaman homeward bound a bout 2 miles
Distance we had hoisted a flag but they was to proud to answer us*

Elias wryly hinted at the apparent view of many toward the HEIC though it is more likely the other vessel did not see the courtesy being paid by Ann. In 1833 with the ending of the trade monopoly and slave transportation, the company was beginning to decline.

CROSSING THE EQUATOR

The crossing the line ceremony has not changed in the intervening 180 years and needs no further explanation. The custom would have provided an excellent activity and entertainment for the passengers. Thus, it is significant that it was not held on the Sunday when *Ann* crossed. This may indicate that the Christian Sabbath was observed and that the sailors' Sunday routine was not to be disturbed.

June 24th Monday. am

*This morning all hands very busy getting things ready for Neptune-fine weather-
Lat 1 degrees 15 S*

Increasing wind reef top sail at 8 o'clock we had some very heavy squalls of wind got in the gallants and the flying jib-I must mention that we Cross the Line on Sunday But as that is a Leisure Day there was nothan occurred till Monday am a bout 10 o'clock the shaving began. Several of the passengers were Shaved but there was not a person in the Ship from a baby in alms to the Captain that escape being wet to there Skin & every think was taking in good part that made every think Comfortable this fun Lasted till past 12 o'clock I am happy to say that there was no accident occurred on this occasion During the evening best part of the passengers & the Seaman were Drunk-During the Night rain

RIO DE JANEIRO

The *Ann's* visit to the city would not only have provided a welcome break from ship's routine and diet but must have been an exciting and exotic place for many of the passengers who would not have ventured beyond England's shores before. Elias spends a little more time in explaining the sights and sounds of his experience. Much of his log reads more like a ship's deck log which traditionally records weather, sail changes, ship's position and heading, other ships seen and major ship events without elaboration. So his description of Rio provides attractive texture to his record.

July 10th Wednesday. am

at Daylight weigh anchor & stood in for the Harbour & at 10 o'clock Drop anchor & at the time of Dropping the anchor. Benjamin went to see it Drop the second Mate Coughened him to get out of the way & at the time the Bouy rope twisted round his leg & Hoisted him nearly over board for as the anchor went Down the rope hoisted him up one of the seaman Cut the rope & we loss a Buoy But thanks God Save a Man I am happy to say that there was no bones Broke although his leg was severely engered Nearly all the passengers went on shore I did not go ashore on account of the accident that occurred to Benjamin this Day the Platina arrived here a Day before us-

The Log of Elias Moses 525

Samuel Benjamin is injured as the ship comes to anchor. It is unusual that a passenger would be permitted to be so close to what is always a hazardous operation.

Naturally, Rio was an exciting place to Elias's eyes. At that time it was a busy hub of the maritime transport industry and comparable with a busy airport like Heathrow today in function and activity. On 21 July Elias noted *Booflow (HMS Buffalo)* departing from Rio en route to Hobart with 250 female prisoners.

July 22nd. Monday. am

fine hot weather I went on Shore this morning for the Last time & Bought Some things for our voage & During the time I was a Shore I meet the Doctor & then I took a boat & we Both whent on board of the Spartiate Man of War & brought the Doctor on board with us to Look at Benjamin Leg-

Elias and the surgeon Dr Dickson are concerned about Samuel Benjamin's injury and seek the assistance of the Royal Navy surgeon embarked in *HMS Spartiate*. If the *Ann*'s surgeon was Dr James Dickson²³ (we are unsure of his given name because it is not provided in the records seen) he was well known to the England-Australia maritime trade. He appears to have been the surgeon of the convict ships *Countess of Harcourt* in 1824, *Woodford* in 1826, *Florentia* in 1828, *Vittoria* 1829 and *Norfolk* in 1829. There is evidence that he served on immigrant ships after his voyage on *Ann* in 1833. Although Dr Dickson's log is not available to us he appears to have been effective at his job if the lack of fatal disease amongst *Ann*'s passengers is a useful indication.²⁴ His record on convict ships appears to have been similar. Samuel's injured leg is likely to have been severely lacerated by being entangled in the rope of the anchor buoy. In the warm tropical climate of Rio de Janeiro the doctor is likely to have been concerned about the onset of infection and potential courses of action to prevent or to treat the condition. He seems to be seeking a second opinion from his professional colleague with Samuel's friend Elias along to assist. Samuel was fortunate not to have lost his life and perhaps his leg!

July 23rd. Tuesday. am

at Daylight weigh anchor & the boat went a shore at the time we weare weighing the anchor & two of the sailors run away from the Boat while they were taking Charge of her-the Leftenant belonging to the Man of War Came on board to examine the Ship Company-I must now give account of the course we are Steering out of the Harbour ESE Wind about W all sails set & Studding sail & as we weare coming out spoke to a Man of War Brig & give us the News of a Liverpool Ship bound to Hobartown & was oblige to put into Behia for Reopair of rigging She lost all her masts & Bullwarks Coming to rio & was likely to be Detained thire 2 months her name is the Blydesdale I forgot to mention that we Left two of our

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cabin passengers behind us at Riodejaneiro but they soon took a boat & came after us but we ware out of the harbour befor they got sight of us they must have a Deal of truble befor they got a boat because they do not a low any boats to go out of the Harbour-I now will give a short account of Riojaneiro in this place thire is one of the finest Harbour in the world But as for the town it is a Dirty Looking place the Landing place is very well it is stone work But when you go a Little further up you will find it very bad indeed the streets they are very narrow hardly room for a carriage to pass & the houses thet are much Like the Houses in London Such as those in Lanes very few of those Shops are got glass fronts in all the houses are got at front of every storey several pipes wich is about 2 foot Long thire ment for water to run out when the rooms are weet they Look very much like trumpets & as for the inhabitants they are a real set of rascals they will rob you before you face more particular the English Merchants & for the Slaves they are treated worse than Dogs & those Slaves that Commits any- Depredation they have a thick Iron ring round thire Necks with a Large padlock a tach to it you will see them walk though the Streets 7 or 8 of them Chaned together & a Soldier with a Drawn Sword so it is inposseble for them to make thire escape the army is a poor set of Devels as ever I saw-they put me inmind of Sir in John faulce staff Away - it is very hot here although it is the Dept of winter it seldom rains heare But when it dose Thunder Stand it Comes Down in Torrance so that any person may go through the streets in a canoe-I must now rub off as I go on. I went to the Chaple & it was most Splendid it was the Grandest place as ever I saw & the merchants are very rich most of them has got Country Houses the produce of this Country is very good except the meat wich I before stated I must now proceed to the accorance of the Ship But befor I began I will menchan a few words respecting some of our passengers while we ware at rio a young Couple belonging to the Cabin got married at rio & left us to return back to England & a young man also Left us at rio he got a Situation thire as Clark I now will proceed to the Middle Cabin & stearage one of the middle Cabin passengers a man about 30 years of age fell in Love with one of the Birmingham wasters & they were married at rioDejaneiro this man Brought his wife on Board but his Birth Mate would not allow her to sleep in the birth thir for he was oblige to exchange Birth with a young man in the Stearage & do the best he could with his wife During the Night fine.

Whilst Elias mentions some of the other passengers here, he is not given to gossip in his log and, as can be seen in this extract, his treatment of what he sees is not embroidered. His observations of Rio are interesting. Ann just missed the arrival in Rio of HMS *Hyacinth* with the renowned artist Conrad Martens embarked. Martens continued on around the coast to join HMS *Beagle* and Charles Darwin upon his ground breaking expedition. After illustrating Darwin's *Origin of the Species* Martens carried on to Australia in 1834 where he continued his illustrious career as an artist.

TSUNAMI!

Ann encounters very bad weather in a region of the ocean notorious for rough seas.

Aug 26th. Monday. am

at 8 oclock a calm & a cross heavy Sea at 12 oclock Light Breeze & heavy swell-Laying two under close reef Topsail & Maintry sail & foretopmast staysail-at 4 oclock Continually heavy sea thire is no man on Board can account for the sea the Captain suppose it to be a Earthquake During the afternoon the Ship pitching at that rate that the waves stayed our stern Boat & Dashed it to pieces it was than Broke up for fire Wood-at 8 oclock weather more moderate & still heavy swell by the pitching of the Ship it knocked out the pinical Lamp twice-& Lightening very much-Course SE-wind NW-at 12 oclock weather more moderate But still Lightening During the Night several things gave way such as coops & casks

Aug 27th. Tuesday. am

at 8 oclock in foresail & foretopsail-at 12 oclock Calm & heavy swell set the fore sail & fore top sail No sun taken at 4 oclock a sudden shift of wind from the NW-shook a reef out of the main topsail at 8 oclock fresh Breeze a gale and heavy sea & rain at times Course SE-wind NW-at 12 oclock increasing gale & heavy sea running carried away the foretopmast staysail Course SE-wind NW-at 4 oclock weather more moderate but a heavy sea on we shipped a sea and it Came Down into the Middle Cabin in that way that I thought the man at the weel had forgot his Duty & we ware going Down Stern formost-several of the passengers ware oblige to git up & bath the water out of thire births

Ann had cleared the Cape of Good Hope and was making ground eastward. She was in the vicinity of St Paul's Island when the ship encountered huge waves, which would have interacted unfavourably with the normally heavy swell rolling up from the south. The captain is quite accurate in his guess that the unusual seas were caused by an earthquake. Krakatoa had erupted the previous day causing large tsunamis, one of which Ann seems to have experienced. Although the eruption of 1883 is better remembered, a similarly violent event occurred within two months of exactly 50 years earlier. Records suggest that the noise of the eruption was the loudest sound produced in recent history and was heard in Mauritius and Australia 4800 km and 3500 km away respectively. An estimated 36,000 people were killed by the tsunamis produced by activity associated with the eruption and the sky around the world was darkened for several days afterwards by the resulting atmospheric dust. Again, Elias provides a very unemotional account of what must have been a quite frightening and worrying experience for the passengers. This was in the days before lifejackets

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and lifeboats. The ship appears to have been rolled and pitched almost onto its side with the consequence of flooding within the ship and smashed upper deck fittings, boats, and loss of the firewood used for cooking. Although *Ann* was well into her voyage and the passengers would have been conditioned to the effects of ship motion, every movable fitting between decks including many of the people would have been violently propelled to one side of the ship and then to the other by the ship's movement in this sea. There would for a time have been a state of chaos below decks and the probability of numerous minor injuries for the surgeon to treat.

VAN DIEMEN'S LAND (HOBART)

Ann entered Hobart by the narrow D'Entrecasteaux Channel. Some eighteen months later in April of 1835 a convict transport, the *George III* struck a submerged rock in this narrow waterway while attempting to pass through at night. The ship sank with a loss of 133 lives. This incident illustrates the dangerous nature of this narrow passageway into Hobart.

Sept 29th. Sunday. am

this morning made sail & standing toward the Land & at 10 o'clock 3 or 4 whale Boats came along side of us & one of the Boats got upset with 4 men in it & one of the men was on board belonging to the boat & he jumped from the stern of the Ship into the water to assist his mates I cannot say if they was save or not as we Did not stop we ware than sailing with a fine steady Breeze with a delightful view of the Land at Both sides of us the Passage we entered was narrow for about seven miles Long it is reconed very Dangerous to go up that passage But the Captain being thire before was confidant of it being safe it is seldom any Ships Comes up this passage on account of it being so narrow, at about 2 o'clock the weather got Changeable one minet fine & the next Squally some part of this time we ware going at the rate of 8 nots a Hour & outhet times about 2 miles a Hour we had a fine View of the Land & at 3 o'clock we saw the Light House wich is called the Iron Pot it is erected on a rock out at sea we than saw the Ship that we spoke to the Day befor. she was than beating in from a Different part to what we came we ware than what is commonly Called tipping her the Double we ware a bout 6 or 7 miles nearer the Harbour than she we than had the pleasure to see Mount Wellenton this mountain is to be seen at some distance at about 4 o'clock a inshured pilot Came on board he than Hoisted his Collours to signalise what we was & wheare we Came from we than saw the signal staff wich was about 10 or 15 miles Distance During this time the weather Very Changeable one minut it rained & the next moment the sun was Shining but the fine view of the Land still increasing tell at Lenth it got Dark we than had the glimce of the Shipping in the Harbour & saw the Lights of the town & about 8 o'clock we ware safte anchored in the Harbour of Hobart town this colony is very healthy it is much like England with respect of weather part of the year Cold the other part of the year walm

Elias does not record any details of his experiences ashore in Hobart during the *Ann*'s almost month long visit.

THE FINAL PASSAGE LEG TO SYDNEY NEW SOUTH WALES

Elias covers the final over two weeks' passage from Tasmania to Sydney in one entry. An unidentified cabin passenger barely makes it back aboard and two interlopers join the ship as 'Bolters' from authority in Hobart.

The very brief mention of the death and burial at sea of an infant (the second death experienced by *Ann* during her voyage) is made more poignant by Elias's customary brevity and by the closeness of the *Ann* to their final destination.

Oct 26th Monday am

at 6 oclock fired a Gun for the pilot to come on board & Hoisted the blue Peeter & bent sails as a signal of us leaving that Harbour the Pilot than Came on Board & we than fired a nother Gun for all the Passengers to Come on board-at about 7 oclock weigh anchor & then set sail with a fine steady Breeze & tacking out of the Harbour at about 11 oclock a boat was making up to us we than Layed too for it Known that we had Left one of our Cabin passengers Behind us, we ware about way out of the Harbour at the time & all the good the young man got for stoping be Hind was a good Ducking as the Sea was getting very rough- we ware the whole of the Day tacking about-about 5 oclock the Pilot Left us we ware then very near the heads of the Harbour & about Duske a boat was making up to us & after some time Came along side of us in it was two men and a waterman the two men Came on board & the boat in a instant was shoved off & soon out of site the two men engaged thire passage with the Captain at Hobart town the reason they Came on board at that part & hour was that had been Coasting the whole of the Day in the Boat & watched the Pilots Boat off Knowing that he is the Last man that Leaves a ship they was Treasury to a society at Hobart town & Done what is commonly Called Boalted-we then set sail a got out of the Harbour & passed the Iron Pot with a fine steady Breeze & fine weather During the night-the next morning Sailing with a fine steady Breeze & fine During the night fowl winds & so continued for some Days, that wich we gained at Day we Lossed at night at Last we saw Sydney Light House on Monday morning Nov 11th /33 & During the Day tacking about fine Cleare weather & saw a splendid View of the Land of New Holland. fine During the Night tuesday fine During the Day tacking about fine weather During the night a Child Died belonging to one of the passengers in the steorage & Earley Wednesday morning we ware a brest of the Harbour Laying thire becalmed at 8 oclock the Child was sowed up in Canvas & the first mate said a short Prayer over it & then it was Lowered to the Deep at 10 oclock a fine steady Sea Breeze sprung up Made sail & stood in for the Harbour about 11 oclock the Pilot Came on Board & about 12 oclock we ware safte anchored in the Harbour of Sydney thanks God Nov 13th /33-*Finis*

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Journey's end! Thus, Moses Elias arrived safely in Sydney with his friend, Samuel Benjamin, to build a new life in the colony. Their stories follow a similar pattern to many of the other Jewish settlers, both those who arrived in chains and those who came out on their own volition. They reflect both the successes and the vicissitudes of that period, as well as the early efforts to establish Jewish community life in Australia.

ELIAS'S LIFE IN AUSTRALIA

My records of Elias and Samuel Benjamin business ventures from Alfred Price (and others do not precisely agree) has the partnership being established shortly after their arrival with a general store opening at Sydney House, 44 lower George Street and 321 George Street 'opposite the burial Ground'. In 1836 they established the London Store in George Street, Windsor. Their move to Goulburn in 1837 (the newspapers of the time indicate that their Goulburn venture may have begun in the early 1840s) brought that settlement its first general store, which the partners operated until 1854. They also operated another store in Queanbeyan during 1837 to 1852. An important industrial operation of the partners was the Argyle Steam Boiling Establishment, located one mile to the east of Goulburn, which operated between about 1845 and 1852 boiling down for tallow and hide the almost worthless stock from surrounding farms during the depression of that time. The Goulburn newspapers of this period include advertisements for the partners' gold trading business.

The partners gifted land for the Jewish Cemetery which since has been partially restored and which is still evident to the east of Goulburn. There was no synagogue in Goulburn so Elias and Julia held services in their home for the then quite sizable Jewish community. Elias had married Julia Moses on 15 April 1840.²⁵ Julia had arrived with her family in Sydney on 10 January 1833 on the ship *Palambam*, almost a year earlier than Elias. The ship had sailed from England on 24 August 1832.

As Dr Levi records Elias was active within the Sydney Jewish Community. He was a seat holder in the new York Street Synagogue in 1845. He was one of the four trustees to be responsible for the land granted by the governor to the community on 8 April 1850, to build a Jewish school in Sydney, and he was one of the instigators of the Macquarie Street secession when the Sydney Jewish community split into two. The *Sydney Morning Herald* of 13 October 1859 reports the dedication of the Macquarie Street Synagogue on 25 September and that during the attending service Elias Moses had placed the Torah in the Ark.

Samuel Benjamin married Elias's sister Rachel in Sydney on 4 February 1835.

Elias and Julia produced 12 children and, in addition, when Elias's sister Miriam Frankel died in 1847, the couple took in two of the three Frankel children,²⁶ Esther and Simeon. Simeon, whose father Jacob had founded the Jewish congregation in Hobart in 1841 after having immigrated at Elias's suggestion when he had visited England in 1841, served as secretary of the Great Synagogue for some 30 years. Elias's partner Samuel died on 4 December 1854 after the pair had reduced their outlets to one store located in Sydney.

A public notice in the *Sydney Morning Herald* indicates that Elias was also in partnership with his father-in-law Abraham Moses²⁷ and the noted businessman Moses Joseph (two of Moses Joseph's sons each married a daughter of Elias and Julia). On 2 March 1859, Abraham Moses and Sons was re-established under Elias Moses as sole partner during the other partner's absence in England. Elias was later also a business partner of Sir Benjamin Benjamin,²⁸ his nephew.

Elias and Julia lived and worked in Rockhampton during the period 1865 to 1870 where they held the licences of two hotels, *The Commercial* and *The Royal Fitzroy* (the latter named establishment featured in the recent Queensland floods). Sadly during 1865 (in April and July) the couple lost two of their children to sickness. Perhaps as a result of the Queensland venture, Elias's financial situation appears to have become quite desperate shortly afterward and he was declared insolvent in the *Sydney Morning Herald* of 28 November 1871. There is evidence that Elias continued to operate a small store or trading business in Sydney while Julia spent some time with her daughter and son-in-law on their property at Bombala in New South Wales. By that time, Elias was ill with diabetes and he died on 14 June 1874.²⁹ Julia survived Elias for many years and she died aged 80 years on 27 May 1904. Her funeral notice in the *Sydney Morning Herald* of 30 May 1904 proclaimed that she left one son, seven daughters, 47 grand children and 32 great-grandchildren.

I have not done justice to the story of my first Australian ancestors Elias and Julia. But one of my objectives was as a start, to record the beginning of their family's journeys in this great land. There is much more work for me to do and much more to learn about the family narrative of the descendants of Julia and Moses Elias.

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THE MYERS LINE, EMANUEL: A LIMB ON A BRANCH OF THE McCARRY-BROTHERSON FAMILY TREE

Greg McCarry

PREFACE

In genealogy there is no fixed definition as to what constitutes the trunk of a family tree and which are the limbs and branches. My family name is McCarry and my mother's maiden name was Brotherson. My maternal grandmother's maiden name was Myers which explains the title of this paper. For someone whose family name was Myers, the McCarrys and Brothersons would be the branches and limbs on the Myers trunk. Both ways of looking at a family tree are legitimate, depending on one's own direct lineage.

My sister, Nola Titmuss, suggested it might be interesting to look into our Jewish ancestry, the Myers branch. How right she was and how challenging the task proved. Over the years I have delved into the McCarrys and the Brothersons about whom we knew a reasonable amount to start. The totality of what we knew of our Myers ancestors was a few pages of notes written in 1978 by our mother, Nita McCarry, plus recollections of things she had told us about them occasionally. The information we had did not even include the fact that Emanuel Myers came here as a convict. So Nita's material was a limited source, albeit very important. At least from a family perspective, the following pages represent a great advance on the little we knew before, notwithstanding their undoubted deficiencies.

Numerous people or organisations have helped me in gathering and ordering information. They include, in no particular order, Gary Luke, the Great Synagogue of Sydney, Helen Bersten, Beryl Chesterton, Nola Titmuss, Lois O'Loughlin, Peter Keeda, Jeremy Pfeffer, local or family history societies at Newcastle, Bendigo, Lithgow, Hay and Lakes Entrance, plus Louise Dean, Mick Reed, Betty Smith and Joy Roy.

In the course of preparing this paper I have met for the first time a number of genies – cousins of varying degrees of separation and remove whom I had not met before. Apart from the pleasure of getting to know them, they too have provided information and comment. And so I thank Susan Cowan, Stephen Milgate, Gary Yum, Anne Willoughby and Janet Mitchell.

As usual, my wife Catherine read over the entire manuscript more than once, corrected many errors and infelicities of expression and gave me numerous insights.

I am grateful for the help of all. None of them is responsible for the shortcomings that inevitably remain.

INTRODUCTION

Emanuel Myers was my great-great grandfather. He arrived in Sydney as a convict on 19 October 1819, transported for life for picking a pocket as a member of a gang. Calculations from dates on this and other records indicate he was born in 1795 or thereabouts. No details are known of his parentage or background before his trial and conviction, save that he was Jewish and was a tailor in London. In Australia he was to marry Mary Anne Burnsides in 1829 in a church ceremony and again in 1840 in a Jewish ceremony. Their children included Joseph, the author's great-grandfather who left home at about the age of thirteen. Joseph later lived with Elizabeth Fay. They had a number of children before they could find a priest who was willing to marry them in 1876. Joseph, Elizabeth and their family led a peripatetic life throughout New South Wales and Victoria until they settled in Auburn, Sydney some time between 1889 and 1894. This is the story of these ancestors and their families, so far as information about them has been able to be obtained. Because of their drifting life style, material about Joseph and Elizabeth has proved particularly difficult to find and is meagre in quantity.

THE CONVICTION OF EMANUEL MYERS

The offence for which Emanuel was transported occurred at about three o'clock on the afternoon of 15 February 1819 during an election rally or meeting at Covent Garden, London. He was indicted for stealing '6s. 6d.¹ in monies numbered, the monies of John Edwards, from his person.' Emanuel was tried at London Central Criminal Court (the Old Bailey) on 17 February, just two days after the offence.

At the time of the offence Edwards was standing opposite the Covent Garden market.² His evidence was that he was surrounded by a gang and carried by them into the middle of the mob. He kept

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his hand down to protect his watch. Edwards said that Emanuel was one of the gang. He kept his eye on him and felt his hand in his pocket. Edwards said to Emanuel "You scoundrel take your hand out," and was 'then hustled ten times more than before – they pressed against me with their elbows, and I was almost choaked [sic]....I felt my pockets turned inside out.'

James Scott, a pianoforte maker, corroborated Edwards' account. He said that the gang was around Edwards, who said he was robbed. Scott saw Edwards' pockets turned inside out, and saw him pulled around a great deal. Scott said that he secured Emanuel and took him to Bow Street.³ The gang tried to rescue him.⁴ When Emanuel was searched, presumably at the Bow Street station, he was found to have three handkerchiefs round his neck, one of which had a one pound note in it. He also had two snuffboxes, and a cotton handkerchief.

However, the money which Emanuel was alleged to have stolen was not among the objects found on him when he was searched. The 6s 6d which he was alleged to have stolen would have been in coin – 'monies numbered.' The only currency found on him was a one pound note. One may conjecture that in the scuffle any coins were scattered on the ground. And conversely he was not charged with stealing any of the items that were found on him presumably because they did not belong to Edwards. By to-day's standards this would be a significant defect in any charge of stealing the coin. It may well be that the evidence would today support a charge of attempting to steal, or of Emanuel having goods in his custody reasonably suspected of having been stolen, or of assault or of affray, but not stealing. However, a William Mason subsequently gave evidence that he saw Emanuel and others hustling Edwards 'who was quite exhausted, so that he could not walk.'

Emanuel's defence is simply recorded as the statement 'The evidence is false.'

The jury found him guilty and the Recorder, who was presiding at the trial, sentenced him to transportation for life. His age was shown as 23. Emanuel departed for Australia on 30 April 1819,⁵ one of 142 convicts on the *John Barry*.⁶ They arrived in Sydney on 19 October that year. The records indicate that Emanuel was a tailor of London, 5 feet 4 inches tall, with brown hair and hazel eyes.⁷

VICISSITUDES AS A CONVICT

Emanuel was assigned to William Pendray of George Street,⁸ Sydney, a tailor. This appears from a Colonial Secretary's letter in 1823-24, from the 1823-25 muster,⁹ and from the 1828 census.¹⁰ Emanuel was

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aged 34 in 1828, the census year, although if he was 23 in 1819 one would have expected 32 or 33 in 1828. It seems likely that Emanuel remained with Pendray until at least September 1829 when he was granted an exemption from government labour so he could live with his wife, Mary Anne¹¹ (nee Burnsides), whom he had married in March 1829. The marriage will be considered shortly. However, he did not receive his ticket of leave until 1833.

Pendray seems to have had about 17 assigned convicts, including Emanuel. He did not always meet his obligations, for he is included on a 'List of defaulters on account of Convict Mechanics' for 1823-24.¹² Interestingly, a number of Pendray's assignees are shown in this list as tailors, but not Emanuel. No trade is shown opposite his name.

Emanuel's behaviour was certainly not impeccable. In 1824 he was given seven days on the Sydney treadmill¹³ for 'Spoiling work given to him to make up and general neglect.'¹⁴ Then, in 1826, he received another ten days on the treadmill for having 'harboured in his house' Susan Courtney, who was, like Emanuel, a 'prisoner of the Crown.' She was at large without legal authority for which she was given three months in 'the factory,' that is the female factory in Sydney.¹⁵

Levi & Bergman¹⁶ say that Emanuel was guilty of the offence of being absent from work in 1825 and 1826, on account of which he was refused a ticket of leave in 1828, and further say that he received 25 lashes. However, the author has not come across any evidence to support these statements.

EMANUEL'S APPLICATION TO MARRY

A convict, even one on a ticket of leave, could not marry without the consent of the Governor. The necessity for this consent ceased only when the convict had served his or her time or had been pardoned. Emanuel made three such applications in a short period of time.

The first was an application to marry Lydia Shaw. She was aged 22 at the time. His age was shown as 33. Like Emanuel she was a convict, transported for life and, like him 'bond' (that is not yet on a ticket of leave). The application was refused on 20 July 1827. The reason given was 'Being both prisoners of the Crown.' The clergyman, who was nominated to perform the ceremony, had approval been forthcoming, was one Rev R. Hill of Sydney.¹⁷ Lydia may not have repined at this refusal, for the very next year a woman of that name married a Samuel Davis in Sydney.¹⁸ However, a Lydia Shaw married a Robert Webb in 1844 as well. The author has not pursued the fortunes of Lydia any further.

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Emanuel, himself, did not waste time. The very next year, 1828, he applied to marry Charlotte Byfield. She was 18. His age was shown as 32, which is not consistent with the 33 shown on the refusal for permission to marry Lydia. Charlotte is shown as having 'come free' (that is as an immigrant). Again the nominated clergyman was Rev R. Hill. The Governor approved this application on 1 December 1828¹⁹ but Emanuel did not marry her, or at least no record of any marriage can be found. It is not clear what happened. A search of the indexes in the New South Register of marriages and deaths found no entries concerning Charlotte.

Emanuel was not discouraged by whatever caused that marriage not to proceed. With what seems indelicate haste, he made another application to marry 'Ann Burnsidess' almost immediately according to the archives.²⁰ His age was shown as 33, which again is not consistent with the age on the Lydia refusal, by now 18 months in the past. Anne was 18, giving her a birth year of about 1811. She was shown as having been born in the colony. The census of 1828 indicates that she was a servant at Windsor.²¹ This accords well with the arrival of her father, an army private, in about 1810. The Governor approved of this marriage on 11 February 1829, just over two months after approval of the application to marry Charlotte.

So in less than two years Emanuel had persuaded three women, all of whom were some years younger than he, to marry him. Whatever else may be said of Emanuel, he must have had 'something' to manage this in a colony where males greatly outnumbered the females. Less than a month after the Governor's approval, Emanuel Myers married Mary Anne Burnsidess on 4 March 1829 at St James, Sydney.²² The marriage ceremony was a Church of England ceremony but the name of the clergyman is not given; and no other details are provided.²³ This was, of course, a legally recognised marriage for civil purposes but it did not comply with the requirements for a valid Jewish marriage. Mary Anne was not Jewish so a ceremony in a synagogue could not take place. A Jewish ceremony did not occur for another eleven years, when finally on 10 August 1840 the couple were married again in the synagogue.

A little over six months passed before Emanuel applied on 24 September 1829 for an exemption from 'Government labor' [sic] to live with his wife. This was granted on 28 September to enable him 'To reside with his wife Mary Ann, formerly Burnsidess born in the Colony.' On the schedule of approvals, among which his appears, the district and place of residence is shown as Sydney.²⁴ It is not apparent why he waited six months to make this application, but it is plausible to suggest that applications could not be made less than six months after marriage to eliminate exemptions being obtained by contrived

or sham marriages. Another possibility²⁵ is that Mary Anne spent at least part of this time in gaol, for on 11 April she and her sister Ann were before a court for stealing lace, but the final outcome of those proceedings against her is not known. In any case, similar exemptions from government labour were applied for and granted on 2 January 1830, 15 January 1831 and 2 January 1832.²⁶ Exemptions were not required thereafter because Emanuel obtained a ticket of leave in 1833.

A SHORT DIGRESSION ON THE BURNSIDES FAMILY

This digression does not purport to be a comprehensive history of the Burnsides. Their story is a complicated and incomplete tale, replete with tragedy. It is still being researched by a number of others. The purpose of this aside is merely to outline enough background to facilitate consideration of Mary Anne's marriage to Emanuel and to put it in context.

Ambrose Burnsides arrived in New South Wales as a private in the 73rd regiment in 1810. His wife Sarah²⁷ was with him and probably two of their children. The eldest child was Elizabeth, probably born about 1805. The next was Sarah, baptised on the Isle of Wight in April 1809.²⁸ The others were Mary Ann (the author's great-great-grandmother), Benjamin²⁹ and Ann. There seems to have been another child Charlotte who died as a baby. Ambrose Burnsides died on 27 June 1827 at the age of 66 according to his death certificate.

His widow Sarah died on 30 April 1830. She collapsed and died instantly at the Police Office (presumably in Sydney) at about 2 o'clock that afternoon. An inquest was held, and after the body had been 'opened' medical evidence was that she had died 'in consequence of habitual intemperance.' The jury returned a verdict of 'died by the visitation of God.'³⁰

In the *General Muster of New South Wales* 1823, 1824, 1825³¹ Ambrose and Sarah are shown as living at Windsor. Their children are shown as Sarah (aged 16), Mary (aged 13), Benjamin (aged 11) and Ann (aged 8). At the time of the census of 1828, Sarah, aged 42, the widow, is listed as a lodger in Sydney. Elizabeth, her eldest child listed as aged 23, with a family name of Nixon (alias Burnsides), was recorded as living in Castlereagh Street, Sydney, with Thomas Nixon. He was apparently her partner. If Elizabeth was baptised in 1809 and the baptism was shortly after the birth, her age is likely to have been closer to 19 or 20. Elizabeth's brother, Benjamin, aged 14 is shown as a lodger in the household of Thomas Nixon. Sarah, the daughter, is

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aged 17³² and is a servant in Pitt town. Mary, also shown as 17, is a servant in Windsor.³³

Elizabeth had married Richard Bottington on 10 July 1821. Bottington went through a ceremony of marriage with one Mary Gorman on 5 May 1826. For this he was tried for bigamy. At the trial Ambrose Burnsides gave evidence he had been present at the marriage of his daughter and that Bottington had 'used her ill, and she ceased to live with him a week after they were married.'³⁴ Since there were no provisions for a legal divorce at the time, marriage subsisted in law until one of the parties died. After the break up of her marriage, Elizabeth seems to have commenced to live with Nixon.

In 1838 Bottington advertised to find whether Elizabeth was alive or dead and if alive where she was, because he wanted to marry again if Elizabeth had passed away. In the advertisement, Bottington said that about 1826 Elizabeth had been living with a tailor, Robert (sic) Nixon.³⁵ In the hearing of a land claim in 1841, Elizabeth's sister, Sarah, stated that Elizabeth had died in a fire about a year earlier. Sarah very likely believed this. However, the index to the New South Wales register of births shows that the birth of a child, John, was registered in 1852.³⁶ The parents are shown in the index as Thomas Nixon and Elizabeth (Burnsides),³⁷ but the certificate itself,³⁸ as distinct from the index, shows the mother's family name as 'Down'. The author has inspected a microfilm of the page in the original parish register and no reference to 'Burnsides' is to be found. Something seems awry in the index and Sarah's belief that Elizabeth had died in a fire may, in fact, have been correct. The difficulty is that no one has yet found any evidence of the fire or of Elizabeth's death.

Mary Anne, 'born in the colony' obviously after 1810 when her parents arrived, married our Emanuel Myers in 1829 with the Governor's permission. Save for a brief period in the late 1830s, which was spent at Windsor, they lived in Sydney.

Ann, whose name is in the 1825 Muster, is not shown in the 1828 census with the family. By the time of that census, Ann, who was the youngest child, had been placed in an orphan school. On 24 August 1827 Sarah Burnsides, Ambrose's widow, made what, to modern eyes, was a ghastly application. She applied for her youngest daughter, Anne [sic], to be admitted to an Orphan School. The basis of the application was that Anne's father 'died some time ago and the mother being now sixty years of age, and infirm is quite incapable of supporting her.'³⁹ Ambrose had in fact died earlier that same year in 1827. Further, Sarah's age is shown in the census of 1828, which is the very next year, as 42. Moreover the reference to Sarah being

‘infirm’ is a euphemism. Sarah was an alcoholic. As we saw above, she died in 1830.⁴⁰ One assumes that none of Ann’s older sisters was in a position to care for her. In any event Anne [sic] was admitted into the King’s Female Orphan School on being examined by the Surgeon and duly entered in the admission book. The date on which Ann [sic] left the Orphan School is illegible on the copy of the documents available to the author, but she left to take an apprenticeship with a person or place in Sydney that is likewise illegible, but possibly A. Foss an apothecary in Castlereagh Street. Her age is not stated on the papers although they required that a birth or baptismal certificate be lodged with the application for admission. No such certificate is with the papers available to the author. However, Ambrose’s certificate of entitlement to land dated 6 November 1823 has a notation at the bottom ‘wife and four children.’⁴¹ Since Benjamin was still alive in 1828 this would indicate that Ann had not been born by November 1823, otherwise there would have been five children. However, from the age in the Muster, she was born no later than 1817. This seems more likely to be correct. The simple explanation may be that the clerk made an error in that notation at the foot of Ambrose’s certificate of entitlement.

In 1834 Ann and a person called Noble Foster were sentenced to death for highway robbery. If she was not born by November 1823 she would have been only 9 or 10 at the date of the robbery, which seems highly improbable. Had she been born in 1817 she would have been about 16 or 17, which is much more likely. At the time of the death sentence the judge intimated they would be transported for life.⁴² Whatever her age, Ann was transported to Tasmania. There she married a George Martin in 1836. She seems to have been expecting his child at that time. Ann was thereupon sent to the Female Factory. She obtained a ticket of leave about 1842 or 1843 and a conditional pardon about 1845.

Benjamin Burnside appears in the 1828 census, living in the Nixon household as set out above. The author is unaware what happened to him thereafter, but he is not mentioned in the land claims material to be referred to in a moment. He seems to have been regarded as irrelevant as was the mother Sarah who had already passed away. Perhaps one can infer from their similar treatment that Benjamin was known to be dead to his sisters even though the author has not been able to verify this.

The final item to note briefly about the Burnside is the land claim arising out of a promise made to Ambrose by Governor Brisbane in 1823. He was promised 100 acres of land to be selected in a surveyed part of the colony.⁴³ The circumstances surrounding this are complicated, and were not sorted out until 1842. They are of

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considerable interest to Burnside researchers but are of marginal importance to this paper, so only the shortest of summaries will be given.⁴⁴

In 1824 Ambrose applied for a grant, but of other land, namely six acres in the Windsor township. His application was unsuccessful. Similarly his widow Sarah sought land, this time 100 acres, but in the Bathurst region. This application petered out and then she died. The matter then slid out of sight until Sarah and Mary Ann had their attention drawn to a government notice announcing an intention to make a grant of 100 acres to Ambrose. The land was at the confluence of the Hunter and Goulburn Rivers. When and by whom it was allocated or chosen is not known for neither of the girls knew about it until they saw the notice.

They made known their claim and the matter was referred by Governor Gipps to the Commissioners who dealt with these matters. Sarah's evidence, given in 1841, was to the effect that Elizabeth had died in a fire about a year earlier,⁴⁵ and that Ann was a convict in Tasmania. The Commissioners recommended that the three girls should be regarded as entitled to the land and that a trustee, Abraham Elias, be appointed for them, since Ann could not hold land on account of her convict status. The land was duly sold at auction by the trustee. Sarah and Mary Anne presumably were paid their share which, under the law of the day, would have belonged to their husbands. It is not known how Ann's share was managed in the short term, but when she ultimately received it, her husband would have owned it as well, for she too was married.

Before examining Emanuel and Mary Anne's marriages and children in more detail we should first note some trouble into which Mary Anne and her younger sister Ann got themselves in April 1829, the month following Mary Anne's marriage. At the General Sessions, Sydney on 11 April 1829, Ann Burnside was before the Court for stealing lace. She was granted bail on 14 April, so she must have spent three days in custody pending resolution of the bail issue. On the same day at the Sydney General Sessions, Mary Anne Myers was charged with an unstated felony.⁴⁶ She too was granted bail on 14 April.⁴⁷ Although Mary Anne's offence is not stated, it seems highly likely from the coincidence of the dates that she was involved in stealing lace with her sister.

No court records survive for the Sydney General Session, 1829. Nor has the author found any account of the matter in newspapers. So nothing further is known about this incident or its consequences. If Mary Anne pleaded guilty or was found guilty, she could not have been dealt with too severely, at least by the standards of those days, for she and Emanuel had their first child, Benjamin, in either April

or July 1830. So, even if Mary Anne was given a custodial sentence, it must have expired by about November 1829 at the latest.

COLONIAL LAW IN REGARD TO MARRIAGE CEREMONIES

The wedding ceremonies of Emanuel and Mary Anne were not without their complications. It is helpful to start with an overview of the law concerning solemnisation and registration of marriages in the nineteenth century. Mandatory civil registration of births, deaths and marriages in something like its modern form was not required in New South Wales until 1856.⁴⁸ Before that there was a series of more or less piecemeal legislation dealing with different aspects of the solemnisation of marriage and the requirements for registration of births, deaths and marriages. For present purposes it is not necessary to go through the detail of all of them, but the following features can usefully be noted.

By an act of 1825,⁴⁹ registers of baptisms, marriages and burials solemnised according to the rights [sic] of the Church of England were required to be kept by ministers from 1 January 1826. Annually, copies of the registers were to be sent to the Registrar of the Archdeacon's Court. As its terms indicate, this applied only to the Church of England. Some amendments were made to this in 1833, but they are not directly relevant to Emanuel and Mary.

In 1834 an act was passed to remove doubts that had apparently arisen concerning marriages conducted by ministers of the Church of Scotland or priests or ministers of the Roman Catholic Church.⁵⁰ By this act, such marriages entered into before the passing of the act were 'adjudged esteemed and taken to have been of the same force and effect and no other than if such Marriages had been had [sic] and solemnised by Clergymen of the Church of England according to the rites and ceremonies of the Church of England.'⁵¹ This legislation further required the ministers of these two denominations to transmit certificates of marriage, baptism or burial to the Registrar of the Supreme Court. Unnecessarily, as it seems to the present author, the act went on to repeal so much of the 1825 act as applied to certificates governed by the 1834 act.

The patchwork nature of the local legislation to this date must have inspired the argument that more comprehensive regulation of the solemnisation of marriages was controlled by English legislation. Given the colonial status of New South Wales and the then prevailing law about importation of English law into colonies, this was a much more plausible contention than it sounds to modern ears. However, in *R v Maloney* (1836)⁵² the Full Court of the New South

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Wales Supreme Court held that the English Marriage Act of 1824⁵³ did not apply in New South Wales.

In 1836 an act was passed to prevent 'clandestine marriages'.⁵⁴ Its broad objective was to prevent the celebration of marriages of under age persons, that is those under twenty one, without consent of the father, guardian or mother as appropriate. Its interest for our purposes lies in Section 6, which provided that the act did not extend to any marriages among Quakers or Jews 'when both the parties to any such marriage shall be of the people called Quakers or persons professing the Jewish religion respectively.' Two points can be made. First, this exemption was not a local or colonial innovation. Analogous sections had appeared in legislation governing the solemnisation of marriages, and specifically clandestine marriages, since the first such act, namely the English Marriage Act of 1753.⁵⁵ Secondly, the wording in Section 6 just quoted – 'or persons professing the Jewish religion' – is apt to include converts to that religion and not only those who were Jews by birth.

This 1836 Act was amended in 1838 by the Minors' Marriages Act,⁵⁶ the only section of which we need note is Section 7, which had two arms. First, nothing in the 1836 or 1838 acts applied 'to the marriage of any felon or other offender serving under a sentence of transportation who may be under the age of twenty-one years.' Secondly, 'no marriage shall be solemnised where either of the parties shall be a felon or other offender serving under a sentence of transportation whether under the age of twenty-one years or otherwise without the [prior] consent of the Governor.' In short, Gubernatorial *fiat* replaced the statutory prescription for felons and others who had been transported. Indeed, the Governor's approval for the marriage of such persons had been required before this. As we saw, Emanuel sought three such approvals in a short period of time.

To return to this brief overview of the legislation governing births, deaths and marriages in the nineteenth century, we come next to an act which closely mirrors the 1834 act we have already noted, namely that which was passed to remove doubts about the validity of marriages by Scottish and Catholic ministers. A parallel act was passed in 1840⁵⁷ to remove doubts about the validity of Baptist and Congregational marriages, and to provide for certificates of the ceremonies to be forwarded to the Registrar of the Supreme Court. It was not thought necessary to repeat in this act the exemption for Jews and Quakers stipulated in the 1836 legislation, which, of course, continued in force. Yet another short act requiring some more validation, was passed in 1850.⁵⁸

Finally there came the act of 1855,⁵⁹ which set up a system for

solemnisation of marriages and registration of births deaths and marriages more or less in its modern form, although the 1855 act was later repealed and replaced. This act did not merely plug another hole. It consolidated the law into a new code which, of course, drew on what had been evolving but which replaced it. So it repealed the various earlier acts.

Three aspects of this need to be noted. First, although it repealed the earlier acts, we need to keep their provisions in mind, for many of the dates of family events we are considering occurred before 1855. So we need to be aware of the main provisions in force at any one time throughout that earlier period.

Secondly, experience indicates that at times the requirements were simply not complied with. Small children who died were at times reverently buried 'in the bush' without the presence of an officiating clergyman. It should not be a matter of surprise that the outback priest, covering hundreds of miles on horseback, baptising, marrying, burying, reconciling, offering Mass and moving was not always punctilious about the paper work. Memory may have been relied on or perhaps a notebook found a place in the saddle bags from which the official documents might or might not later be completed.

Thirdly, Section 8 preserved the exemption for Jewish and Quaker marriages, which, as we saw, dated back to 1753 with one important qualification. The section said that nothing in the act extended to Jewish or Quaker marriages but it did provide that nevertheless a certificate of every Jewish or Quaker marriage must, within ten days of the marriage, be sent to the District Registrar – a government official – by the celebrant or by one of the parties and must include the date and place of the marriage, as well as the name, designation and usual residence of each of the parties. Although we have seen that there were registration requirements of one kind or another for other marriages before 1855 (such as with Registrar of Archdeacon's Court, or Registrar of the Supreme Court), this requirement in the 1855 act was the first statutory requirement in New South Wales for the registration of Jewish marriages, so far as the author can discover.

SOME GENEALOGICAL IMPLICATIONS

How does this impact on the evaluation of material in the Myers story? We shall see that Emanuel married a second time, in 1845. The circumstances are such that it seems certain that Mary Anne, who took the name Rebecca on her conversion to Judaism, was dead. The author (and others) have not been able to find any civil registration of her death under any name. No sinister explanation for

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this need be sought. Her death may well have been recorded in a synagogue burial register, but the author has not been able to find any such register for the years in question. Either he has missed it or it has not survived. The probability is that it has not survived. This would explain why it has not been transcribed into the official New South Wales records.

More generally, details of births deaths and marriages prior to 1855 that are obtained from the New South Wales Registry are taken from old church or synagogue registers. Emanuel and Mary Anne's 1840 Jewish marriage is an example. At that date, whatever might have been the obligations on other denominations to register with the Archdeacon's Court or with the Supreme Court, there was no obligation that Jewish marriages be registered with any civil authority. Sometimes the certified copies of these early records which can now be obtained take the form of a scanned reproduction of the original entry in the religious register, in effect a facsimile. Where this is not possible - and often it is not - the details are extracted. It is not unknown for errors and omissions to occur in this process. For example, the author has found two instances where certificates were indeed in the registry but were not in the online index. Some of the certificates for the birth of Emanuel and Mary Anne's children obtainable from the New South Wales Registry have proved difficult to interpret, at least for this author.

For this reason, it is often worthwhile to consult the original registers if that is possible. They often complement what has found its way onto the official registry certificates. In addition, this enables any patterns or singular features in the original registers to be examined. As it turns out, in this case particular patterns and features of the original synagogue registers give us some more information about Emanuel's children, and are enlightening in working out Mary Anne's association with Judaism, even though the original synagogue or church registers are not perfectly accurate. For example, as we shall see, three different dates are given for the birth of Emanuel and Mary Anne's first child, Benjamin.

EMANUEL AND MARY ANNE'S CHILDREN: THE SYNAGOGUE REGISTERS

The starting point for the story of Emanuel and Mary Anne's children are the birth registers of the Bridge Street Synagogue, Sydney.⁶⁰ Events were recorded in these in the order in which the registrations were made, not in the order in which the births occurred. Thus, we shall see that Emanuel Myers registered the births of three of his children at the one time as a block. In fact he registered two such

blocks and we shall come to the significance of that shortly. For the present, the crucial point is that when he registered a number of children with different birthdays, they were registered at the one time in a block, not separated out and registered in birth order.

When the York Street Synagogue opened in 1844, a birth register was established. The contents of the earlier Bridge Street Register were copied to the York Street Register some time after that but the information was not transferred according to the date order of registration. They were copied onto birth register pages for each year. So in the York Street Register the births⁶¹ of the children are separated out onto a page appropriate to their year of birth, not to the year of registration. Thus, the births of Emanuel's three are not kept in the block form they had on the Bridge Street register. The only other matter to note about the registers before turning to their contents is that both made provision with a space for insertion of the parents' names.

The Bridge Street Birth Register

Emanuel's name appears on a handwritten list in the synagogue records, 'Bridge St members 1835-43.' Sometime between October 1835 and April 1837, Emanuel registered his three children at the one time at the Bridge Street Synagogue. No mother's name is shown. The three were Benjamin born on 9 July 1830 and circumcised on 17 July 1830; Joseph (the author's great-grandfather) born on 19 October 1833; and Hannah born on 24 July 1836.⁶² The place of residence at the time of Benjamin's and Joseph's birth is shown as Sydney. By the time of Hannah's birth it was Windsor.

At a later date, apparently between July 1836 and April 1838, the same three children were re-registered as a block again, but this time with a mother's name shown. The mother's name is given as 'Rebecca' not 'Mary Anne.' To anticipate what is to come, this is because Mary Anne had purportedly converted to Judaism, and, as is the Jewish practice, had taken another first name of biblical origin. However Emanuel had been premature in re-registering in her name.

To continue with the story of the other children, by the time of this second entry, Hannah is shown as having died. No record of this appears in the index to the New South Wales register of deaths – an illustration of the value of inspecting original registers if they are available. On this second block entry, Benjamin's date of birth is shown as 9 April 1829, little over a month after they had married in the Church of England ceremony, not 9 July 1830 as in the first entry. Benjamin's circumcision is shown on this second entry as 27 April 1830, whereas it had been shown as 17 July 1830 in the first entry. Circumcision normally occurs on the eighth day after birth.

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One may suppose that this was not always strictly adhered to, but circumcision a year after birth is highly unusual. To complicate matters a little more, the York Street Synagogue register shows the date of birth as 4 July 1830. So the year 1829 in this second block entry at Bridge Street seems to be an error and the correct year of birth for Benjamin is more likely to be 1830. However, whether it was 9 April or 4 July or 9 July must remain unresolved.

The next entry in the Bridge Street register is that of a female child, whose name is not given, born to Emanuel and Rebecca on a date not given but, from its position in the register, probably late 1841 or early 1842.

The York Street Birth Registers

As noted earlier the York Street Synagogue commenced in 1844 and some time later the Bridge Street birth register was copied into the York Street records. Of course new births were registered there too. First it tells us that the female child just referred to was Priscilla and she was born on 19 December 1841 in Sydney, which was the abode of the parents, Emanuel and Rebecca. So by December 1841 they had returned to Sydney from Windsor, which had been the place of abode at the time of Hannah's birth in 1836.⁶³ Henry was the next child, born on 7 July 1839,⁶⁴ with their place of abode shown as Sydney. Abraham was born on 5 December 1843, the place of birth and abode still being Sydney.

The New South Wales Register of births shows a male and a female child born in 1841. The male was born on 12 December with no name being stated in the official certificate.⁶⁵ The author has not found an entry in the synagogue register to correspond with this. To complicate matters further, there is recorded in the New South Wales registry the birth of a Hannah on 25 December 1841, named on 29 January 1842.⁶⁶ Since Priscilla was born on 19 December 1841 it is possible that this Hannah was a twin or triplet and that at least the male born on 12 December died soon after birth. Further research may clarify this intriguing question.

In summary therefore, their children seem to have been:

Benjamin born on 9 April or 4 July or 9 July 1830;

Joseph born on 19 October 1833;

Hannah born on 19 or 24 July 1836. She appears to have died by April 1838;⁶⁷

Henry born on 7 July 1839 (or possibly 1840);

Priscilla born on 19 December 1841, with possibly two siblings, one a male who may have died soon after birth, and the other named Hannah;

Abraham born on 5 December 1843.

THE JEWISH CONVERSION AND MARRIAGE

Both the Bridge Street marriage register and a New South Wales marriage certificate show that on 10 August 1840 Emanuel married Rebecca in a Jewish ceremony.⁶⁸ Next to Rebecca's name is a note that she was made a *Geyurister* by I. S. This was Isaac Simmons, the Jewish authority by whose permission the marriage took place. The officiating minister was Jacob Isaacs.

This does not mean that Emanuel had married another woman. The reference to *Geyurister* indicates that the bride was a convert to Judaism. As is the practice in these circumstances the convert, male or female, takes a new name. For women, the first name is one of four biblical names and she is given the patrilineal 'daughter of Abraham'. Mary Anne obviously chose 'Rebecca.'⁶⁹ Material previously discussed concerning Emanuel's second block registration of some of his children, this time with a mother's name shown, would suggest that the conversion occurred prior to April 1838, so that, thereafter, the mother was entitled to have her name on the register, whereas previously she had not been. As we shall see, this entry of Rebecca's name was premature. Her conversion seems to have posed difficulties for the synagogue officials and was not completed, at any rate to their satisfaction, until 1840.

This Jewish marriage was not necessary for civil purposes. The 1829 marriage in St James was sufficient for that, but that marriage ceremony did not suffice for Jewish purposes and people who were not Jewish could not be married in a Jewish ceremony. Once Mary Anne had converted, she could be married in the synagogue and her children could be recognised as Jews.

There are indications that the delay in the wedding ceremony until 10 August 1840 might have been occasioned by complications or doubts surrounding Mary Anne's conversion. On Wednesday 6 May 1840 there was a committee meeting of the Sydney Synagogue. The Committee had before it a motion, the terms of which are not set out, 'for the purpose of settling the affair of Mr Emanuel Myers application.' The motion, whatever it was, was passed unanimously.⁷⁰ As we have seen, the Jewish marriage then proceeded on 10 August of that year.

After that committee meeting in May, a committee meeting of the Sydney Synagogue was held on 10 June 1840 at which new arrangements for *Geyuristers* were proposed. Consideration of them was twice adjourned. They were eventually put in place with effect from 23 August 1840. In its initial form the motion before the Committee in June was to the effect that for acceptance by the community, the father or mother of a proposed convert should have

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been a Jew or Jewess, and the conversion was subject to the approval of the Committee as constituted from time to time. If passed in that form, the motion would, from 23 August 1840, have excluded from acceptance persons such as Mary Anne, neither of whose parents was Jewish. Thus, it seems likely that the absence of a Jewish parent was at the heart of the 'affair' concerning Emanuel's 'application' and the likely cause of delay in accepting her. However, the June motion was not passed in that form. There was an amendment to the effect that the requirement for a Jewish parent would in general apply only to unmarried persons '...but any person Having been respectably Married any length of time and requiring [sic] to have their Wife made(?) a *Geyurister* shall not be excluded but Subject to the Rights and Privilege upon approval of the Committee.' Emanuel and Rebecca are nowhere mentioned in the minutes of this meeting,⁷¹ but this amendment must surely have been proposed and passed,⁷¹ with the then very recent consideration of their situation in mind. It seems clear that Emanuel had a battle to get his wife's conversion through the committee. The June motion in its original form would have prevented anyone in Rebecca's situation being admitted as a *Geyurister* after 23 August 1840. The amendment seems to cover precisely her situation, and no more, and would have allowed wives of Jews to be admitted even though the wife had no Jewish parent.

To a non-Jewish person, the main aspect of this amendment which attracts attention is the use of the words 'requiring' and 'Wife made.' This may be no more than infelicitous drafting but they also admit of the interpretation that if a husband 'required' his wife to be 'made' a *Geyurister*, then this could be done irrespective of her views on the matter. The author has discovered no material that would assist in forming a view about the extent of Mary Anne's actual commitment or otherwise to the practices and beliefs of her new religion.

All that aside, there are far more fundamental problems with the efficacy of Mary Anne's conversion and, indeed, of all Jewish conversions in Australia up until 1864. The due acceptance of converts – proselytes seems to be the preferred Jewish usage – requires a properly authorised and constituted Jewish court, a *Beth Din*. It appears that at least one member of the *Beth Din* has to be a Torah scholar. The other two must be practising Jews. If they are not themselves Torah scholars, the member who is must explain the requirements and procedures for the ceremony of conversion (a *Giur* or *Giurim*) to the others so as to ensure that the procedure is lawful, that is to see that it complies with Jewish requirements.⁷² Save for a relatively brief period in 1830-31 when Rabbi Aaron Levy visited Australia, and intermittently after 1853, it appears that there was

no properly constituted *Beth Din* in this country before 1864.⁷³ In relation to Mary Anne, the author has not discovered any attempt to convene a *Beth Din* at all, and any which was convened would have been ineffective because of the absence of a properly qualified Torah scholar, if the author has understood Jewish Rabbinical law correctly. There seems to have been nothing but the cryptic motion passed by the Synagogue Committee on 6 May 1840. The effect of this, in summary, and to quote Pfeffer, was that Mary Anne's conversion 'would not have been recognised anywhere outside Australia, neither by the Jewish or non-Jewish authorities.'⁷⁴ It is not to be concluded that Mary Anne was insincere. The evidence is too slight to enable a firm view one way or the other on that separate issue.

EMANUEL AND REBECCA/MARY ANNE - THE 1830s

As discussed earlier, the Church of England marriage took place in St James, Sydney in 1829 and children followed thereafter. As can be seen from the synagogue registers, their place of residence at the time of the birth of the children was generally in Sydney. This data is not shown on at least some of the certificates from the NSW Registry of Births Deaths and Marriages. Those I have obtained were transcripts. For the reasons discussed above, I consider the original synagogue records more accurate and comprehensive. The York Street Register shows a Sydney abode at the time of the birth of Benjamin on 1 July 1830 and also when Joseph – the author's great-grandfather – was born on 19 October 1833. Emanuel was in York Street, Sydney, in 1835.⁷⁵ Hannah, the next child, was born on 19 July 1836 at Windsor.⁷⁶ Thereafter, the births of Henry, Priscilla and Abraham all show a Sydney abode.

Emanuel's conditional pardon was not signed until 8 September 1836, a little under two months after Hannah's birth.⁷⁷ Until a convict obtained a conditional pardon or completed his sentence, he or she was restricted to the area in which he or she could live by virtue of the ticket of leave. These tickets specified a police district within which the ticket holder must stay. In Emanuel's case there were two tickets of leave. The first was ticket number 33/573 dated 11 September 1833.⁷⁸ It obliged Emanuel to remain in the Sydney district. If he went outside that district, he risked adverse consequences. The second was number 36/1684, dated 27 October 1836.⁷⁹ It was endorsed to be 'In lieu of No 3/573, dated 10 Sept 1833 returned mutilated & cancelled.' This second ticket required Emanuel to remain in the Windsor district. Had he gone to the Sydney district after October 1836 he would have been in breach of that condition in

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the ticket. Hannah's birth was in July 1836 and the York Street Register shows a Windsor abode then. Perhaps only Emanuel's wife had gone there prior to October for her confinement and to be with or near a family member, for the Burnsides had lived in the Windsor area.

If Emanuel was at Windsor at the time of Hannah's birth in July, his breach of the condition in the first ticket of leave requiring Sydney residence was relatively short lived. Indeed, he was obliged to be in the Windsor district after 27 October 1836, for that was the district to which he was confined by the new ticket of leave.⁸⁰ Then, on 8 September 1836 Governor Bourke conditionally remitted the balance of Emanuel's life sentence, that is gave him a conditional pardon. The condition attached to the pardon was a usual one, namely that Emanuel remain within New South Wales. If he did not, the remission was set aside and Emanuel would again be exposed to the penalties for his crime. The King's approval of the Governor's action was forthcoming but it was not until 15 November 1837 that the approval was certified by Governor Bourke. At this period, the King's approval seems to have been in the nature of a formality, but nonetheless a necessary requirement for the efficacy of the pardon. The second ticket of leave had the effect first of tiding matters over until the conditional pardon was finalised and secondly of requiring Emanuel to live in the Windsor district from 27 October 1836 until that finalisation. After that Emanuel could live where he wished in New South Wales.

He was still at Windsor in 1837⁸¹ but by the time Henry came along in July 1839, they were back with an abode in Sydney.⁸² It is not known for how long or why they stayed at Windsor, but, however long or short, the stay there seems to have been an interlude in what was an otherwise steady pattern of Sydney residence throughout the 1830s and beyond. Some confusion could arise from the fact that there was, indeed, a person called Mary Ann Myers in the Richmond area, which is near Windsor. However, she was a different person. She was married to one Edward Myers, and died on 6 October 1907. Her husband had predeceased her, dying on 5 December 1885. They were buried at St Phillips Cemetery, North Richmond.⁸³ They are likely to have been the family that arrived in 1853 as assisted immigrants on the *Blundell*, but this has not been investigated further, save to note that their marriage does not appear in the index to the New South Registry of Births Deaths and Marriages.

To complete events of the 1830s, on Wednesday 2 August 1832, a Robert Moore was found guilty of 'stealing various articles from the dwelling-house of Emanuel Myers, at Sydney, on 7th of July.' For his trouble Moore was sentenced to work in irons for two years on the public roads.⁸⁴

EMANUEL AND REBECCA/MARY ANNE – UP TO 1843

During the 1840s Emanuel and Mary Anne resided in Sydney, with one possible exception, which turns out to have no significance. That possible exception to this pattern is an incident in Hobart in November 1840. As we have seen, the synagogue register gives a Sydney abode at the time of Henry's birth on 1 July 1840. About five months later, on 25 November of that same year, a Mary Ann Myers was fined 5 shillings for using obscene language in Watchorn Street,⁸⁵ Hobart. The author has not investigated whether this was another person of the same name, or whether it was our Mary Anne on a visit to Hobart for some unknown purpose. It does not matter because it can be clearly shown that our Mary Anne was back in Sydney or was still in Sydney, as the case may be, in the next year, 1841.

That aside, there is a series of events that show continuing residence in Sydney through the 1840s and into the 1850s, and that also give a series of vignettes of the vicissitudes in the family's life. The difficulties arising from the grant of land promised to Mary Anne's father, Ambrose, were discussed above in the brief treatment of the Burnsides family. Published notices relating to that issue also help in identifying where Emanuel and Mary Anne lived.

In November 1841 there was a notification that the claim concerning that land was ready for consideration by the Commissioners. This listed as parties to the proceedings 'Sarah Burnsides of And Mary Ann Myers, wife of Emanuel Myers, of Castlereagh Street Sydney by their Solicitor, D Poole Esquire.' From this statement we are informed, not merely a Sydney abode, but also a specific street in Sydney.⁸⁶ A month later, in December 1841, the hearing day for the claims was published, giving the same address.⁸⁷ In another incident, an E. Myers of Castlereagh Street, and therefore almost certainly Emanuel, published a notice dated 29 October 1840 which said 'If Mrs Frances Cunningham does not come and take away the two boxes left with me since June 25th, and pay two shillings per week for them, and the price of this advertisement, they will be sold in five days from this date.'⁸⁸

Emanuel obtained a so-called 'Absolute Pardon,' which was signed by the Governor on 1 October 1842. The Queen's approval to this action was notified in a despatch dated 10 June 1843. Emanuel's description and particulars on these papers is consistent with but not identical to those on earlier documents – a tailor from London, born in 1795, 5 feet 4 inches in height, of fair sallow complexion with brown hair and hazel eyes.⁸⁹ The document is called an 'Absolute Pardon,' which is something of a misnomer. In fact, it is a remission

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of the whole of the balance of the unexpired term of Emanuel's imprisonment (which had been for life). In addition, it was subject to a condition, apparently a standard condition in these pardons at the time, namely that Emanuel would, if required, leave 'the Colony of New South Wales and its Dependencies.' If he failed to leave when so requested, the pardon would be 'void and of no effect' and Emanuel would be 'exposed to all the Penalties of the Original Sentence.' That was apparently as good as 'absolute' got.

On 1 November 1842, the first election was held under the Sydney City Incorporation Act, 1842. The 'Citizen Roll' for the Bourke Ward in the City of Sydney for 1842-1843 records as number 345 an Emanuel Myers with a shop in King Street. At this time, Emanuel was apparently still practising his Jewish faith. E. S. Marks has compiled a list of voters in this election who were, in addition, recorded in the first report of the York Street Synagogue in 1845 as seat holders or subscribers to the funds or who were fathers of Jewish children as indicated in a census of 1846 conducted by a sub-committee of the Board of the Synagogue. This list includes Emanuel Myers with a shop in King Street.⁹⁰ Emanuel's qualification for inclusion on this list was that by 1845 he was the holder of a seat in the Synagogue.⁹¹ In addition, he may have also qualified for inclusion on this list by being the father of a Jewish child recorded in the sub-committee's 1846 census, for one of Emanuel's sons, Benjamin Abraham, grew into a committed, practising Jew.

The author's great-grandfather, Joseph, was born to Emanuel and Mary Anne on 19 October 1833. By Monday 6 November 1843, he would have recently turned ten. He was to be a witness in a Police Court case in Sydney on that day. In fact the case did not proceed. The point here is that it was in Sydney. So that supports other indications that they were in Sydney then, and in addition lends a little support to the view that the children were, to that point at least, still being raised in the Jewish tradition.

EMANUEL, AUCTIONEER AND DEALER

There are a number of newspaper advertisements for auction sales giving the name of the auctioneer as 'E Myers' dating from 1841 onwards.⁹² Auctioneers were required to be licensed, initially through an act passed in 1828 that did not require that lists of licensed auctioneers be published. A second act, passed in 1847,⁹³ provided in Section 15 that names of auctioneers and certain other details be published in the appropriate Government Gazette. The author has not been able to find any registration for an E. Myers in the Gazette even after 1847. However, while Emanuel most

consistently described himself as a tailor, he was a dealer and auctioneer as well. This emerges from an examination of various sources, even though the author has not been able to find a gazette notification of his licence after 1847, as should have been the case in view of the 1847 act.

Positive confirmation that Emanuel was an auctioneer comes from an unexpected source. In giving some short particulars of the Burnsides earlier, reference was made to an investigation into the entitlement to 100 acres of land promised by Governor Brisbane to Ambrose Burnsides, Mary Anne's father. Mary Anne instructed a solicitor, David Poole, to act for her. In the course of so doing, Poole wrote a letter dated 4 October 1841 to the colonial secretary. In that letter, Mary Anne's husband is described as an auctioneer of Castlereagh Street, Sydney.⁹⁴ So that was Emanuel's occupation, or one of them, at that time.

That Castlereagh Street address, which we noted earlier from other sources as well, is a very useful marker where it occurs⁹⁵ in confirming that E. Myers is our Emanuel. It, therefore, seems certain that at least some of the advertisements by E. Myers, Auctioneer in the Sydney newspapers referred to Emanuel, even if it should turn out that there was another E Myers, Auctioneer.⁹⁶

Emanuel was in partnership for a time with Abraham Moses but in a notice dated 27 June 1843, E. Myers, auctioneer of Castlereagh Street, stated that from that date he would 'not be responsible for any debt which may be contracted under the firm of Myers and Moses.'⁹⁷ On the 28 July that year a notice signed by both Emanuel Myers and Abraham Moses was published.⁹⁸ It stated that the partnership hitherto existing between the two men 'as Auctioneers and General Dealers' and carried on in King Street, Sydney, was on 26 July 1843 dissolved by mutual consent. This is especially useful as it gives the full name 'Emanuel Myers' and not just E. Myers. Thus, it corroborates the fact that he was not only a tailor but a dealer and auctioneer as well, at least for a period of time.

At a time and for a reason unknown, Emanuel must have ceased being an auctioneer, for in 1853 he announced⁹⁹ that he had 're-commenced' business as Auctioneer and General Commission Agent, having on 10 August 1853 'obtained a general licence for the colony'.¹⁰⁰ His temporary place of business and sale was to be Mr Henry Harris's *Jew's harp*, Brickfield Hill. The *Jew's harp* was an hotel.

MARY ANNE DIES; EMANUEL RE-MARRIES

On Thursday 2 January 1845 it was announced that 'Mrs Myers, the wife of a dealer in Castlereagh-Street' died in her sleep.¹⁰¹ This

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description of the deceased Mrs Myers makes it certain that she was Emanuel's wife. The newspaper account of the death continued:-

The body was interred the same day by the friends of the deceased, without any notice having been given to the Coroner of the circumstances; report having obtained circulation that owing to the irregular habits of the deceased – and her husband being a teetotaller, they were in the habit of having constant quarrels, it was deemed advisable to inquire into the circumstances attending her death, and more especially as to the extraordinary haste with which she was interred, in order to confirm or refute certain suspicions which were naturally awakened in the minds of the neighbours. The inspector of the parish (Pearce) was therefore engaged on this duty on Saturday last – and the result, *we understand*, [italics in original] will be, the disinterment of the body of the deceased, for the purpose of having an inquest held on it.

This revealing item calls for a number of comments. First, no further newspaper articles can be found dealing with the outcome of Pearce's investigations, or with any inquest which might have been held. There appears to be no reference to such an inquest in the register of inquests, nor is there any other record of the death or burial. It is possible that the death was recorded in the burial register of the York Street Synagogue, but this register has not survived, or if it has, the author has not been able to locate it. The earliest death register found begins in 1846.

Second, the haste with which Mary Anne was buried is probably explained by the fact that Emanuel was a practising Jew. Jewish custom requires burial within 24 hours and a burial cannot be conducted on a Saturday, that being the Sabbath for Jews. Since the death occurred on a Thursday night, that left only Friday for the burial. The body could hardly have been held for burial on or after Sunday, given that the death occurred in the middle of summer.

Third, while a speedy burial is easily explained, the absence of an inquest is not. A sudden unexplained death required one. Indeed, as we saw earlier there had been an inquest on Mary Anne's own mother who collapsed and died suddenly. Perhaps an inquest was held after Pearce's investigation, but if so, no record of it survives.

Fourth, the reference to 'irregular habits' in the newspaper article is probably a synonym for excessive drinking. However, it cannot be assumed that she was a drunkard. Emmanuel was, we learn, a teetotaller. So even moderate drinking could have annoyed him and sparked the quarrels, which the neighbours had noticed.

Finally even if Mary Anne was an alcoholic, we cannot assume that this was the cause of death at the early age of about 34. A cerebral haemorrhage or some such thing might have occurred. In the absence of details from an inquest, we simply do not know.

EMANUEL AFTER REMARRIAGE, 1846 –1856

Emanuel did not grieve for too long. On 19 June 1845 at the York Street Synagogue, he married Abigail Barnett. She declared she was a member of the Jewish community so no issues of conversion arose as they had with Mary Anne. Abigail could not write, for she signed with a mark, X.¹⁰² However, wedded bliss was short lived. A newspaper reported in January 1846:-

Emanuel Myers, better known as ‘Monkey Myers’ was charged by his better half ‘Abigail’, with thrashing her repeatedly where she could not show her marks – the case was settled out of court.¹⁰³

It is not known which characteristics or behaviours of Emanuel earned him the sobriquet ‘Monkey’. The item just quoted is the only known evidence of its existence.

Shortly prior to 30 September 1847, at about 11 O’clock on a Tuesday morning, it was reported that ‘two plaid coats were stolen from the shop of Emanuel Myers, of York Street. He suspected two men who had been trying them on a short time before.’¹⁰⁴ Plaid coats are consistent with Emanuel’s occupation as a tailor. Furthermore, this item gives us the street in which his business was located at that time. The list of electors for the electoral district of Sydney, Phillip Ward for the year 1851-52 shows as number 828 an Emanuel Myers in a dwelling house in Kent Street. This Kent Street address was a dwelling. The York Street premises seem to have been his place of business at this time.

In 1855 we find evidence about some of the children of Emanuel’s marriage to Mary Anne, although it is evidence that raises more questions than it answers. The three youngest children of Emanuel and his first wife were, as we have seen, Henry (born 1840), Priscilla (born 1842) and Abraham (born 1843). In 1855 they were aged approximately 15, 13 and 12. On 1 March in that year at Sydney Central Police Court, ‘Henry, Priscilla, and Abraham Myers, three juveniles, taken into custody for protection, were forwarded to the Asylum.’¹⁰⁵ This was an institution run by the NSW Benevolent Society. The three children are listed in the minutes of its Acting Committee.¹⁰⁶ The minutes tell us two additional things. First, the

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referring magistrate was one J. S. Downley. Secondly in the 'disposed of' column it says simply 'Children since abscond' (that is they absconded). It is not known where they went.

By the next year, 1856, it is clear that Emanuel's marriage to Abigail had become stormy to say the least. In June Abigail was charged by her husband 'Emanuel Myers, of York Street, dealer, with having threatened to take his life.' She was required 'to give sureties to keep the peace for six months, or, in default thereof, to be imprisoned until the sitting of the Quarter Sessions.'¹⁰⁷ The order made against Abigail is a very approximate equivalent to the apprehended violence orders which are made in like circumstances to-day. Another report added that Emanuel 'thought his wife was mad, and would, unless restrained, do him some serious bodily harm.'¹⁰⁸

The Darlinghurst Gaol Description Book for 1856 contains a record for an Abigail Myers, a 40-year old Jewess from London with 'nil' education.¹⁰⁹ It sounds very much like our Abigail, and probably it was, but we cannot be absolutely certain because there was at least one other Abigail Myers around Sydney at that time. The most plausible explanation is that Abigail was not able to obtain sureties to keep the peace as required by the order made against her and so had to go to gaol until the next sittings of the Quarter Sessions, which would have been not longer than three months away.

On the same day as the report of these proceedings against Abigail, the following advertisement appeared in the *Sydney Morning Herald*:

NOTICE TO THE PUBLIC - The goods left by ABIGAIL MYERS to various persons for safety, under a false impression, if not returned to me instanter, and found hereafter, will be prosecuted according to law. E. MYERS, York Street. Sydney, June 24 1856.110

The notice could have been better expressed, but it seems clear that Abigail had taken goods from their house and had deposited them with friends, asserting that they were hers. Emanuel is saying that they were not and that he would sue for their recovery if they were not returned. One might have thought from the wandering children of 1855 and the court action and advertisement of 1856 that the marriage had broken down by this time. If so, they were back together again by October 1857. Nevertheless, 1855 and 1856 were clearly not good years for the Myers. From the report in the *Sydney Morning Herald*, it is clear that Emanuel was still conducting his business from premises in York Street at the time of these travails.

EMANUEL AND ABIGAIL 1857-1861

The Myers continued to be in the courts and in the news. In October 1857 Emanuel was fined 20 shillings and required to pay 26 shillings costs for 'having three light weights' presumably in his business.¹¹¹

In the same month, Abigail was charged with making use of threatening language towards Emanuel. She was discharged from custody because Emanuel 'was unwilling to press the charge against her.'¹¹² So it seems they were not separated at this time, apart from the probable period that Abigail was in gaol in 1856 notwithstanding.

There is fine irony in evidence Emanuel gave in court proceedings in April 1858, assuming him to be our Emanuel. A person called Charles Manack was charged with an attempt at pocket-picking, and 'was found guilty upon the evidence of a witness named Emanuel Myer.'¹¹³ Manack was sentenced to a month's imprisonment with hard labour. Emanuel had been sentenced to life for picking a pocket! Even allowing for the fact that Manack's effort was an unsuccessful attempt rather than a completed offence, the sentence seems disproportionate. Still, this was later in the century and sentences had started to become less draconian.

In 1858, Emanuel Myers, still of York Street, had a brooch stolen from him. The committal proceedings before the Central Police Court were reported and are of some interest. The guilty party, William Cook, had offered to sell the brooch to a jeweller, George Cooke, who was suspicious. Cook, the thief, left. Eventually, after some activities, the thief came back to the jeweller and left the brooch on receiving some money, with the jeweller agreeing to pay him the balance on the following day. When he returned the next day, the jeweller had police in waiting and Cook was arrested. Emanuel Myers gave evidence. From the report it emerged that Emanuel's dwelling was in now York Street, not only his business premises. He identified the brooch as his and said it was worth four pounds four shillings. Most intriguingly, Myers said in evidence that 'the prisoner has been frequently sleeping at his house lately, and consequently had had opportunities of stealing...' Cook was committed for trial at the Quarter Sessions.

At the Sydney Quarter Sessions in April 1858, Cook pleaded guilty to stealing a brooch, 'the property of one Emanuel Myers.' He was sentenced to six months with hard labour in Parramatta gaol.¹¹⁴ It was not clear who William Cook was or why had he been 'frequently' sleeping at Myers' house. The report of the incident in the *Empire* tells us that Cook 'had formerly lodged in Myers house'.¹¹⁵ From this one infers that the Myers took in lodgers at this time. In 1858-1859 Emanuel Myers, a tailor, was at 163 York Street.¹¹⁶

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Emanuel was the victim of a crime yet again, this time in 1860. The *Empire* reported as follows:

Margaret Baker, a woman of about 65 years of age, was brought before the Court by Inspector Lane, charged with stealing a basket containing one dozen knives and forks and two jugs, the property of Emanuel Myers, dealer of York Street. The greater part of the property was found in her possession, and the whole was taken on Saturday night from under the prosecutor's stall. Sentenced to two months' imprisonment.¹¹⁷

Another report of the incident mentioned that the basket was in her possession when she was apprehended but she said she had taken it by mistake and that she knew nothing of the jugs. Yet, they were found at her residence. The report further noted that her imprisonment was with hard labour.¹¹⁸

EMANUEL DIES

By 1861, Emanuel Myers, tailor, was listed at 98 York Street.¹¹⁹ It will be recalled that in 1858-59 he had been at 163 York Street. Two years later, Emanuel Myers, tailor, died on 3 September 1863 in the 'Infirmity' from enteritis. His age is given as 'about 60 years' and details of his father are shown as 'unknown,' as is his birth place and his length of time in the Colony. The space for details of his marriage is left blank. He was buried the next day in the 'Jew's Burial Ground.' The informant was Louis Lipman of 199 York Street, the undertaker who, from the paucity of details in the death certificate, clearly did not know too much about Emanuel's earlier life.¹²⁰

One can only wonder why one of his children or his wife, Abigail, was not the informant. The absence of any reference to them and, more importantly, the absence of information that could have been derived from them, suggests that the family, including Abigail, had dispersed by 1863. One may infer that they had little or no contact with Emanuel at the time of his death. Indeed, a letter dated 11 December 2001 to Gary Yum, a descendant of Emanuel's, from the Australian Jewish Historical Society stated that: 'It seems he [Emanuel] was buried without a headstone because he died in the infirmity and no family turned up to claim him.' It looks as if Emanuel had a lonely and very likely a sad death.

ENDNOTES

1. How much this amount is 'worth' in real terms to-day depends on how the conversion is calculated. Using the retail price index, it comes to roughly AUD34 in to-day's money. Using average earnings it is about AUD390.
2. The account that follows is extracted from *The Proceedings of the Old Bailey*, www.oldbaileyonline.org.
3. This was the police station. Scott seems to have performed a citizens' arrest, a course of action not to be recommended nowadays.
4. Scott must have been of impressive physical strength to hold off the gang while securing Emanuel and getting him to the police station.
5. Between 17 March and his departure, Emanuel was held on the prison hulk *Captivity* moored at Portsmouth. Holding prisoners on hulks was common practice while convicts were waiting for a ship to become available to transport them to Australia.
6. This was a ship of 501 Tons, under Joseph Short, Master. I. Duke was the Surgeon Superintendent.
7. NSW Archives Office, Fiche 642, p. 387.
8. In 1845, Pendray's premises were at the corner of George and Jamieson streets: *The Sydney Morning Herald (SMH)*, Thursday 12 June 1845, p. 2. He is reported as one of a number of appellants against their land values for rating purposes. It is not known whether these were the same premises he occupied when Emanuel was with him.
9. Home Office: Settlers and Convicts, New South Wales and Tasmania, 1923-1825. TNA ref. HO10, Piece 20, folio 71.
10. Ibid, 1828. TNA ref. HO10, folio 48, No 3774. See also the list in H.J. Rumsey, 'Jews in the (NSW) Census of 1828', *Australian Jewish Historical Society Journal & Proceedings (AJHSJ)*, vol 1, part 4, pp. 105-7.
11. This can be found spelt as 'Ann' and 'Anne.' The latter seems more likely to be correct, as that is the spelling on documents written by her or on her behalf.
12. Colonial Secretary, Correspondence, 1788-1825. List of Defaulters on account of Convict Mechanics for the quarters ending 31 December 1823 & 31 March 1824. William Pendray (convict Emanuel Myers). SRNSW ref. 4/1778, reel 6061, pp. 265a, [Title] 265g [Pendray's entry].
13. For a contemporary description of this treadmill in operation by de Bougainville, see <http://www.tocal.com/homestead/vandv/vv26.htm>. It was a severe punishment.
14. Return of Fines and Punishments, Police Office, 12 August 1824, SRNSW ref. reel 6023; 4/6671, p. 85.
15. *The Sydney Gazette and New South Wales Advertiser*, 17 June 1826, p. 3.
16. John S. Levi, & G. Bergman, *Australian Genesis: Jewish Convicts and Settlers, 1788-1850* (Adelaide: Rigby, 1974), p95.
17. Register of NSW Convicts Applications to Marry, State Archives NSW: NRS 12212, [4/4511].
18. Index to NSW Register of Marriages.
19. State Archives NSW: NRS 12212, [4/4511].
20. State Archives NSW: NRS 12212, [4/4508].
21. *Australia 1828 Census of New South Wales*. CD (Library of Australian History, 2008).

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22. Levi & Bergman, *Australian Genesis* second edition (Melbourne, Melbourne University Press, 2002), contains an entry on Emanuel at p95. It gives the date of marriage to Mary Anne as 1 December 1828. This is not correct. That was the date of the Governor's approval for Emanuel to marry Charlotte Byfield, a marriage that did not eventuate.
23. NSW Registry of Births, Deaths and Marriages, Certificate Number 4485, Vol 3B.
24. State Records NSW, 4/4283, 4/4061; Fiche 1003, 1006.
25. This possibility was suggested by Anne Willoughby.
26. State Records, NSW 4/4283, 4/4061; Fiche 1003, 1006. 4/4284, 4/4062, Fiche 1004, 1006. 4/4285, 4.4062; Fiche 1005, 1006.
27. The date of their marriage has proved elusive. Some Burnside researchers suspect this may have been Ambrose's second marriage.
28. This information was supplied to me by Janet Mitchell. It was obtained from a website and the author has not verified it independently.
29. He was born on 10 August 1813 and baptised on 29 August 1813 at St Philips Church, Sydney: See the website 'Free Settler or Felon' which in turn draws on 'Family Search Historical Records,' a Church of Latter Day Saints site.
30. *The Sydney Gazette and New South Wales Advertiser*, 4 May 1830, p. 3.
31. Carol J. Baxter, (ed), *Australian Biographical and Genealogical Record* (Sydney, 1999).
32. If Sarah was 16 in 1825, she should have been 19 in 1828. The ages of the other children do not seem to tally exactly either. This may be attributable to the fact that what is commonly called the 1825 census was in fact collected over three years, 1823, 1824 and 1825.
33. *Australia 1828 Census of New South Wales*, op. cit.
34. *The Sydney Gazette and New South Wales Advertiser*, 8 November 1826, p. 2.
35. *Ibid.*, 6 September 1838, p. 2.
36. Index to NSW registry of BDM, No V18521298 69/1852.
37. Some Burnside researchers have suggested that that there may be an error in this registration, for Nixon married another Elizabeth (Downing) in 1842 and had a number of children by her.
38. NSW BDM certificate, no. 1298, vol 69.
39. This and other information quoted is from NSW Archives, Series NRS 793 Reels 2777 and 1477 and NRS 782, Reel 2776.
40. *The Sydney Gazette and New South Wales Advertiser*, 4 May 1830, p. 3.
41. SRNSW, Fiche 2363, 4/7015.2, p. 71.
42. *The Sydney Gazette and New South Wales Advertiser*, 20 May 1834, p. 4.
43. It seems that Ambrose Burnside had two other parcels of land at least one of which was the subject of a disputed claim before the Commissioners appointed to deal with such matters. The author has not given any consideration to those other lands.
44. The author has written a more extended analysis of the matter. Any one interested is welcome to a copy.
45. At the time this was written this has not been able to be verified but it certainly seems to have been Sarah's genuine belief.
46. A 'felony' was not simply an offence involving violence to the person,

as is sometimes commonly assumed. At this time in the nineteenth century it meant an offence for which proceedings were commenced by a document called an indictment and which was punishable by penal servitude. Felonies were, at the time, legally distinguished from lesser offences called misdemeanours. In time, the distinction between felonies and misdemeanours became of no practical importance and has since been abolished by statute. (Crimes Act, 1900 (NSW), section 580E.) However, many criminal proceedings are commenced by indictment, as distinct from, say a court attendance notice, and there is a distinction drawn between minor indictable offences and serious indictable offences. Offences not encompassed by either of these terms are called summary offences: Interpretation Act 1987 (NSW), section 21. Similarly, the distinction between 'penal servitude' and 'imprisonment' is now of no practical significance and the latter word encompasses the former.

47. Gaol Description and Entrance Books, Entrance Book, Sydney 1829. I am grateful to Anne Willoughby for drawing these items to my attention.
48. Registration Act 1855, no. XXXIV.
49. Parish Registers Act 1825, 6 Geo IV, No. 21.
50. Marriage Act 1834, no. 2; 5 Gul. IV, No. 2.
51. Obviously this legislation did not purport to validate marriages that might have been void under Canon Law, or Scottish religious law. Its concern was only with their secular or civil recognition.
52. Decisions of the Superior Courts of New South Wales, 1788-1899, www.law.mq.edu.au
53. 4 Geo IV, c 76.
54. Clandestine Marriages Act 1836, 7 Guil IV, no. 7.
55. 26 Geo II c. 33, often referred to as Lord Hardwicke's Act.
56. 2 Vic, no. 13.
57. Congregational Etc Marriages Confirmed Act 1840, 4 Vic, no. 14.
58. Marriages Confirmation Act 1850, 14 Vic, no. 28.
59. Marriage Act 1855, 19 Vic, No. 30.
60. These are, hereafter, referred to as the Bridge Street Registers. Photostat copies of those pertaining to births were inspected by the author at the library of the Australian Jewish Historical Society. The author is indebted to Gary Luke for drawing his attention to the pattern of entries in the Bridge and York Street registers and to their likely implications.
61. These are, hereafter, referred to as the York Street Registers. The author has examined a microfilm of them at the library of the Australian Jewish Historical Society.
62. Hannah's birth was re-entered in the York Street Register but her date of birth is shown there as 19 July 1836, with Emanuel and Rebecca Myers as the parents. That is, Rebecca's name is now included, presumably on the basis of her apparent conversion to Judaism. Hannah's naming ceremony was on 20 August 1836.
63. They were still there in 1837. Muster of 1837. Home Office: Settlers and Convicts, New South Wales and Tasmania, 1837. TNA ref. HO10, Piece 34, folio 74.
64. The way in which the entry for Henry is written up in the register is ambiguous. It could be read as showing a year of birth as 1840 but 1839 seems the better reading to the author.

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65. NSW BDM certificate, no. 1425, Vol 159.
66. NSW BDM certificate, no.1430, Vol 159. Naming another child 'Hannah' corroborates the death of the first Hannah.
67. There is a note in the right hand column of the synagogue register to this effect, although no record can be found of the death in the NSW BDM index.
68. NSW marriage certificate, no. 33, vol. 135.
69. The name she took would therefore have been *Rivka bat Abraham Avinu*, that is Rebecca, daughter of Abraham our father.
70. Great Synagogue Records, Minutes 1837-1865, Mitchell Library, Sydney (accessed with permission).
71. It was passed unanimously.
72. Jeremy I. Pfeffer, *From One End of the Earth to the Other* (Sussex Academic Press, 2008), pp. 314-5, referring to the opinion of Rabbi Moshe Feinstein.
73. Pfeffer, op. cit, chapter 9, passim, p. 297 and p. 320. At p. 316ff Pfeffer discusses the cases of four persons who travelled to London to ensure that their reception into Judaism was correctly done.
74. Jeremy I. Pfeffer, email to the author dated 24 June 2010, quoted with permission.
75. Raymond's *New South Wales Calendar and General Post Office Directory 1835* as quoted in M. Z. Forbes, 'Jews in NSW and Victoria 1832-1859 from the Almanacks and Directories and Reactions of Some Writers', *AJHSJ*, Vol IX, Pt 8, p. 608.
76. York Street Register of births.
77. State Records NSW, 4/4434, Reel 776, p. 448.
78. State Records NSW, 4/4089, Reel 919.
79. State Records NSW, 4/4107, Reel 925.
80. Consistent with this, Emanuel's name was not found by Forbes, op cit.
81. Muster of 1837. Home Office: Settlers and Convicts, New South Wales and Tasmania, 1837. TNA ref. HO10, Piece 34, folio 74.
82. York Street Synagogue birth register.
83. Transcript of headstones, row 10, plot 8 taken from website 'Hawkesbury on the Net' Cemetery Register.
84. *The Sydney Herald*, Thursday 2 August 1832, p. 2.
85. *Colonial Times*, (Hobart), Tuesday 1 December 1840, p. 6.
86. *New South Wales Government Gazette*, Friday 12 November 1841, p. 1571.
87. *The Sydney Herald*, Saturday 11 December 1841, p. 3.
88. *Australasian Chronicle*, Thursday 12 November 1840, p. 3.
89. NSW Archives, 4/4488, Reel 800, pp. 245-346. Emanuel's conditional pardon of 1836 described his complexion as 'dark pale,' his hair as 'dark brown,' and his eyes as 'dark chestnut.'
90. E.S.Marks, *Jewish Voters in Sydney's First Election*, *AJHSJ*, Vol 1, Pt VIII, List A, p. 275.
91. Report of York St (Sydney) Synagogue, 1845 (Reprinted 1944).
92. The author has made no attempt to compile a complete list of them.
93. Licensed Auctioneers Act 1847, 11 Vic, No. 16
94. The letter is included in the papers concerning the claim, Case no 1073: State Records, NSW ref. 2/1770, reel 1223.
95. Later E. Myers seems to have auctioned from Market and George Streets.

The Myers Line, Emanuel 565

- 96 The author has discovered no evidence to suggest that there was.
97. *SMH*, Wednesday 23 June 1843, p. 3.
98. *Ibid.*, Friday 28 July 1843, p. 3.
99. *Ibid.*, Thursday 11 August 1853, p. 5.
100. A 'general licence' was one of the classes of licence obtainable under the 1847 legislation.
101. *The Australian*, Monday 6 January 1845, p. 3.
102. Marriage register, York Street Synagogue and NSW marriage certificate, No 70, Vol 135.
103. *Bell's Life in Sydney and Sporting Reviewer*, Saturday 3 January 1846, p. 3.
104. *SMH*, Thursday 30 September 1847, p. 2.
105. *Ibid.*, Friday 2 March 1855, p. 4.
106. ML ref. A7179, 1 March 1855.
107. *SMH*, Wednesday 25 June 1856, p. 4.
108. *Empire*, Wednesday 25 June 1856, p. 4.
109. It will be recalled that Abigail signed the marriage papers with a mark, X.
110. *SMH*, Wednesday 25 June 1856, p. 5.
111. *Ibid.*, Wednesday 28 October 1857, p. 2.
112. *Empire* 23 October 1857, p. 4.
113. *Empire*, Wednesday 14 April 1858, p. 4.
114. *SMH*, Tuesday 27 April 1858, p. 2.
115. *Empire*, Tuesday 23 March 1858.
116. *Sands Sydney Commercial Directory 1858-1859*, p185.
117. *Empire*, Tuesday 6 March 1860, p. 5.
118. *SMH*, Tuesday 6 March 1860, p. 4.
119. *Sands Sydney Commercial Directory*, 1861.
120. NSW Death Certificate, no 1863/001105.

MASONIC MINISTERS IN AUSTRALIA

Raymond Apple

There was a time when more than 9% of the Australian male population were Freemasons. We can probably take it, though statistical evidence is not available, that the figure was at least the same amongst Australian Jewish men. The Jewish Masons included almost every anglicised minister of the colonial period and up to about the middle of the twentieth century, from the time of Rev Moses Rintel, the first minister of the Melbourne Hebrew Congregation. Some rose to high office in the movement. Freemasonry was a highly significant segment of Australian – and Australian Jewish – society. Membership figures are now considerably lower, and I will address the possible reasons later. The state of Australian Freemasonry as a whole is not really the immediate concern of the Australian Jewish Historical Society, but the state of Australian Jewish – particularly Australian rabbinic – Freemasonry certainly is.

My credentials in this area are twofold – I am a minister, and I am a Freemason. I began my pulpit career in London, first at the historic Bayswater Synagogue, and then at the prestigious Hampstead Synagogue. In the Australian Jewish ministry I spent 32 years as senior rabbi of the Great Synagogue, Sydney – the mother congregation of Australian Jewry. In Freemasonry I entered the Lodge of Israel in London in the 1960s on the nomination of members of my congregation; I am a Past Master of Lodge Mark Owen in Sydney, and I now hold the rank of Past Deputy Grand Master of the United Grand Lodge of New South Wales and the Australian Capital Territory. I am also a member of the English-speaking Lodge of the Holy City in Jerusalem.

Despite the romantic claims of ancient origins, Freemasonry seems to have emerged in the late Middle Ages¹ (probably in Scotland) in a Bible-based society where most people were brought up on Biblical stories, upper-class English idiom echoed the King James translation of the Bible, and the potential of man's mind and reason was increasingly appreciated. The Masonic fraternity (often known

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At a Masonic Service at the Great Synagogue, Rabbi Raymond Apple (right), with a Senior Freemason, Leo Grouse.

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as 'the craft') calls itself 'a peculiar system of morality veiled in allegory and illustrated by symbols'. It requires from its members a belief in God, and the Bible (which it calls 'the Volume of the Sacred Law') is on display at its meetings, but the movement is neither a religion nor a substitute for one. It has no theological doctrines and no denominational modes of worship.

Its ethical principles are based on the imagery of building – constructing both a quality society and an ethical personality. These principles are enshrined in elaborate Masonic rituals that are a form of didactic play-acting. The founders of the movement mostly based their ritual on the Old Testament, with the result that a member – in our case a Jewish member – could progress through a lifetime Masonic career without encountering Christian tenets, apart from a few upper levels which most Masons, who limit themselves to the three basic degrees of the movement, never enter.

The dechristianisation of standard Freemasonry was not introduced for the sake of Jewish Masons, since there was no deliberate policy of enrolling Jews, and there was debate in some places about admitting Jews at all (paradoxically, Freemasonry in some Continental countries was rather antisemitic, whilst in other countries the antisemites accused the movement of being too Jewish!). The explanation of Masonic dechristianisation may have to do with a desire – expressed in the early constitutions of the movement² – 'to oblige (members) to that religion in which all men agree, leaving their particular opinions to themselves', that is a non-denominational form of Christianity that would appeal to men of all shades of Christology. The fact that this broad approach made it relatively easier for Jews was a mere a by-product. However, the outcome was that Freemasonry – at least in English-speaking countries – enabled Jews to feel at home in its midst and this brought ample dividends, because Jewish members generally gave distinguished service to their Lodges and Grand Lodges including energetic contributions by Jewish Grand Masters, not least in Australia.

The attraction of the movement to Jews, including leading rabbis, in Australia and elsewhere, is due to a sheaf of factors. Jews felt comfortable to encounter their own Biblical figures such as Noah, Nimrod, Moses, Joshua, David, Solomon, Hiram and others, at a Masonic meeting. Those with a scholarly inclination were often motivated to research the Masonic application, extension and frequent distortion of Jewish legends, and some of the rabbinical Masons have written widely on the subject. Jews also found Hebrew words in the movement's ritual, even though these words were often mangled and mispronounced. The ethical vocabulary of Freemasonry resonated with Jews because it echoed the ethos of Bible-based

Judaism. Light, truth, justice, brotherhood, charity, education, loyalty, and so many other Masonic keywords sounded like Judaism. These are, by no means, the only reasons why the movement attracted Jews. Historical and social factors played a very large role.

In a lecture I gave to the Victorian Lodge of Research in March 1995 I described Freemasonry as 'a touchstone of religious liberty and social tolerance, an agent of emancipation and social integration'. In that lecture I attempted an analysis of these factors and the text was subsequently published in the *Lodge Transactions*. I included a summary in my book of Masonic studies published by the Museum of Freemasonry in New South Wales in 2010.³ There is considerable evidence that long before British Jews gained their political emancipation in 1858, they were able to enter and enjoy Freemasonry. Acculturation and social emancipation long preceded the right to sit in parliament as well as the official acknowledgement of Judaism as a recognised faith that could be recorded on military enlistment, an achievement that had to wait until the end of the nineteenth century. In Australia, Jews were equal in every respect from the beginning of white settlement and were able to sit in the colonial legislatures, though there was debate for decades about whether they had a right to receive state aid for religion. Joining Freemasonry symbolised their acceptance into colonial society.

In New South Wales, the first Freemasons were members of travelling Lodges associated with the early regiments. Since there are no known Jewish names amongst the members of these regiments, it must have taken some decades for signs of Freemasonry to emerge amongst Jews. In addition, the first Jews were convicts of insufficient respectability to be approved by the Masonic craft. From the time of the formation in 1820 of the first Australian Lodge, Jews were gradually found in Masonic membership lists. Jewish Masons in the 1830s included Barnet Levy (who may or may not have been the Barnett Levey who is known as the father of Australian theatre) and Barnard Aaron Phillips.

The founders of the Melbourne Hebrew Congregation in 1841 were members of Masonic Lodges. The lay spiritual leader of the congregation, Asher Hymen Hart, was initiated into the Lodge of Australia Felix in 1841 and by 1849 was Worshipful Master of the Lodge. At the laying of the foundation stone of the synagogue he used Masonic terminology in the prayers he composed. The first official minister, Rev Moses Rintel, was initiated in 1849 and in 1858 became Worshipful Master of the Lodge of Judah. For many years he was chaplain of the Lodges that came under the so-called Irish Constitution. Sometimes, as in Launceston, Tasmania, Masonic processions took part in synagogue ceremonies, even though Masons

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generally tended not to make their membership of the craft public.⁴ Where there was no synagogue, as in early Broken Hill, Jewish services were held in Masonic buildings.

Freemasonry and religion were intertwined. Christians often focused their social and public life upon both Lodge and church; Jews had their own twin priorities in synagogue and Lodge. Whether either group had theological problems with Freemasonry needs more investigation; it could well be that there was a comfortable general feeling that the Masonic craft was in basic accord with Biblical ethics, and that was enough for people who were mostly neither very intellectual nor spiritual and were merely looking for a social life under respectable auspices. The fact that in standard Freemasonry there were no Christological references made it easier for Christian Masons to see their Lodge as in concord and not competition with their church, though the non-mention of Christ is precisely what some latter-day Christian clergy find objectionable about the Masonic movement, leading to occasional public controversies.

Jewish society had no misgivings about Freemasonry, and Jews fitted into their Lodges quite comfortably. It is not that there was no antisemitism in Australia, but the Christians were usually more concerned with their sectarian conflicts with other Christian groups than with attacking the Jews. In the Masonic Lodges there certainly was very little evident antisemitism, due to some extent to a Masonic policy about keeping sectional religious and political matters away from the Lodge. In the churches, around about Easter time the Christian clergy pontificated about supposed Jewish guilt for the death of Jesus and made negative statements about Jews, but these attitudes did not seem (at least openly) to percolate into the Masonic fraternity. Perhaps one could even say that on the whole the Lodges showed themselves to be better bastions of brotherhood than the churches.

For Jews, Freemasonry went hand-in-hand with good citizenship, and it is no accident that often the same Jews who became involved in municipal government were also leading Masons. When, towards the end of the nineteenth century, the Australian Jewish press emerged, its reports of municipal and Masonic events often highlighted the same Jewish names. In country districts such as Ballarat, which had Jewish communities, the Jewish minister was automatically one of the leading local personalities and held a position of dignity in the local Lodge. Thus Rev Israel M. Goldreich was chaplain of his Lodge and gave Masonic lectures which, in the fashion of the day, were printed and circulated widely.⁵ The more that their minister was seen and heard in the public life of the district, the more his co-religionists esteemed him, and the prouder they were to belong to his synagogue. The same can be said of Rabbi Isack Morris of Newcastle. It is also possible that by

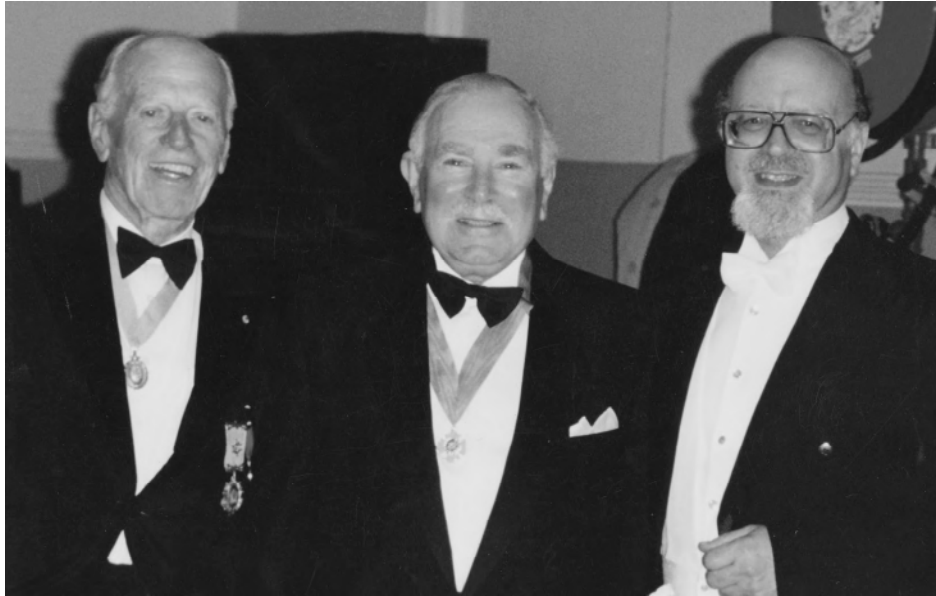
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progressing through the various offices in a Lodge, a minister could find a form of promotion to higher rank which was next to impossible within the Jewish ministry, since many ministers spent their whole career on one and the same professional level, and did the same things year after year for decades on end; if they moved, it tended to be sideways and not upwards.

An important factor in clerical involvement in Freemasonry was the opportunity to stretch one's mind in Masonic culture. Often starved of intellectual challenge and scholarly exchange, Australian Jewish ministers were drawn to the possibility of researching and writing on Masonic subjects. There were a few Talmudists such as the elderly Rev Samuel Herman, and some budding intellectuals such as Joseph Jacobs and Samuel Alexander, but Herman had hardly anyone with whom to study and debate rabbinic learning and Jacobs and Alexander had to go overseas to find fame and an intellectual milieu. The Jewish communities were generally not drawn to literary pursuits, and the ministers could talk books and the Bible more with the Christian clergy than within their own congregations. This may have led to some becoming acknowledged Masonic scholars.

When preparing this paper I attempted to draw up a list of ministers who were Masons. For the twentieth and twenty-first centuries this presented no problem because we are dealing with living memory. That Francis Lyon Cohen, Jacob Danglow and Israel Brodie were leading Masons was easy to prove, and I was given vivid memories of incidents that involved them. From a son of Rabbi Leib Aisack Falk, minister of the Great Synagogue, I heard that Rabbi Cohen arrived late for Rabbi Falk's Masonic initiation because of an earlier engagement and quietly waited in the vestibule for a gap in the proceedings (Cohen gave and published a number of Masonic lectures, not only within standard Freemasonry but also the Royal Arch). From a daughter of Rabbi Danglow I heard that her father rehearsed his Masonic ritual whilst he was shaving. From a number of sources I heard about Rabbi Brodie's mellifluous Masonic lectures, still vividly remembered sixty years later. Amongst other ministers of that generation, Rabbi David Isaac Freedman of Perth must also be mentioned. Many of their ministerial colleagues were also Masons, though not all were nearly as masonically active as Cohen, Danglow and Brodie.

In the recent past most of the Masonic ministers were or are known to me personally. Shalom Coleman, Chaim Gutnick and myself have held eminent rank and people have vivid memories of our involvement in Masonic events. Chaim Gutnick, for example, performed the role of Grand Chaplain at a lodge anniversary in Melbourne and (perhaps with tongue in cheek) said he had consulted a Catholic priest about a certain aspect of the ceremonial.

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*Freemasons in New South Wales:
L. to R.: John I. Einfeld, Tony Greenberg and
Rabbi Raymond Apple*

Currently Samuel Tov-Lev is Grand Chaplain of the United Grand Lodge of NSW and ACT. Other names from amongst the recent generation of Australian Jewish ministers that must be mentioned are Michael Alony, Edward Belfer, Rudolph Brasch, Erich Cahn, Yehuda Leon Cohen, Harry Gluck, Isidor Gluck, Lazarus Morris Goldman, Phillip Heilbrunn, Mattis Honig, Joseph Kleerekoper, Jeremy Lawrence, Steven Link, Ronald Lubofsky, Michael Mandel, Solomon Mestel, Isack Morris, Herman Sanger, Lionel Singer, Benjamin Skolnick and Aryeh Solomon. Rabbis such as Alfred Fabian and Izaak Rapaport who were not themselves members of the craft became known to Masonic circles by means of their orations. This does not exhaust the list by any means. Many ministers brought their own special talents to their Masonic career. Edward Belfer, for example, was known for his musical accomplishments and sang at various Masonic events; Lionel Singer researched and lectured about the Hebraic origins of a number of Masonic terms and procedures. My own contribution as a Masonic historian, writer and lecturer has already been mentioned.

I looked for evidence to verify my feeling that more or less all the anglicised ministers of the colonial period were Masons. As an instance, I consulted a descendant of Abraham Tobias Boas of Adelaide who was not certain whether the rabbi was a Mason but thought not.⁶ I am not inclined to accept this view, as Boas was not

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only a great name in the religious and general history of South Australia but a renowned Shakespearean scholar, and everything points to the fact that he perfectly fits the mould of the ministerial Mason or Masonic minister. There may be material in South Australian Masonic archives that would justify my conclusion, but the necessary confirmation has yet to be received. The same applies to a number of other ministers of that generation, and I am in process of pursuing the necessary enquiries. As Masonic membership was not always publicised, as I have already pointed out, and a number of ministerial Masons remained what might be called back-benchers, it is hard to be certain whether various clerics were in the craft, but I am continuing to seek evidence. At a later point I might have to ask another question – if certain leading figures turn out not to have been Masons, what was it that stopped them? Was it simply lack of time or interest, or did they have a religious or intellectual disinclination to join the movement?

From a number of the more recent Masonic ministers (or from members of their families) I received a series of observations, which I now quote, which indicate that these ministers saw no contradiction between their Jewish and their Masonic commitments. A son of Joseph Kleerekoper wrote:

Father regarded Freemasonry as an honorable institution which for the most part was entirely compatible with Judaism. Those areas not accessible to the Jew, being based on the scriptures of the non-Jew, do not impinge in any way on the basic tenets of Freemasonry, which share with Judaism authentic Jewish teaching and are based on our holy Torah.

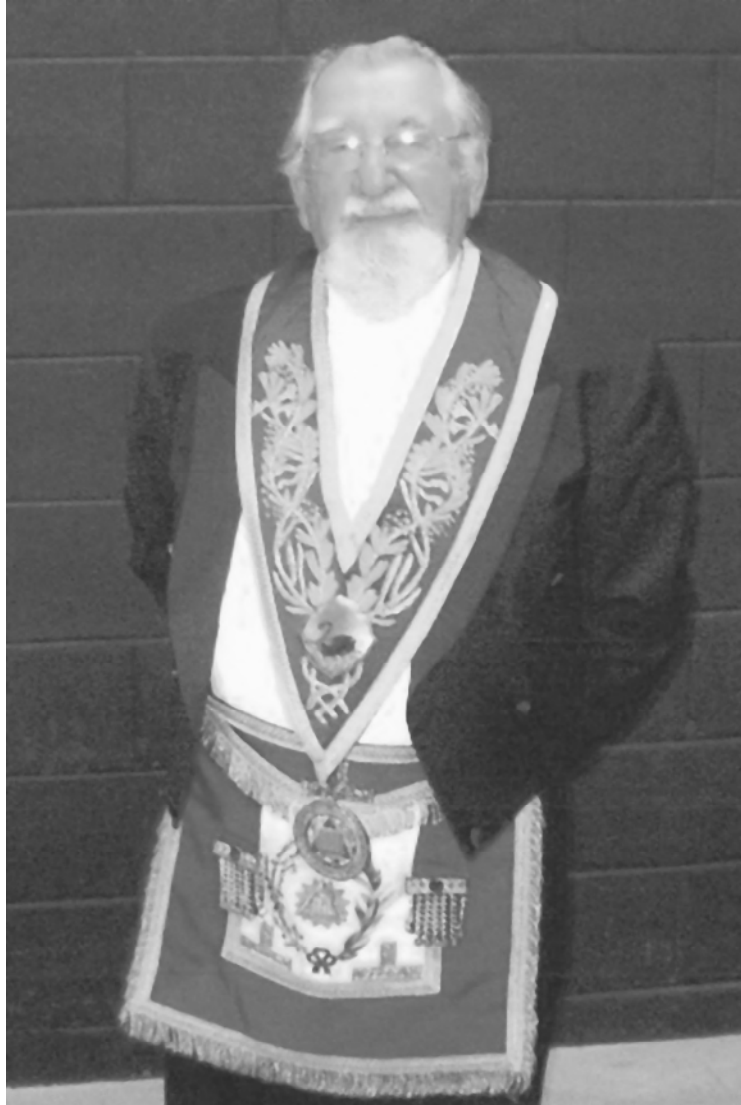
The same writer makes a point that deserves to be added:

For Father, the Lodge was a bastion of calm, an opportunity to recreate... the quiet purposeful serenity of the Temple of old: without discord, with proper respect for order, for ritual, for teaching and for learning... To enter the doors of the Lodge provided tranquility amongst fellowship.

Edward Belfer wrote:

The moral and ethical lessons of Freemasonry are acceptable to and can be and are applied by all.... I enjoy the ritual and the deep allegory it contains.

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Rabbi Shalom Coleman as Grand Chaplain in Western Australia

Shalom Coleman wrote:

In some instances I have found Freemasonry to help understand events in Scripture more clearly. In its rituals there is an element of genius as Freemasonry has translated the builder's tools into a discipline and code of human conduct with all its origins, albeit via the touch of classical Greece, emanating from Torah.

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Benjamin Skolnick wrote:

The author of the ritual certainly had a sound knowledge of *Tanakh*, and perhaps a lesser knowledge of Talmud. For example, the first degree (the first stage in the Masonic system) emphasizes the giving of *tzedakah* (charity), which is a *mitzvah* of paramount importance. Many other *middot* (ethical values) are extolled in the ritual – piety, virtue, free will, honesty in all one's undertakings, etc. All these desirable *middot* are part and parcel of Judaism.

These statements all indicate that Freemasonry and Judaism are compatible. They suggest that through following the Masonic path, a Jew contributes towards the Jewish ideal of being 'a light unto the nations' (Isa. 42:6).

This point is especially well expressed in a statement from a son of Chaim Gutnick, who wrote about his father:

He discussed with the (Lubavitcher) Rebbe his membership of the Masons and activities there. The Rebbe viewed everything as a means of ultimately spreading *Yiddishkeit* (Judaism). I remember him telling me that he was amazed at the Rebbe's detailed knowledge of all the levels and all the secret 'rituals'. The way I remember, and I don't recall the precise wording, the Rebbe told him that there was no problem from a *halakhic* (Jewish legal) *Yiddishkeit* view from any of the levels except for one level (I unfortunately forget which number) in which J.C. (Jesus) is mentioned directly, and the Rebbe proceeded to quote in which context – but as he was unlikely to reach that level there was no real concern. My father told me that generally the content of higher levels is secret until you reach them, so technically unless you have reached that level you wouldn't know of its existence – so someone who had reached that level must have told the Rebbe.

This endorsement of Freemasonry from one of the greatest spiritual leaders of modern Judaism is of very high significance, reinforcing the positive attitude of the British and Australian rabbinate.

To the Australian rabbinic names listed above must be added British chief rabbis who were Masons, notably Joseph Herman Hertz and Israel Brodie, as well as Harris M. Lazarus, a member of the London Beth Din (ecclesiastical court) who was acting chief rabbi between the death of Hertz and the appointment of Brodie. Hertz and

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Lazarus, together with several other ministers, took part in 1923 in the first Masonic service ever to be held in a British synagogue. Brodie was an active high-ranking Mason in both Australia and Britain. He was Grand Chaplain in Victoria from 1935-37. As Past Grand Chaplain in England he wore a special blue *kippah* (skull cap) made of the same material as his Masonic apron. Chief Rabbi Isaac Herzog of Israel was a Mason; Chaim Gutnick named Herzog as his own inspiration to join the craft.

In Britain and Australia, almost all the Masonic ministers were orthodox. They generally belonged to centrist orthodoxy, though occasionally a right-wing orthodox rabbi was also to be found in the craft. In the United States, by way of contrast, most Masonic rabbis were non-orthodox. The reason might be that Reform came to America almost a hundred years before Australia and Masonic membership helped the process of social integration. By the time Reform was founded in Australia in the 1930s, however, Freemasonry was no longer such an important agent of Jewish social acceptability. Nonetheless, Rabbi Dr Herman Sanger, one of the seminal names in the Australian Liberal movement, was an ardent Freemason. Other Reform ministers showed no real interest, with the exception of Rabbi Rudolph Brasch.

The 1940s saw the Australian arrival of an alternative - the B'nai B'rith Order - in which a number of rabbis who might otherwise have joined Freemasonry became involved (though some belonged to both).⁷ B'nai B'rith had a special appeal to many Central European Jews who knew it on the Continent. Whilst less rigorous in its procedures than Freemasonry, B'nai B'rith emulated some aspects of the craft and some people called it the Jewish form of Freemasonry. In Germany a century earlier it probably began as a reaction to German Freemasonry's less than welcoming attitude to Jews.⁸

Whilst some rabbis retained a lifetime commitment to the craft, others who resigned or drifted away have told me they had so many congregational and communal commitments in the evenings that they could not get to Lodge regularly, and if they did have a night off they felt they had to be at home with the family. Almost all, including those who remained members (myself too), had problems with *kashrut* at Lodge suppers, which are generally full meals and not just a drink and a snack, and even if they succeeded in obtaining *kosher* food they were embarrassed to see what other Jews (including some who had *kosher* homes) were eating and drinking. There were also problems with Shabbat and Festival observance, especially when Lodges met on Friday evenings and/or had social functions on Saturdays.

Masonic ministers admire the devotion that so many fellow

Masons bring to the craft. They are all, however, puzzled that Jewish Masons often seem to value Masonic ritual much more than Jewish observance. The orthodox father of a high-ranking Jewish Freemason told me, 'I don't understand my son. He bothers so much about his Masonic regalia but couldn't care less about his *tallit* and *tephillin* (prayer shawl and phylacteries)'.

In both Freemasonry and B'nai B'rith there has been a falling off of numbers in recent years. Changes in the nature of general – and Jewish – society have reduced the appeal of organisations that entail regular attendance and engage in considerable formality; the time pressures of modern life and the growing range of relatively easy leisure-time options militate against them. Both organisations are aware of the problem and are working to re-market themselves, but success is slow in coming.

If one asks modern rabbis, regardless of their position on the communal religious spectrum, why they do not join B'nai B'rith, they tend to reply that while recognising that the organisation seems to do good work they simply do not have time for a membership commitment. Few, however, are likely to state any ideological objection.

On the other hand, they might utilise ideology in order to object to Freemasonry. B'nai B'rith, they might tell you, is at least Jewish: but Freemasonry is *goyish* (non-Jewish), and many orthodox rabbis today have a rather isolationist approach and do not engage in socializing with the *goyish* community. Some have seen television programs about Freemasonry, and think its rituals bizarre; a few have witnessed a Masonic funeral service and found its language and symbolism archaic; hardly any have any real knowledge of or interest in what Freemasonry is and does. There even seems to be a vague notion that the craft is idolatrous and even dangerous to Judaism; they have no idea that orthodox rabbis have found it compatible with Jewish teachings and observances. They do know that there are leading rabbis who have a useful liaison network with the general community, often including a Masonic affiliation, but they themselves have no inclination to do likewise.

Part of the problem is the decline in the *Torah Im Derekh Eretz* philosophy associated with the name of Rabbi Samson Raphael Hirsch in nineteenth century Germany.⁹ Promoting a symbiosis of Jewish and western culture, it was British and Australian Jewry's prevailing ideology until recently fostered by the British chief rabbinate and brought to Australia by most of the ministerial incumbents. Partly because (in the words of Chief Rabbi Lord Immanuel Jakobovits) 'Germany's betrayal of civilization, culminating in the Holocaust, produced a horrible disillusionment

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with all western culture and science',¹⁰ *Torah Im Derekh Eretz* has been replaced in some circles today by a more separatist Jewish philosophy. In its heyday it enabled rabbis to move easily in the general community and, as a result, to embrace Freemasonry. The decline of Masonic engagement on the part of the rabbis must be connected with the shift in ideology.

In early 2012 I carried out a personal survey amongst Australian rabbis, orthodox and non-orthodox, on the subject of Freemasonry. I recognised from the outset that my survey would lack real scientific status, but I believed that the data I would elicit would indicate rabbinic attitudes to the movement. However, most of those to whom I sent my questionnaire did not bother to reply at all, which I take as a mark of indifference to the subject...or of personal inefficiency. I therefore followed up with an admittedly idiosyncratic series of personal contacts, in addition to inserting a notice in the *Australian Jewish News*, which resulted in much of the anecdotal evidence reported above.

Some ministers may at some stage have contemplated joining the craft but were put off for a variety of non-ideological reasons, one of which is indicated by this comment from one of the younger rabbis: 'My father... didn't enjoy it all that much so I thought I probably wouldn't either'. It appears that when some people joined it was largely because of family influence, whilst when others refrained from joining it was due to precisely the same factors working in the opposite direction.

By way of conclusion let me quote again, from my 1995 lecture to the Victorian Lodge of Research¹¹:

No longer...can it be said that...rabbis belong to the craft as a matter of course. Nor, for that matter, is there such a high proportion of Jewish laymen to be found in Masonic lodges... the nature of society has changed, and the general diminution in numbers of Freemasons is reflected in the Jewish community. In addition, Jews, like other groups, have built up a rich range of internal community organisations that keep many of them involved and busy. Freemasonry simply does not impinge on the consciousness of most of them.

ENDNOTES

1. Raymond Apple, *Freemasonry: Studies, Speeches and Sensibilities* (Sydney: Museum of Freemasonry, 2010), pp.105-113.
2. James Anderson, *The Constitutions of the Free-Masons* (London: William Hunter, 1723).

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3. Apple, op cit., pp.105-113.
4. See extract from Minute Book of the St. John's Freemasons' Lodge, Launceston, 26 Sept., 1844, *Australian Jewish Historical Society Journal (AJHSJ)*, vol 2, part 8 (1947), p.414. See also Robert Merrilees, 'Israel in Egypt Down Under: the First Synagogues in Australia', *AJHSJ*, vol 14, part 2, (1998), pp. 260-283.
5. See for example Israel M. Goldreich, *What is Freemasonry? – Lecture delivered at the Orion Lodge, No. 1153, Sebastopol, Victoria*, (Sydney: 1877).
6. Other members of the Boas family also state that the rabbi was not a Mason, but I still have my doubts.
7. Gerry Levy, 'The Early Days of B'nai B'rith in Australia', *Yismach Yisra'el: Historical Essays to Honour Rabbi Dr. Israel Porush, OBE*, (Sydney: AJHS, 1988), p. 44.
8. Jacob Katz, *Jews and Freemasons in Europe, 1723-1939* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1970).
9. Yosef Burg, 'Torah-im-Derech-Eretz Today', in *Yismach Yisra'el*, pp. 68-73.
10. Immanuel Jakobovits, *The Timely and the Timeless* (London: Vallentine Mitchell, 1977), p. 257.
11. Apple, op. cit., p. 113.

**THE DISMISSAL:
A BIOGRAPHY OF EUGEN BLOCH
(1881-1957)
CONSUL GENERAL OF SWITZERLAND IN
SYDNEY (1920-1933)**

Georges M. Teitler

INTRODUCTION

In early 2011, I was contacted by a Swiss lady in Sydney who was writing a book to be titled 'The Swiss in New South Wales'.¹ She had heard that, although a Swiss citizen, I have lived in Sydney for fifty years and have maintained good contact with the Swiss Consulate during this time. She asked if I was prepared to carry out the research for the chapter on Swiss Consuls and assist with writing it, to which I agreed. She had in her possession a list of all Swiss Consuls in Sydney since the inauguration of the Consulate in 1855.²

Upon glancing at the list of consuls who had held office during the last 150 years, my attention was quickly drawn to one person in particular. His family name was 'Bloch' and he was a citizen of Upper Endingen, a place many Swiss Jews originate from. From this I assumed he was Jewish. In addition, he was the only consul not assigned another post after his tenure in Sydney expired or retired from the Swiss Foreign Service, but who was actually quite suddenly dismissed. As this had happened towards the end of 1933, the year when Hitler had come to power in Germany, it put his dismissal into a very 'suspicious' context.

I decided – quite apart from the research for the book – to explore the life of Eugene Bloch. I enquired whether he may have been a member of a Jewish congregation in Sydney or if any other organisation had any information about him. He apparently never joined a Jewish congregation during his 50 years in Sydney, possibly because he was married to a non-Jew for the majority of this time. I

established that he died on 27 January 1957³ and that the funeral proceedings were conducted by Rev. William Katz from the North Shore Synagogue, Lindfield, in the Jewish Section of the Northern Suburbs Cemetery (now Macquarie Park Cemetery). From visiting his grave⁴ I learnt that Bloch had a daughter, albeit very late in life. However, for a long time I was unable to find her or for that matter any other relatives, either in Australia or Switzerland. I concentrated on the records of the National Archives in Canberra and located several dozen newspaper articles which mention Bloch and have allowed me to draw a fairly detailed picture of his activities as the Swiss consul in Sydney.

The real breakthrough occurred when I obtained the personal file on Bloch from the Section for Historical Analysis of the Federal Archives in Switzerland⁵ as this also contains the archives of the Department of Foreign Affairs. This provided me with details of his schooling, apprenticeship and places of work in Europe up to his emigration to Australia. The file contained numerous Certificates of Appointment both by the Swiss Government and by H.M. King George V who, as the Monarch of Australia, had to give his approval, from London, for Bloch to act as Swiss Consul in Sydney. It also contained the correspondence Bloch exchanged with his superiors in Berne; then finally the letter of his dismissal and the offer of condolence his successor extended to Bloch's widow. However, the file's cover sheet contained also two rubber stamps, indicating that the dossier had been 'relieved of unimportant content' at the end of 1949 and 1956. Whether the documents destroyed were really unimportant or it was found preferable to make them 'invisible' is something we shall never know.

I made contact with distant relatives in Switzerland, in particular one who was able to supply me with the Bloch family tree and who had also written a biography on his father. No-one knew that their *émigré* relative had become a consul or of the events that had unfolded in Australia. Although the suspicion that antisemitism had been the primary motive for his dismissal lingered throughout my research; everything I found, both in newspapers reports about Bloch in Australia and in his file at the Foreign Ministry in Switzerland, was highly complimentary and not one iota of criticism could be detected. Thus, any indication of the true grounds for dismissal remained hidden.

However, there was one unusual event. In 1931, at the height of the Depression, when one would have thought it had more important matters to deal with, the Swiss Government decided to elevate the Consulate in Sydney to the rank of a Consulate General and to

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downgrade the Consulate General in Melbourne to the rank of an ordinary consulate. As Bloch's dossier did not indicate that Bloch had proposed or even supported such changes, what may have been the reason for this? I thus asked the Federal Archives in Switzerland if they had a specific file dealing with this aspect – and over a hundred pages turned up. From there on, it became increasingly suspicious that another person had 'a hand' in this matter and of course it was then reasonably obvious that the same person may have also engineered the dismissal of Bloch. A third approach to the Federal Archives for the personal dossier of that person was made – resulting in another 500 plus pages! Though it had been anticipated for a long time that the true reasons for Bloch's dismissal may be shrouded in mystery or may be at best be circumstantial, in the end it the whole truth became known. As in any good Sherlock Holmes story, the person on whom most suspicion fell initially turned out to be innocent and the one who appeared to be an unimportant bystander became the real culprit.

I eventually made contact with Bloch's daughter but she knew only a limited amount about her father's work and life – he died when she was five years old – and was totally unaware of his dismissal. All she knew was that he used to be called 'The Consul'. As her mother (Bloch's second wife) got to know Bloch only decades after his dismissal, she was not able to pass any knowledge on to her daughter. However, I did see a beautiful very large Silver Cup – one any winner at a Wimbledon tennis tournament would be proud of – which the Swiss Club of New South Wales presented to Bloch on his retirement, engraved with words of great gratitude for his services.

Regrettably, little can be said of Bloch as a Jew. Though he originated from a family which identified itself strongly with Judaism, he chose, for reasons known only to him, to live in Australia a life distant to that of his upbringing.

THE LIFE OF EUGEN BLOCH

Jews arrived already with the Romans to the North of the Alps, a territory which much later would become Switzerland. As occurred across Europe, they experienced expulsions and then, occasionally, were invited to return. However, they were always restricted in their professions and their activities. Their fate only began to improve with the French Revolution and full equality was finally achieved with the revision of the Swiss Constitution in 1874. However, there were two villages in the 'Surbtal' (Valley of the Surb) not quite 40 km from Zurich, with the name of Lengnau and Upper-Endingen where Jews had been allowed to live for many centuries. Their number was never



The Synagogue of Upper-Endingen, built 1852

very large, reaching its maximum of 1562 souls in 1850. Families originating from there, with names like Bollag, Guggenheim, Bloch and a few others are very well known and present-day descendants can trace back the family trees of their ancestors for many centuries.⁶ Eugen Bloch was born on 2 June 1881 in Upper-Endingen.⁷ His family tree reaches back, on his father's side, for five generations to an Abraham Bloch whose son Leman Yehuda Bloch lived from 1738 to 1799.⁸ His mother's family tree goes back even further, for eight generations to a Maramen Shaul Guggenheim who passed away in Lengnau in 1699. Bloch's father Leman Bloch (1827-1902) was the first Jew from the Surbtal to be admitted to study medicine at the University of Zurich in 1851.⁹ He also achieved the rank of Captain in the Swiss Army.¹⁰ Despite his duties as a medical practitioner and his involvement in the army, he fulfilled his 'home duties' with great *bravura* as he fathered twenty children! He married his first wife Charlotte Brunschwig (1829-1873) in 1858 and she bore him 12 children, dying two days after the birth of the twelfth child. In 1876 he married Mathilde Guggenheim (1850-1920) who, between 1877 and 1885, brought another eight children into the world.¹¹ The fifth

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child of the second marriage was Eugen. His older brother, Bruno, (1878-1933) also studied medicine and is regarded as the 'father of Dermatology'.¹² He became the first professor for skin and venereal diseases at the University of Basle and later professor of dermatology and venereology at the Zurich State University.¹³ A certain disease is named after him and one of his colleagues.¹⁴ Since 1935 there is the 'Professor Bruno Bloch Foundation' at the Dermatological Clinic of Zurich conducting research into skin cancer.¹⁵



Leman Bloch, Captain in the Swiss Army

Leman and Mathilde Bloch, Eugen's parents, moved from Upper-Endingen to Basle in 1889,¹⁶ so his father could have a better medical surgery and allow their sons Bruno and Walter to attend High School.¹⁷ Eugen attended primary school, followed by high school from which he graduated in 1896.¹⁸ He then started an apprenticeship at the Bank Dreyfuss & Sons in Basle until 1899 and

then worked at the Commerz & Diskonto Bank in Berlin from 1900-1904. This in turn was followed with a position at the Swiss Banking Corporation in London in 1905/1906 and finally at the branch of the Dresdner Bank in London in 1906/07.

In 1907 Bloch migrated to Sydney. He worked in various German wool companies until 1913 when he chose to become self-employed and formed the company Bloch & Gerber Limited, together with an acquaintance of his. Around this time Bloch must have applied for Australian citizenship as lengthy correspondence exists between the Swiss consuls in Sydney and Melbourne. It seems that the consul in Sydney unlawfully refused Bloch the issue of a new Swiss passport whereupon Bloch applied in Melbourne, to the annoyance of the Sydney consul, both consuls finally applying to the Foreign Ministry in Switzerland for arbitration.¹⁹

Bloch seemed to be quite liked by the Swiss community in Sydney who consisted, at the time, mainly of artisans such as bakers, butchers, painters and the like,²⁰ who had emigrated because of poor employment opportunities in Switzerland. On 2 August 1917, Bloch's name appeared for the first time in the Australian press. In 1896, a citizen of Geneva, Marc Rutty, had been appointed as Honorary Consul General.²¹ He was an importer of German goods and with the outbreak of World War I, this became a problem for him. He was taken to court and fined £Stg26 for 'aiding the enemy'.²² The Swiss Society in Sydney held a meeting during which a vote of No Confidence in Rutty was carried and the decision taken to send a telegram to the Swiss Government in Berne notifying them of their desire to have Rutty relieved of his duties and Eugene Bloch named as a Consul *ad-interim*.²³



Eugen Bloch, circa 1920

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However, the Foreign Ministry overruled this request and in 1918 appointed the Norwegian citizen Olav Pauss as a caretaker consul.²⁴ The Swiss Society of Victoria took the opportunity to contact the 'New Helvetic Society' in Geneva, a voluntary society looking after the interests of Swiss living abroad, and asked that they should use their endeavours to have the government decide on closing the Consulate in Sydney and elevating Melbourne as the place for the Consulate General, under the then consul Gustav Stahel.²⁵ However, this request was not successful either.

Finally, on 26 November 1920 the Swiss Government named Eugen Bloch as Swiss Consul in Sydney with responsibility over the territory of New South Wales.²⁶ It was also decided the Government of Great Britain be informed and the Swiss Legation in London seek His Majesty's approval. This approval was subsequently granted and, on 10 February 1921 a Deed was issued with a large Seal under which King George V, as monarch of Australia gave his approval. Although the certificate states 'in the name of King George' it was in fact signed by him personally in the margins with 'George R' and thus became a document of great value. The appointment was soon mentioned in the Australian press.²⁷

Bloch married on 8 September 1920 at St. Peter's Church in Neutral Bay 'according to the rites of the Church of England'. The bride, Katie Howie aged 43, was a British subject born in Suva where her father, the late Captain James Howie had served as a British colonial officer and had, with his wife Elizabeth née Downton, brought up their children. The first mention of Bloch's wife was when they both embarked on the *ss Orvieto* 'for a trip to Europe' in mid-November 1921. They returned to Sydney on the *ss Ormonde* which docked on 10 June 1922 and the manifest showed Bloch as 'merchant and consul for Switzerland', aged 40, and his wife aged 44. At the time of the elections in 1922, Bloch appears on the electoral role which confirms his Australian citizenship and the reason for the earlier correspondence between the two Swiss consuls.

Bloch was probably the first Swiss consul in Australia who did not regard his position as one restricted to administrative work and was more concerned with the creation of public relations for his country. He held a lecture at the Lyceum Theatre on 9 August 1926²⁸ and spoke of the important role Switzerland played as an importer of Australian raw materials, such as wool, coal and cotton. This received favourable cover in the Australian press. On 15 February 1927, Bloch attended a meeting at the governor's residence at which organising an International Ball of the League Union was discussed.²⁹ Later on, it was noted that Bloch had participated in the festivities for the French Independence Day³⁰ and in September of the same year, that

he had attended a Requiem Mass for the late King Ferdinand I of Rumania held at the Greek-Orthodox cathedral in Sydney.³¹ In subsequent years, numerous reports were published about the participation of Bloch and in all cases it was said he did so in his capacity as Consul for Switzerland.

On 24 April 1931 the Swiss Government elevated Bloch to the position of Honorary Consul General for New South Wales and the Federal Territory with the capital Canberra.³² This was reported in the local press on 1 May 1931.³³ King George V gave his approval on 9 November 1931, again with a large certificate with his seal and his personal signature.³⁴ In the records of the Foreign Ministry is an extract of a meeting of the Swiss Government noting the Government of his British Majesty had consented to the elevation of Bloch to Consul General as from 15 January 1932.³⁵

On the occasion of the opening of the Sydney Harbour Bridge, an official luncheon was held on board the vessel *Maloja* on 21 March 1932 and Bloch was given the honour of leading the diplomatic and consular corps.³⁶

Bloch appeared at many social events. He spoke at a luncheon in the Kooroora Club on 14 September 1932.³⁷ In December 1932 it was noted in the Tasmanian press³⁸ that Bloch had visited the island, inspected the works of the Mount Lyell factory and made a courtesy visit on the premier of Tasmania. Over a span of ten days, the three daily newspapers of Tasmania reported on Bloch's visit no less than eight times. With regard to such a visit, the position of an Honorary Consul is an unpaid one and Bloch undoubtedly combined these trips with his personal business activities, which certainly pleased the Foreign Ministry as he had raised the subject of reimbursement once before and this led to some rather unpleasant correspondence.³⁹

On 14 March 1933 Bloch attended the funeral service of George F. Earp, MLC, at the Anglican Cathedral in Sydney⁴⁰ and on 31 May 1933 he gave an official Luncheon in honour of the visiting Swiss air pioneer Carl Nauer.⁴¹ This was followed by a reception for the Swiss community at the Maccabean Hall. Everything seemed to be going well for Bloch as he enjoyed the favourable publicity he was receiving as he carried out his duties as 'Consul General for Switzerland'.

However, this pleasant situation was rudely interrupted. A letter, dated 24 October 1933,⁴² arrived in Sydney around Christmas time, in which Bloch was advised that he was relieved of his duties as from 1 January 1934 – this was only 18 months after the Swiss government had taken note of Great Britain's approval of his elevation to Honorary Consul General. It was couched in the most unusual terms and mentioned facts difficult to comprehend. It

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certainly warranted a closer examination of the reasons offered for the dismissal.

The letter read in part: 'The Swiss Government decided on 9 December 1933 following the suggestions of numerous interested Swiss parties to elevate the consulate as from 1 January 1934 to one headed by a professional consul'. It continued: 'It has been decided that it will be beneficial for our main representation in Australia, considering our future relations with the authorities there, to be on the same level as other countries represented in Sydney. All other European countries, including small and medium sized, are represented to the federal authorities of the Commonwealth by professional consuls.' As a consequence of this Bloch's mandate as honorary Consul General had to be terminated on 1 January 1934 and this was done 'not without great regret'. There followed a number of expressions of thanks as he had 'in the course of many years spent considerable time and great efforts on the many tasks which his office had brought with it and which he had always discharged in a manner which had been greatly appreciated.' Another sentence extended to him 'their warmest thanks for the valuable services which he had rendered the Swiss Federation and for the dedication with which he had conducted his position at all times'. The letter concluded with 'expressions of gratitude by all his countrymen whom he had assisted with both word and action.'

What had brought about such a sudden change? What had prompted it? Whose words were these? The letter demanded greater analysis:

The 'numerous interested Swiss parties' which are mentioned in the beginning can certainly not be identified with the Swiss community and/or the Swiss Society in Sydney.⁴³ The latter regretted the decision and presented Bloch with a very large Silver Cup about 30 cm diameter which was engraved 'To Eugen Bloch, Esq. as a token of sincere gratitude and in recognition of Patriotic services rendered to the Swiss Colony as Consul General for Switzerland, 1920-1933, from The Swiss Club of N.S.W.'⁴⁴

It cannot have been any Swiss companies actively engaged in Australia as even by the beginning of World War II there were still only two subsidiaries of Swiss companies. One was Nestlé's and the other a textile firm by the name of Hanro to whom Bloch had given considerable assistance.⁴⁵

The 'changeover to a professional consulate' was probably not called for as the work of the consulate consisted of issuing local citizens with new Swiss passports and collecting what was referred to as a 'military tax in lieu of service' and was levied on those Swiss

who did not complete their yearly three weeks compulsory military service. Theoretically, the argument could have been applied – except that the reality was completely different! The replacement for Bloch was his assistant Hans Hedinger who was ‘elevated’ to the position of ‘consulate guardian’.⁴⁶ It was not until 17 April 1941 that was he given the title ‘Consul’ and not until 17 April 1943 was he promoted to Consul General. It had taken nine full years for Hedinger to reach the level on which Bloch had been when he was dismissed.

The consulate ‘should have the same level as the representations of other countries’. Switzerland had never previously worried about the level of its diplomats *vis-à-vis* other countries. Whilst other countries were already represented by ambassadors for a long time, Switzerland still had only legations and its heads were always at the end of the queue shaking the hands of foreign dignitaries.

‘All European countries, including small and medium sized ones were represented by professional consuls’. How could people at the Foreign Ministry in Switzerland have even gained such knowledge? The man who could have told them this in an official way was only Bloch himself and there is no indication that he was ever asked. He had his own very successful business and was certainly not interested in giving it up to become a professional consul. On the other hand, after 13 years and a lot of time and money spent on it, the ‘enjoyment of it’ had probably evaporated and he would have been glad to retire if he would have been asked. Nowadays, foreign ministries have inspectors to assess the level of representation, but not in those days and definitely not one sent to Sydney, a trip which took a minimum of six weeks each way.

‘To represent the interest better at the Federal level’. It was not the duty of consuls to represent their countries at federal level. The Swiss Legation (lower level than Embassy) in London was officially doing that and the Swiss Minister at the Court of St. James was responsible for the relations with Australia – which was quite in order as the foreign policy of Australia was, in those times, even after Federation in 1901, still in the hands of the British government. The first exchange of ambassadors between Australia and Switzerland took place only in 1961.⁴⁷

Considering that Bloch's dismissal took place towards the end of 1933 by which time Hitler had become Imperial Chancellor of Germany, it gives rise to the suspicion that Germany ‘had a hand’ in this. There was – and still is – a very strong trade lobby group in Switzerland called ‘The Swiss Trade and Industry Association’ which, in those days, was known by the name ‘Vorort’ and today as ‘Economiesuisse’. Did they have an interest in safeguarding

Switzerland's trade with Germany which, after all, was on very important levels: supplying Germany with arms, pharmaceutical goods, specialised machinery, insurance, banking and the like? Did they plead with the Foreign Ministry to dispense with any Jews in their service in order to make a good impression on Germany? Or was it antisemitism within the Foreign Ministry to which Bloch fell victim? The Foreign Minister was a certain Giuseppe Motta⁴⁸ from the Italian speaking part of Switzerland. It was known that he was on very friendly terms with Mussolini. However, at that time, Mussolini was not implementing an antisemitic policy; nor was he yet particularly well disposed towards the Germans.⁴⁹ He was still pre-occupied with safeguarding Austria's independence and had not even met Hitler in person.

The director-general of Switzerland's Ministry of Justice became quite infamous having invented the so called 'J' stamp, a rubber stamp applied to German passports where the holders were Jews and who should, therefore, not be permitted to escape to Switzerland.⁵⁰ He had held this position since 1929 and had already written pamphlets with strong antisemitic remarks. Had he exercised his influence to remove Jews in the foreign ministry?

The fact that Bloch's file had been 'worked over' in 1949 and 1956 and 'unimportant matters' deleted left the author with dubious feelings.⁵¹ After all, in 1988 a night watchman at UBS (Union Bank of Switzerland) had seen bank officers shredding files and managed to obtain some which he passed on to the Jewish community in Zurich where it was found these were files of German Jewish customers who deposited monies with UBS prior to the war. Many of these customers had been murdered in concentration camps but the bank was denying to their legal heirs that the accounts had ever existed. Eventually, this cost the chairman of the Board/CEO his positions.

However, in Bloch's case, none of these suppositions of mine proved to have any basis: 'the enemy was within!' Hans Hedinger was born on 27 April 1896 in Bern. He attended a number of schools and obtained a business diploma. From 1912 to 1921 he worked for various firms in Switzerland, and then moved to Athens where he joined the Swiss consulate.⁵² After a time he was sent to Warsaw and then Munich. In July 1926 he was sent to Sydney as an assistant to Eugen Bloch. It was mentioned earlier that the Consulate in Sydney was elevated to a Consulate General in 1930 whilst the one in Melbourne was downgraded to a normal consulate. At the same time Hedinger was promoted to the position of Chancellery Assistant. Bloch did not recommend the promotion and was not consulted. Perhaps he should have wondered, at the time, how it came about but

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it appears he did not query it – at least not in writing. He did not see the submission by the Chief of the Consular Services to the Foreign Minister⁵³ which spoke more of Hedinger's great benefit to the consulate than the reasons to elevate the Sydney consulate. Nor did he see the later submission by the Consular Service to the Minister and the Cabinet listing those countries that had professional consuls other than Switzerland and Austria. Had he seen this he would have realised the reason for the Swiss government's change of policy.



Hans Hedinger

In retrospect, things looked dubious from the first day Hedinger arrived. For a start, Bloch had no prior knowledge of his arrival and complained in a letter dated 31 August 1926 to his superiors. The reply of 16 October 1926 spoke of a 'regrettable oversight' by an employee in not advising him – a wording which occurs again. Hedinger sent hand written reports to the Chief of Consular services in Berne without any consideration of the existence of a hierarchy or the fact that he had a superior. He had been asked to check on the honorary consul in Brisbane whom he subsequently tried to get rid of. Was it to enlarge his own sphere of responsibility?

Hedinger's file is full of letters complaining that his salary was inadequate, that the cost of living was high, and that he faced many extra expenses. On 28 August 1929 Bloch wrote to Dr C. Benziger, then Chief of the Consular Services that Hedinger had become engaged to a lady from Sydney, a daughter of a former factory owner

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whom he intended to marry prior to his home leave in 1930. As she was an only child and her parents were elderly, they hoped that Hedinger's stay in Sydney could be prolonged.⁵⁴ About that time Hedinger's requests for higher financial remuneration came to an end and culminated in his own advice, that upon elevation to the position of a consul, he would not require a higher salary. This was noted with a certain satisfaction in comments inside the Foreign Ministry, as it could not afford to pay him a consul's salary but already had one anyhow! Bloch did advise his superiors that Hedinger married Miss Sophie Henninges on 19 April 1930 and left Sydney the next day on the *Nieuw Holland*.⁵⁵

During his stay in Switzerland Hedinger contacted various parties and spoke to, amongst others, the Centre for Advancing Exports,⁵⁶ putting in his report that nine firms had participated but 46 of them were interested – quite astonishing considering that eight years later still only two companies graced Sydney with their presence. He then turned to the question of the Sydney consulate being raised to the level of a Consulate General. His report mentioned little of the reasons for this and reads more like his curriculum vitae, outlining all the jobs he had held and tasks fulfilled. Not long after this report was filed he was promoted to Chancellery Assistant.

1933 became a year of numerous intrigues. The personal messages from Hedinger to Berne have been removed, but there is an 'extract' from his letter dated 17 April 1933⁵⁷ where he 'lays it on thick':

... even the professional consuls and officers of the government ignore the honorary consuls in their social contacts. My colleagues and even the Undersecretary of State of the Premier's Department have, on several occasions, expressed their surprise that Switzerland has a professional consul who serves underneath an honorary who has no personal skills... Why would there be an honorary consul if the professional one was really conducting the business?... This is often humiliating for me...

The fact that there is often a Head of Mission who attends to the public relations and deals in social networking with politicians and other colleagues, whilst the professional staff attend to office duties, seems to have escaped Mr Hedinger.

However, his complaints and his view of the world seemed to have prevailed in Switzerland. On 7 September 1933 the Chief of Consular services wrote to the Swiss Ambassador in London regarding the situation and recommended that the Consulate in Sydney be headed

by a professional consul. He noted that budget restraints had prevented them from doing this earlier and argued that Hedinger ran the Consulate already on a *de facto* basis, but that the head of mission in form of an honorary consul did limit his actions. His Excellency, Ch. Paravicini, Minister at the Swiss Legation in London, responded in a hand-written letter on 17 September 1933: 'Through his marriage, Hedinger has acquired the financial means to represent his country in a dignified manner in Australia without this costing us more.' In this way he indicated that he was prepared to support the proposal. No doubt, a negative response would have had its own implications. Empowered by this response, the Chief of Consular Services then wrote to the Federal Department of Trade on 21 September 1933, lamenting the situation in Sydney 'where Switzerland was the only country with an honorary consul general whilst Belgium, Sweden, Norway, the Netherlands, Czechoslovakia, amongst others, had a professional Consul General, and so on, not forgetting to mention that the Swiss Minister in London did approve such an appointment 'without reservation'. What else could the Ministry of Trade reply other than with a letter on 26 September 1933 expressing their agreement – particularly as it did not cost them anything? Thus, on 28 September 1933 the Foreign Ministry prepared a submission to the Cabinet⁵⁸ to change the consulates in Oslo and Sydney to professional consulates and in case of the latter, entrust its operation to Hedinger.

In all this correspondence, no one thought to consult Bloch or to let him know that changes were envisaged. On 9 October 1933 the Cabinet approved the changes and the submission was put into the protocol⁵⁹ without a single word having been altered. A telegram was dispatched to Bloch advising him the Consulate had been transformed to a professional one to be headed by Hedinger.⁶⁰ Bloch acknowledged it with a letter dated 13 October 1933, advising that he was looking forward to receiving the details, but it was not until 24 October 1933 that the letter of dismissal was finally written, which was quoted extensively earlier. Two days later the Minister in London was officially notified⁶¹ of what he had known all along and the Human Resources Section was advised to increase Hedinger's salary.

In a letter dated 6 December 1933 written in German, Bloch expressed his anger and disappointment, writing personally for the first time to the Minister of Foreign Affairs.⁶² He wrote that he had received and acknowledged the telegram and he wondered, of course, what had made the Cabinet decide to change the situation of the Consulate in Sydney without any prior consultation with him. He had held back publicising the news to the Swiss community in Sydney, assuming he would learn the details any day now. But whilst

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he had still not heard from Berne, Swiss newspapers had arrived two weeks ago which carried the news. After serving his country for 13 years to the best of his ability and knowledge, having sacrificed a lot of time and money, he would have thought that he would be given some advance knowledge of the impending changes. Many of his personal and business contacts had now formed the impression that he had done something very wrong to be dismissed so suddenly. One could have at least let him remain in his position until a new Consul General had arrived from Switzerland and he could have arranged an orderly changeover. He emphasised the great hurt done to him in various ways and then continued:

...to top it all off I have received a letter from my immediate superior, the Minister in London, writing that he saw in the Swiss Government Gazette just now of my Resignation (!) and that such had been accepted (!) and that the Minister regretted my decision!

Bloch probably never found out that his Minister in London had known months in advance that he would be sacked. Hedinger meanwhile wrote a letter to Berne a few days later⁶³ acknowledging Berne's letter of 7 November that he had been made Bloch's successor – this letter was written at a time when Bloch was still not in possession of his own letter of dismissal.

On 2 January 1934 Hedinger advised the Swiss Club of New South Wales and other organisations that he had assumed all tasks as Head of Mission. A farewell party was held to honour Bloch and Hedinger gave the tribute speech.⁶⁴ He wrote to Berne that he tried to placate Bloch as much as possible, emphasising his good work as the Consul General. His language was very similar to that of the letter of dismissal, which leaves the author with the impression that Hedinger may have been the author of both.

The Foreign Ministry – but not the Minister himself – wrote to Bloch on 8 January 1934, apologizing for the fact that the letter of 24 October had inadvertently not reached him in good time. Hedinger meanwhile, could hardly contain his pleasure in his reports to Switzerland,⁶⁵ advising in great detail all the benefits he had been given, such as the duty free importation of any personal requirements, a Gold pass for the State Railways and so on. In August 1934, Hedinger advised Berne he had been invited to a State Dinner in Canberra on occasion of the visit of His Royal Highness the Duke of Gloucester, and was he permitted to attend?⁶⁶ (Bloch would not have made such a fuss, but just gone). Berne replied in typical Swiss manner: 'Yes – at your own expense!'⁶⁷ The conclusion

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to this unpleasant affair was a letter from the Trade & Industry Association, (which initially it was thought had a hand in Bloch's dismissal), enquiring from the Foreign Ministry on 29 May 1935 why Bloch had been relieved of his duties, as he had been such a good man.

Bloch withdrew from public life and his name appears only once more in the press. On 20 May 1939 the *Sydney Morning Herald* published his letter to the editor entitled: 'A plea for Refugees' in which he pleads for Australia to be more generous with its intake of European refugees. Whilst the name Bloch disappeared from the Australian press, the name of his successor did not turn up instead. Hedinger did not have the 'flair' for public relations nor did he have the standing being only a 'caretaker consul'. The publicity for Switzerland which Bloch had nurtured so carefully for so many years died instantly and did not revive until a new consul general arrived 28 years later in 1961.⁶⁸



Eugen Bloch, circa 1952

Bloch's wife Kitty died on 20 January 1949. The marriage had been childless. In July 1950 he retired as Chairman of his company which had been listed on the Stock Exchange.⁶⁹ On 14 May 1950 Bloch married Gertrude 'Trudy' Glaser. The ceremony was performed by Rabbi R. Brasch at a private home in East Lindfield, their residential address at the time. They later moved to Pymble. Bloch had reached the age of 70. On 10 January 1952 his daughter,

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Barbara, was born. Regrettably, he was not spared to enjoy her for long as he died on 27 January 1957, following a heart attack. He was buried on 29 January 1957 in the Jewish sector of the Northern Suburbs Cemetery. His death notice stated he was mourned by his wife, his daughter and his mother-in-law Mrs O. Haase.⁷⁰ Relatives in Switzerland were not mentioned and his widow obviously did not know them, as she was unable to state the names of Bloch's parents for inclusion on the death certificate, knowing only that his father had been a doctor.

Bloch's successor, Hedinger, who remained in office until 1961 sent a letter of condolence to his widow on 30 January 1957⁷¹ and reported the death of his predecessor to the foreign Ministry in Berne, stating:

... The deceased was buried on 29 January 1957 according to Jewish rites so that I had to preclude myself from participating at the funeral.

The foreign Ministry thanked him for his efforts.

On occasion of the consecration of the new synagogue in Lindfield in September 1957, a list of members was published⁷² which includes a Mrs G. Bloch. She passed away on 10 October 2007 and her urn was placed in sector A/12 of the Jewish Garden of the Northern Suburbs Crematorium.⁷³



Grave of Eugen Bloch

Finally there remains the question of 'Eugen Bloch as a Jew'? Why did a man from a family so deeply involved in Jewish history and tradition apparently neither practice his Judaism once he arrived in Australia, nor seek any Jewish company? We shall never


know the truth but certain assumptions can be made. Firstly, Bloch – when still in Europe – wanted ‘to get out’. He was one of the youngest of 20 siblings. Since his father passed away during his first assignment in Berlin in 1902, there may have well been some conflict as to who would lead the family. The emancipation which started with his father being a captain in the Swiss army – certainly a most unusual situation in those days – was then carried further by him on his arrival in Australia. Secondly, he arrived in Australia in 1907. At that time, the small number of Jewish immigrants arriving in Australia came mainly from East Europe as a result of the pogroms there. He would have had nothing in common with those people. Similarly, The Great Synagogue, at that time primarily an Anglo Saxon congregation, probably would not have welcomed him, a ‘mere continental’ either. Migration from Western Europe started only in the 1930s as a result of the situation in Germany and subsequently Austria and other countries. At the time of his arrival, he would not have fitted in with any of the groups of migrant Jewry that had settled in Sydney. The author – on his arrival in 1961 – was repeatedly asked: ‘Why would a Swiss Jew come to Australia on his own free will?’ Over 50 years later, the question still arises, and it would have been much more applicable in 1907.

Sydney Jewry was not welcoming to continental Jews in 1907. There were only a very few congregations and the Chevra Kadisha, but no other Jewish organisations, such as B’nai B’rith, where he would have had a chance to make friends. Indeed, B’nai B’rith was formed by Central European Jewish refugees from Nazism to fill this gap in the Jewish social life of Sydney. It was also a time when there was a considerable surplus of Jewish males and quite a few then married out. People did not regard themselves as Jews as a life style but they were ‘Australians of Jewish faith’. Thus, he was literally ‘left standing in the cold’ as far as his upbringing and tradition was concerned. He made the acquaintance of a Christian girl whose mother was managing the boarding house where he lived.⁷⁴ She became his first wife, a marriage that lasted almost 30 years, the best part of his adult life in Australia. By the time his wife had passed away, the situation had vastly changed. With extensive Jewish migration having taken place in the interim, numerous Jewish organisations had sprung up and he was able to find his second partner in circles more appropriate to his original background. He did, then, get married by a rabbi and he found his final resting place in a Jewish cemetery.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

The assistance of the following is greatly appreciated: Ambassador Claude Altermatt, Swiss Foreign Ministry, Berne; Manuel Balmer, Swiss Federal Archives, Berne; Helen Bersten (proof reading English text); Dr Barbara Bloch, daughter of Eugen Bloch; Dr. Michael Bloch, MuttENZ, Switzerland; Dr Bettina Boss, president Swiss Historical Society, Sydney; Joe Kensell, historian, The Great Synagogue, Sydney; Guido Koller, Swiss Federal Archives, Berne; Dr Stefan Mächler, Journalist, Zürich; Peter Meury, former president Swiss Club of NSW; Philip Moses, Honorary Secretary AJHS (proof reading English text); Ariane Mil, Swiss Association for Jewish Genealogy, Zürich; Professor Jacques Picard, Institute for Jewish Studies, University of Basle; Professor Suzanne Rutland, editor, AJHS Journal; Dr Daniel Teichman, editor of 'Maayan', journal of the SAJG, Zürich; Dr Evelyn Teitler, Zürich, (proof reading of German text); Gabi Timm, Gold Coast (preparation of photographs); Jeannette Tsoulos, Genealogist, AJHS, Sydney; Claudia Uschatz, Berne (for connections to Swiss Foreign Ministry)

APPENDIX



LE CONSEIL FÉDÉRAL
DE LA
CONFÉDÉRATION SUISSE

fait savoir par les présentes

que, en vertu des pouvoirs qui lui sont conférés à teneur de l'article 102 de la constitution fédérale,
il a nommé

Consul honoraire de la Confédération suisse

à la résidence de Sydney, pour la Nouvelle-Galles du Sud,
Monsieur Eugène Bloch, d'Oberendingen (Argovie),
commerçant à Sydney.

En donnant à Monsieur Eugène Bloch
charge et pouvoir de protéger, selon les lois et les usages en vigueur entre nations commerçantes et
amies, les affaires et les propriétés des Suisses établis à dans la
Nouvelle-Galles du Sud

ou qui s'y trouvent soit en passage, soit en voyage, soit en séjour, ou qui font des opérations de négoce
avec ce pays, nous prions le gouvernement de Grande-Bretagne
et tous magistrats, juges et officiers civils et militaires de reconnaître Monsieur Eugène
Bloch en qualité de Consul honoraire de la Confédération
suisse, de le faire jouir des droits attachés aux emplois consulaires et d'avoir égard aux demandes et
recommandations qu'il serait dans le cas de leur adresser en vertu de ses fonctions.

En foi de quoi, les présentes ont été signées par le Vice-Président du
Conseil fédéral et le Chancelier de la Confédération suisse
et scellées du sceau du Conseil fédéral.

Fait à Berne, le 26 novembre 1920.

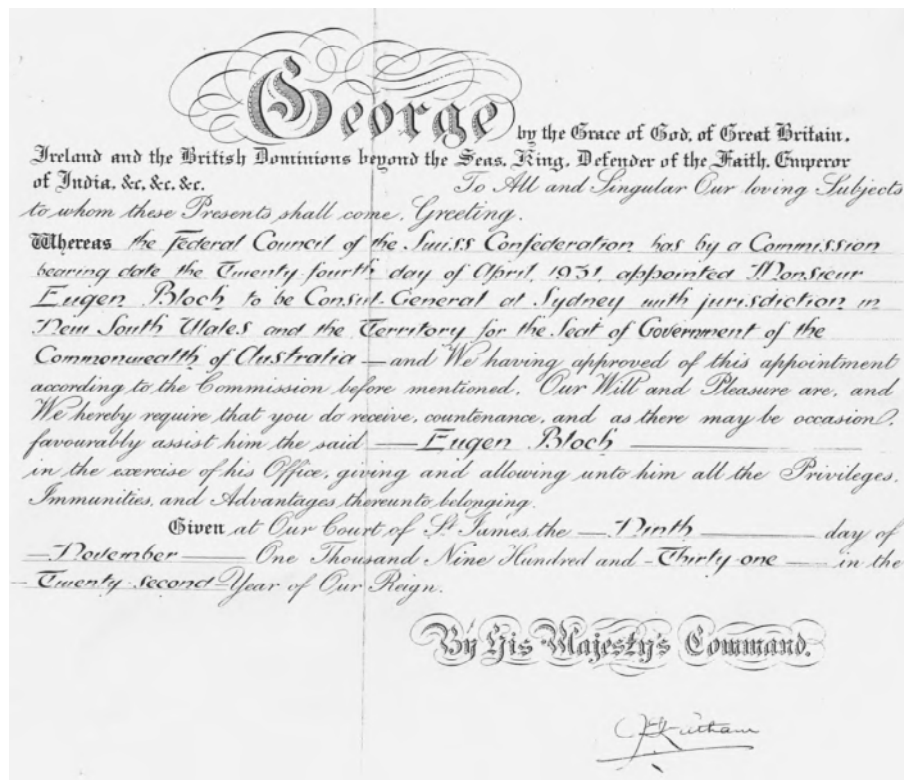
Au nom du Conseil fédéral suisse:

Le Vice-Président,
Lumery

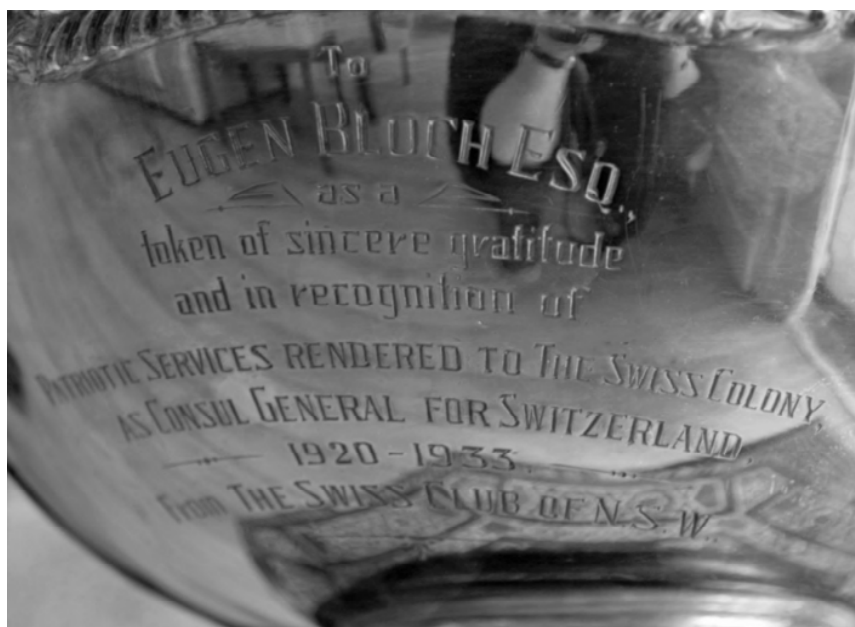
Le Chancelier de la Confédération,
Serger

Item 1. Deed Of Appointment dated 26 November 1920.

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Item 2. Deed of Approval dated 10 November 1931.



Item 3. Inscription on the cup presented to Eugen Bloch.

ENDNOTES

1. A similar book already exists: Susan Wegman, *The Swiss in Australia* (Grüsch: Verlag Rüegger, 1989).
2. *The Diplomatic and Consular Representations of Switzerland since 1789*, ref no. CH-P3, with data sheet for Sydney, consulate since 1855.
3. All birth, death and marriage dates and other details have been taken from the relevant certificate obtained from the NSW Department of Births, Deaths and Marriages.
4. A5/32 in the Jewish sector of the Northern Suburbs General Cemetery, North Ryde.
5. Swiss Federal Archives BAR, E, 2500#1968/87#159* volume 12.
6. Various passages from Florence Guggenheim-Grünberg, *The Jews of Switzerland* (Küsnacht-Zürich, Edition kürz, 1982).
7. Bloch's personal datasheet at the Federal Ministry of Foreign Affairs, created 1 February 1927.
8. Bloch family tree created by Daniel Teichman, based on the civil registers of the villages of Eendingen and Lengnau and personal information from family members.
9. Daniel Teichman, 'Jewish Doctors in the Middle Ages', Factsheet of SIG, 1 September 2009.
10. Daniel Teichman, 'The first Swiss Jews as medical students in Zürich', Ritzmann I, Schweer W, Wolff E, 'Inside views of the *Aerzteschmiede*, Teaching, learning, living – from the history of Zurich medical students, (Zürich: Chronos. 2008).
11. Bloch family tree, op cit.
12. P. Altmeyer, 'Bruno Bloch', M. Geiges, 'Bruno Bloch', in C. Löser, F. Plewig: *Pantheon of Dermatologie* (Springer Medical Editions), pp.198-204.
13. Guggenheim, *Bruno Bloch: Biography and Scientific Work* (Zürich: Edition Juris 1969).
14. 'Incontinentia pigmenti', known as Bloch-Sulzberger Syndrome.
15. Bruno Bloch Foundation, Dermatological clinic of the University Hospital, Zürich.
16. Teichman, 2008, p162, op. cit.
17. Letter dated 13 July 1991 from Eva Hefti-Bloch to the Swiss Association for Jewish Genealogy.
18. Bloch's personal data sheet, Swiss Foreign Ministry.
19. Bloch's personal file at the Swiss Foreign Ministry (archive file: BAR, E2500#1968/87#159*, volume 12).
20. Wegmann, op. cit.
21. *The Diplomatic and Consular Representations of Switzerland since 1789*, op. cit.
22. *Sydney Morning Herald (SMH)*, 26 July 1917, p. 4.
23. *The Argus*, Melbourne, 2 August 1917, p. 9.
24. *The Diplomatic and Consular Representations of Switzerland since 1789*, op. cit.
25. Letter dated 19 August 1920 from the Swiss Society of Victoria to 'Nouvelle Société Helvétique', 14 Rue du Mont-Blanc, Geneva.
26. A copy of the Deed of Appointment dated 26 November 1920 appears as Item 1 in the Appendix.
27. *SMH*, 26 February 1921, 'Personal' p. 12.

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28. 'Switzerland – Organising Industry', *SMH*, 9 August 1926.
29. *SMH*, 16 February 1927, p. 8.
30. *Ibid.*, 15 July 1927.
31. *Ibid.*, 5 September 1927.
32. Bloch's personal data sheet, Swiss Foreign Ministry.
33. *SMH*, 1 May 1931. It was also reported that the Consulate General will be transferred from Melbourne to Sydney although there is no indication of this in the files of the Swiss Foreign Ministry.
34. A copy of the Deed of Approval dated 9 November 1931 appears as Item 2 in the Appendix.
35. Bloch's personal data sheet, Swiss Foreign Ministry.
36. *SMH*, 21 March 1932, p. 13. The invitation card to this occasion is still in the hands of the Bloch family.
37. *Ibid.*, 14 September 1932, p. 5.
38. *The Mercury* (Hobart), *Advocate* (Burnie) and *Examiner* (Launceston), 13-27 December 1932.
39. Swiss Federal Archives BAR, E, 2500#1968/87#159* volume 12.
40. *SMH*, 14 March 1933.
41. *Ibid.*, 31 May 1933, p. 10.
42. Swiss Federal Archives BAR, E, 2500#1968/87#159* volume 12, reference number B.21.223.1 – BV/CF.
43. Protocols des Swiss Club of New South Wales.
44. The 'Cup' is in possession of Bloch's relatives and a photo showing the inscription appears as Item 3 in the Appendix.
45. Wegmann, *op. cit.*, p.97.
46. Data sheet on Hans Hedinger, Swiss Foreign Ministry.
47. The first resident Swiss ambassador to Australia, de Graffenriet, arrived in Sydney in 1962. Following this, an Embassy was built in Canberra. De Graffenriet told the author as his commencing duties were 'to conclude a Double Taxation Agreement and to obtain Landing Rights for their airline, Swissair'. The latter required some twenty years to achieve and, once granted, was never used by the airline.
48. Urs Altermatt, *Members of Swiss Government, a biographical encyclopaedia* (Mannheim: Artemis & Winkler, 1991).
49. Dr Stefan Mächler, *Hilfe & Ohnmacht* (help & powerlessness), Federation of Swiss Jewish communities (FSJC), Zurich, 2005 comes to the same conclusion.
50. Heinz Roschewski, *Rothmund and the Jews* (Basel, Frankfurt: FSJC, 1997).
51. Coversheet to 21 bears the notation 'Files to 31.12.49 sighted and unimportant matters destroyed'. A second notation carries the date 31 December 1956. Both notations are hand signed.
52. Data sheet on Hans Hedinger, Swiss Foreign Ministry.
53. Swiss Federal Archives, file E2001C#1000/1547#1706*, B.21, Sydney: *Establishing a professional consulate in Sydney (1931-1935)*, volume 52.
54. Letter from Bloch to Dr C. Benziger, Chief of Consular Services, 28 August 1929, ref. B21/223/1.
55. Letter from Bloch to Chief of Consular Services, 23 April 1930, in French.
56. Extract of 'Report of activities by the Consulate in Sydney for 1930' for the Ministry of Trade.

57. Swiss Federal Archives, file E2001C, op.cit. The letter was written in French.
58. 'To the Federal Council', *Submission for the Transformation of the Honorary Consulates General in Oslo and Sydney to such with professional statuses*.
59. Extract from the protocol of a meeting of the Swiss Federal Government, Monday 9 October 1933.
60. To Swiss Consulate Sydney: 'Federal Council decided transformation post Sydney to Consulate general headed by career person from first January with Hedinger as caretaker, letter follows'.
61. Letter to 'Monsieur Ch. Paravicini, Ministre de Suisse, Londres', 26 October 1933 to which he replies on 31 October 1933 congratulating the Federal Government on its decision 'It is certainly in our interest that our consular posts in the Dominions of the Empire are headed by professional staff and he shall not fail to thank Mr Bloch for his activities as Consul General'.
62. Letter from Bloch to Bundesrat G. Motta, Chef des Eidgenoessischen Politischen Departement, Bern, 6 December 1933, in German.
63. Hedinger's acknowledgement, dated 13 December 1933 assured the Federal Government that he would use his best endeavours for the good of the fatherland.
64. The text of the speech covers ten A4 pages and is full of patriotic platitudes and Latin proverbs.
65. Report by Hedinger to Berne on 31 January 1934.
66. Telegram, followed by a letter dated 18 August 1934 to Berne.
67. The draft of the reply initially read, 'Accept if at own costs'. This was amended to, 'Accept if other colleagues participate too'.
68. Jakob Huber, Consul General from 1961 to 1967, remained in Sydney after his retirement and made major contributions to the revival of trade between Australia and Switzerland.
69. *SMH*, 3 July 1950.
70. *Ibid.*, 30 January 1957.
71. The letter began, 'Dear Madam, On behalf of the Swiss Government and myself I desire to extend to you the expression of deepest sympathy....'.
72. William Katz, *And the Ark Rested* (Sydney, North Shore Synagogue, February 1966).
73. Northern Suburbs Crematorium online records.
74. Per Barbara Bloch, daughter of Eugen.

MAURICE DAVID GOLDMAN— EXTRAORDINARY LINGUIST

Raymond Apple

For twelve years from 1945 to 1957 Maurice David Goldman held the chair of Semitic Studies at the University of Melbourne. He was recognised as an extraordinary linguist. An article about him that appeared in *People* magazine in 1952¹ was headed 'A Man Who Talks With 30 Tongues', the subheading was 'Dr Maurice Goldman, of Melbourne, can also read 20 other plain and fancy languages'. Given time, he could decipher almost any language put in front of him with the aid of his vast knowledge of word roots and derivations. When he left the Censorship Office at the end of the war it was said that three men were needed to replace him.

Goldman was born on 13 January 1898, in Kolo, Poland, and had a traditional Jewish education under his father's supervision. His father was Arie Leib Goldmann, a merchant, and his mother was Golda, nee Kozminska.² He already spoke five or six languages fluently before entering high school, and many others came later. He retained a competence in rabbinic sources and quoted them in his lectures, though his religious views veered away from orthodoxy and in Melbourne he joined the liberal Temple Beth Israel.

After *gymnasium* (high school) studies he entered the medical school at Warsaw University but he preferred the linguistic seminars which he first attended as an intellectual hobby. Before completing his third year as a medical student he moved to the University of Berlin where he studied Arabic, Islamic culture and Oriental languages, and gained a Doctorate of Philosophy in 1925 for a thesis, later published, on the history of the Hebrew language in the Middle Ages. He became an expert in the languages and literatures of all the Middle Eastern peoples and this knowledge added to the array of tongues known to the Continental intelligentsia of the time. He lectured in Semitic Studies at a number of German academies, becoming in due course a lecturer in Hebrew and Aramaic at the Jewish Teachers' College (*Lehranstalt der Juedischen Gemeinde zu*

Berlin) and lecturer in Islam, Arab history and Ethiopic language at the *Hochschule*, the non-orthodox rabbinic seminary. Apart from a five-volume Hebrew textbook entitled *Hebraeisch*³ which is referred to later in this paper, he published during these years a Hebrew translation of and commentary on the Ethiopic version of the pseudepigraphic, *Book of Jubilees*.⁴

Goldman was amongst those whose Jewish cultural activity – pioneered by Franz Rosenzweig and Martin Buber – played an important part in maintaining the morale of German Jewry in the fateful 1930s. He was no appeaser. He spoke his mind (as he later did in Australia), and in 1938 had to leave Germany in somewhat of a hurry. He had given a lecture on Mohammed in which he drew some rather witty parallels, though only by inference, between certain weaknesses, which the *Fuehrer* seemed to share with the Prophet. It was inevitable that he would become a target of the Gestapo. He left Germany on a Polish passport only hours before they came to arrest him and ended up in Australia, where his sister Mrs Lubranizki was living in Horsham, Victoria. He reached Melbourne on 2 January 1939, and like many refugees from the Continent faced a culture shock and a dearth of academic openings. He took on some private pupils, was a teacher at the then recently established Liberal Synagogue and later taught at the Bialik Hebrew School and became involved in the Talmud Torah that eventually became the Caulfield Hebrew Congregation.

From time to time, beginning in 1942, he gave guest lectures in Hebrew and Arabic at Melbourne University, but his paid occupation was in the military censorship office, where he allowed no document to defeat him. If need be he would quickly learn a new language in order to decipher a letter than came onto his desk. However, learning languages as far as he was concerned was never something merely perfunctory or pragmatic. His university colleague Professor Alan R. Chisholm – who thought Goldman was 'a gift from heaven' to Australian academia – pointed out that 'Goldman never learnt a language without also mastering its history and literature'.⁵

The logical setting for a scholar like Goldman was a tertiary teaching post, but the Jewish community had no institute for advanced studies (and little interest in establishing one) and Melbourne University had no Semitics faculty. The story of the emergence of the Semitic Studies Department resulting from the financial sponsorship of Abraham Hyam Sicree, and his brother Lazarus, is told in my article in Volume 5 Part 1 of this Journal.⁶ In his history of Mount Scopus College, Benzion Patkin described how Abraham Sicree began to show an interest in Jewish affairs in the 1930s and 1940s, intensifying after his father's death in 1944. The

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Chair funded by Abraham and Lazarus Sicree with a gift of ten thousand pounds gave the University a means of offering an appointment to Goldman, but the official wheels had to turn at their own pace before the department could come into being, and in theory it was always possible that a rival candidate might come forward and be appointed instead of Goldman.

The events were spearheaded by Professor Chisholm, the then dean of the Faculty of Arts, who regarded Goldman as 'a man of genius'⁷ but knew he had to tread warily. It was not only that this was a time of turmoil in the Middle East and some feared that creating a Chair of Semitic Studies and possibly appointing a Jewish professor would be construed as taking sides between Arabs and Jews, but there was a range of views on the campus about where the university's priorities should lie. Professor Chisholm was adamant that Semitic languages and literatures had a role to play in the university's cultural offerings (and urged that more should be done to promote Hebrew within the Jewish community) and he insisted that he was promoting the university's own interests by encouraging the establishment of a Semitics department.

Chisholm knew that the proposed Chair would need to be advertised and other scholars had to be considered, but he was quite certain that Goldman would prove to be the best candidate for the position. He had this feeling from their first conversation (and he devoted a whole chapter to Goldman in his book, *Men Were My Milestones*). He wrote, 'Half an hour's conversation made it clear to me that it would be a disaster for the University to miss the chance of getting a scholar of Goldman's eminence.'⁸ His words proved prophetic. Despite a number of overseas applicants, Goldman was appointed in May 1945 and the University conferred on him a Master of Arts degree. The Sicree brothers' funding was only for five years but thereafter the University accepted full responsibility for the department.

Goldman soon became a well-known figure within the University and beyond it, and was involved amongst other activities in the establishment of the Australian Humanities Research Council. His conviviality and friendship with other senior academics was seen on many days of the week when he brought colleagues to Cohen's kosher restaurant in Drummond Street, Carlton, opposite Herzl Hall (the headquarters of Habonim, the Zionist youth movement) to acquaint them with Jewish food. At home he loved to entertain, and his guests delighted in his housekeeper's culinary talents (though on occasion the catering was in the hands of Leon Gurewicz), as well as in his wine cellar.

Goldman began his professorial work with a visit to the Middle

East to investigate educational trends and textbooks, and embarked energetically on his teaching responsibilities. The department's courses covered not only Hebrew, Aramaic and Arabic but the whole range of Semitic languages. Because student numbers were relatively low Goldman had a heavy burden of classroom teaching. Almost his only assistant was a lecturer, Shalom Benzion (Benny) Gurewicz, the younger son of Rabbi J. L. Gurewicz of the Carlton United Hebrew Congregation, one of the few Australian *ge'onim*.⁹ Benny himself was a polymath scholar who later, after parting company with Goldman and the university, had a sheaf of careers including lawyer, businessman, teacher, translator, journalist, and even caterer.

Professor Goldman was an unforgettable teacher. A short, heavy, ponderous figure (he admitted to about 14 stone but this must have been an under-estimate, and he certainly loved to eat), he had an impassive poker-face (Professor Chisholm speaks of his 'massive head and heavy-lidded eyes')¹⁰ and could and often did over-awe young students. I have to admit that from the moment of my oral examination in Matriculation Hebrew I was scared of him and in my early years at university put off enrolling in his department for certain Arts subjects which I needed to combine with my law studies. In the end I had the courage to take his courses in Hebrew and Aramaic in 1957, but I was not to know that he was seriously ill and would not be able to complete the year.

Goldman had a wonderfully dry wit and even in the course of a lecture on a technical point of academic linguistics he could introduce – with all the appearance of meaning it seriously – some preposterous comment that he found it hard not to enjoy. He told us, for instance, that the letter *tet* never follows *gimmel* – with one exception, and in that case the combination proved disastrous. What was the combination? *Gimmel tet* – *get*, a divorce. He had an ancient Vauxhall car which was once stolen and found next morning miles away. Not long afterwards his Arabic class were met with a passage for translation in their examination paper, telling of the theft of 'a lovely and beautiful black Mehri she-camel' with the strength of fourteen valiant steeds and the speed of the desert wind. Her food was pure oil, her drink a liquid taken from the innermost bowels of the earth and purified especially for her. Her name? 'Baxu-Hallu', the nearest Arabic spelling of Vauxhall. Professor Chisholm recalled that at the height of tension between Arabs and Jews there was a high-level Jewish communal dinner in Melbourne at which Goldman was asked to say Grace, and he did so in Arabic!¹¹

Despite his impish sense of humour, however, Goldman was less than amused to hear what he considered to be incorrect and ungrammatical Hebrew spoken in the streets of Israel. The tables

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were turned when he told an Israeli taxi driver the address to which he wanted to be taken, and the driver rebuked him for what he considered his passenger's defective Hebrew!

Goldman's approach to language teaching was revolutionary. Already in Germany he had written a five-volume textbook entitled *Hebraeisch*, (Hebrew), published in Hebrew and German in both Berlin and *Eretz Israel* (the Land of Israel) in the 1930s. It went through several editions and sold thousands of copies. He systematised the language and its grammar on the basis of its linguistic structure and by the time he resumed academic teaching in Australia he had uncovered further features of Hebrew which he entitled *The Melbourne Rules*. It could well have been that he thought of translating and revising *Hebraeisch* but his illness and early death made this impossible. He did, however, utilise many of the linguistic charts in the original book for the purposes of his Melbourne lectures. He revised and expanded some of the material for a series of slides entitled *Principles of Hebrew Grammar*, made by the University's Department of Visual Aids.

His colleague Richard H. Samuel, the Professor of German, wrote:

Professor Goldman's particular strength lay in the combination of solid scholarship and lively teaching. He evolved, and this is perhaps his most important contribution in the field of learning and academic teaching, a special approach to and method of teaching foreign languages, which sprang from his enormous knowledge of comparative philology. By reducing complicated grammatical structures in various languages to their fundamental historical bases, and by using novel visual aids, he made it simple, easy and enjoyable for students to learn and acquire ever widening knowledge of even remote languages and dialects.¹²

Many of Goldman's students were earnest Christians planning to enter the ministry but it was not necessarily just with them in mind that he was amongst the founders of the Fellowship for Biblical Studies, which he chaired for some years. The Fellowship gave him the opportunity of sharing with and influencing Christian and Jewish Bible scholars, thus playing a constructive role in interfaith dialogue based on sound knowledge and not just vague general goodwill. The initial meeting took place at his home on 11 July 1950, when it was agreed to establish 'a society devoted solely to scientific research of biblical and related matters'. The foundation members apart from Goldman himself were Professor G. Calvert Barber,

Professor E. C. Burleigh, Rev Alec Fraser, S.B. Gurewicz, Professor J.D.A. Macnicol, Professor Hector Maclean and Rabbi Dr Herman Sanger – five Christians and two Jews. The first public meeting was on 25 October 1950, when Goldman gave a paper on the Isaiah manuscripts of the Dead Sea Scrolls, controversially arguing that the material is no older than the second century C.E. He was convinced that careless copyists had wrought considerable damage to Biblical texts and created linguistic impossibilities.

This paper was published in the first issue of the Fellowship's *Australian Biblical Review* – though it must be said that lack of funds meant that in its early years the journal had to be roneoed and was consequently rather hard to read. For a considerable time Goldman used the *Review* as the main avenue of his writings, which ranged from lexicographical analyses to a series on Jeremiah and, characteristically, included an essay on *Humour in the Hebrew Bible*. This latter paper was his presidential address to the Fellowship in 1952. An example of his thesis is what he saw as the constant resort of the author of the Book of Ruth to puns on names. He notes that not only Old Testament authors but also the writers of the New Testament utilise wordplays to make their point.¹³

He represented the Fellowship at the 1953 International Congress of Old Testament Scholars in Copenhagen and wrote a report for the *Australian Biblical Review*, highlighting not only the scholarly papers at the conference but the valuable opportunities the occasion presented for personal and academic networking. Both in his writings and in his comments on papers read at Fellowship meetings he was robust in his rejection of what he considered untenable assertions made by other scholars – for example, on the nature and message of the Book of Ruth. He was convinced that commentators, copyists and translators often misunderstood the Biblical texts. His corrections of their renderings formed the basis for a series of lexicographical notes, which he offered at various meetings of the Fellowship and later published in the *A.B.R.* He eventually became disenchanted with the Fellowship and was heard to make the caustic comment that when he ceased being president, the organisation would lose any Jewish content.

His writings included a Hebrew primer for Jewish children. Entitled *Limda Yaldi*, (Learn, My Child), it was sponsored by Temple Beth Israel and published by Freelance Press in Melbourne in 1955, carrying a commendation by the Temple's senior minister, Rabbi Dr. Herman Sanger. It was one of the few Hebrew textbooks ever produced by Australian Jewry. However, the book, with its whimsical illustrations by Joe Greenberg, was criticised by some for including pictures of boys without head covering and not giving the lessons

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more religious content. Others said that a serious academic should not be writing children's books. Still it must be said that Goldman had a fine insight into a child's mind and the contents of *Limda Yaldi* were carefully worked out, though possibly the teachers who used the book in their classes were not quite sure of what teaching methods the author expected of them. *Limda Yaldi* was used at the Temple Beth Israel classes, but outside the Temple it did not prove a great success and these days hardly anyone remembers it.

Goldman was an active member of the Zionist movement and B'nai B'rith and in the 1940s served on the education committee of the Victorian Jewish Advisory Board, the forerunner of the Victorian Jewish Board of Deputies, for whom he gave a number of adult education lectures and conducted in-service classes for Hebrew teachers. He was particularly active – and far from a 'yes' man – on the Mount Scopus College Council during the school's formative period in the late 1940s and early 1950s, and was energetically involved in the College's Hebrew syllabus committee and the selection committees for a headmaster and a director of Jewish Studies. He had misgivings about Abraham Feiglin's appointment as inaugural College principal and urged him to upgrade his qualifications by pursuing advanced studies in Hebrew. Benzion Patkin, in his book on the history of the College, describes Goldman as a close colleague, especially at the frequent times of controversy, and he valued Goldman's support.¹⁴ Nonetheless Goldman eventually felt that he had no place at Mount Scopus.

Involved in – and often highly critical of – everything that happened in the Jewish community, he also wrote articles for the Jewish press in English, Hebrew and Yiddish. He had begun work on an Ethiopic dictionary but did not live long enough to complete it.

Temple Beth Israel was the venue of his funeral service when he died of cancer in September 1957. He was subsequently cremated at Springvale. During the funeral service, students whose Jewish orthodoxy prevented them from entering a reform house of worship stood outside the Temple building in Alma Road, St. Kilda, in tribute to their teacher. It should be recorded that some of his students were or became orthodox rabbis. In my own case my rather pedantic concern for correct Hebrew grammar is definitely thanks to him, and I might add that I utilised my notes of his Aramaic lectures when, many years later, I taught Aramaic grammar at the University of Sydney.

Goldman's wife Fela (nee Hermeon) had died in Germany in 1932. They had no children. His residuary estate was left to the University of Melbourne. An article about him in the *Australian Jewish News* in 2006¹⁵ rightly called him 'a linguistic giant' and reminisced about his feats and foibles.

Maurice David Goldman 611

THANKS

In preparing this paper, I have received helpful information from Dr. David Cohen and Dr. Margot Sims Cohen, Rabbi Dr John Levi, Sam Lipski and Professor Louis Waller.

ENDNOTES

1. *People*, 13 February 1952.
2. See also Nina Christesen, 'Goldman, Maurice David (1898–1957)', *Australian Dictionary of Biography* (National Centre of Biography, Australian National University), <http://adb.anu.edu.au/biography/goldman-maurice-david-10319/text18263>, accessed 8 April 2012.
3. M.D. Goldman, *Hebraeisch* (Berlin-Charlottenburg/Tel Aviv: Verlag Sefathenu, 1933-1934). Thousands of copies were sold – part of the Jewish cultural upsurge in Germany in the 1930s – and some volumes were revised and reprinted several times.
4. On the Book of Jubilees – *Sefer HaYovelim* – see *Encyclopedia Judaica*, first ed., 1972, vol. 10, cols. 324-326.
5. A.R. Chisholm, *Men Were My Milestones* (Melbourne: Melbourne University Press, 1958), p. 132.
6. Raymond Apple, 'The Origins of the Semitic Studies Department, Melbourne University', *Australian Jewish Historical Society Journal*, vol. 5, part 1 (1959), pp. 30-38.
7. Chisholm, *op. cit.*, p. 126.
8. *Babel* (Modern Language Teachers' Association of Victoria), no. 6, November 1957, p. i.
9. An eminent Jewish scholar noted for wisdom and knowledge of the Talmud.
10. Chisholm, *op.cit.*, p. 126.
11. *Ibid*, p. 132.
12. *Babel*, *loc. cit.*
13. The first five volumes of the *Australian Biblical Review* contained a range of contributions by Goldman. Vol. 6 reports his death.
14. Benzion Patkin, *Heritage and Tradition: The Emergence of Mount Scopus College* (Melbourne, Hawthorn, 1972). There are many references to Goldman.
15. *Australian Jewish News*, 30 June 2006.

BOOK REVIEWS

A TRAGEDY IN TWO ACTS: MARCUS EINFELD AND TERESA BRENNAN

By Fiona Harari. (Victory Books, Melbourne 2011,) 226 pages.

I have to admit I approached this book warily, thinking it might simply be an enlarged gossip magazine article; however I was delighted to find it was a well-researched objective description of the uncannily intertwined lives of Federal Court Judge Marcus Einfeld and academic and author Professor Teresa Brennan. Harari has recorded the trajectories of two lives, which intersected in a way that affected the reputations of two highly intelligent people and had ramifications of Shakespearean proportions on minor characters in the dramatic tragedy that their lives became. The book has a dramatic momentum, made stronger by the use of present tense which makes it difficult to put the book down.

In order to keep the story going, Harari does not use footnotes, but in endnotes quotes lines from her text and gives sources. This unusual method has its drawbacks, as in some cases, the information is already in the text or included as a source in the quotations, which introduce each chapter. However, somewhere along the road to publication a serious error has occurred and page numbers, which once may have been correct, are no longer so. This sees a number of her notes referring to the wrong page number, viz. Prologue p.vii should be p.v; p.xiv is actually xii, xiii is actually xi; chapter 2 p.15 is actually p.19, p.38 should be 37.

Marcus Einfeld's story is well-known through media reports and community gossip – he was apprehended speeding in a car in Mosman in 2006, but denied he was driving the car and instead claimed it was a different car and was being driven by a visiting academic, Australian-born, US-based Professor Teresa Brennan. Einfeld's downfall came through two journalists' need to find further information about Brennan. Their discovery that she had been dead for three years hit the headlines but Einfeld, instead of admitting his lie, compounded it until he was gaoled for two years for perjury and perverting the course of justice. In doing this, he embroiled more

people in this sorry saga and, worst of all, destroyed his own reputation and community standing in the process. Brennan, a highly intelligent, driven individual given to alienating some friends but endearing herself to others, was killed in an unsolved hit and run accident on a cold, windy, rainy night in Florida. By Marcus Einfeld using her name as an excuse for a driving offence he unwittingly kept her memory alive for the wrong reasons.

In her discussion of Einfeld and Brennan, Harari shows us their lives in parallel in each chapter until Brennan's untimely demise. Marcus climbs the ladder of success in his legal profession and is a high profile human rights defender; he involves himself in aboriginal rights and Palestinian statehood; he receives accolades and honours. Teresa finds it hard to establish herself in academic circles on a permanent basis and moves around seeking employment at a number of universities until she becomes the head of a program in Florida to create public intellectuals. She is by now the author of half a dozen books. In a strange way, Brennan's last book, *The Transmission of Affect*, argued that the emotions and energies of one person can be absorbed directly by another (p.vi prologue). Weirdly, Brennan predicted her own death at fifty and shortly after her death her cousin Deb (another Professor Brennan and sister-in-law of Robert Goot) was in Melbourne visiting a cousin of Marcus's who had received a traffic fine for a car she was not driving. Deb suggested jokingly that she could say that Professor Brennan was driving the car.

Both Brennan and Einfeld are portrayed as people who have generous yet complicated personalities, who create strong emotions in their friends often to the point of cessation of friendship. However, there are those who remain loyal to the end. Despite their generosity they both share a sense of invincibility, hubris and their risk-taking behavior, which leads to self-destruction. David Williamson writes on the back cover: 'Two highly talented and charismatic figures, both cursed with killer Shakespearean flaws, linked for a brief moment by fate, race inexorably toward their separate destinies, death in one case, disgrace in the other.' They both have high profile antecedents – Marcus is the son of highly-acclaimed Labor minister and Jewish community leader, Sydney Einfeld, and grandson of Great Synagogue rabbi Marcus Einfeld; Teresa is the grandniece of Frank Brennan, who served as federal attorney-general. Their paths first crossed when Marcus was representing her mother in a case involving handling of real estate funds. He later became involved romantically with Teresa's cousin Phillipa who described both of them as lovable and maddening. Teresa's cousin David said the Australian public regarded Teresa as a footnote in Marcus's life, but he saw Marcus as a footnote in Teresa's.

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Harari uses detailed quotations from friends and colleagues as well as official documents from newspapers and legal sources to tell their stories. However, Einfeld's family declined to be interviewed for this book, as did Vivian Schenker who eventually admitted to being the second person in the car on that fateful afternoon. Jack Fisher, Marcus's old friend gave a long interview which Harari dissects over a number of pages.

The book ends with Marcus a free man again after March 2011, but the echoes of this saga continue to reverberate in the Sydney Jewish community as so many know of Marcus and his downfall. I feel that this book has gone some way to examining the case without hysteria and to posing much greater questions about the lives we lead and the choices we make.

Helen Bersten

***TO MY BRAVE WIFE: DUNERA NOTES FROM A
JEWISH 'ENEMY ALIEN'***

By Kurt Epstein, Edited by Yoram Epstein, Translated by Lee Kersten (Sydney: Australian Jewish Historical Society, 2011).

Like many 'Dunera boys', Kurt Epstein was no mere boy when he began his unintended and arduous journey to Australia on 10 July 1940. His journey, again like that of many unwilling shipmates, could be said to have begun on Kristallnacht, 9-10 November, when he was a 35-year-old physician in the Jewish hospital of his birthplace Breslau, where he had grown up in a family 'modern-orthodox' in the practice of their religion and Zionist in politics. The 'night of the broken glass' – sardonic euphemism for pogrom – put an end to any lingering hope among German and Austrian Jews that they could survive Nazism.

Nazi monitors of the event had Dr Epstein arrested for giving shelter in his hospital to Jews seeking refuge from officially sanctioned violence. He and his brother, a textile dealer, were sent to the concentration camp near Weimar whose name would become infamous – Buchenwald – and released on condition that they leave Germany soon. They hung on for some months. Kurt set off for England in July 1939, leaving behind his wife Renate, who was a nurse in the hospital, and their two-year-old daughter, Eva. When the war began he was registered as an enemy alien, and in May 1940 interned. His brother got out three months later, and landed illegally in Palestine, or as the Zionists called it, *Eretz Israel*.

Like most on board the *Dunera*, Dr Epstein was incarcerated first in the far south-western New South Wales town of Hay – ‘at the edge of the desert’, and after eight months was moved to a camp in the more verdant landscape of Tatura in northern Victoria.

Between 13 July 1941 and 27 August 1942 he wrote in a notebook an account of his experiences in England, on the *Dunera*, in the camps, and on his next sea voyage, begun in August 1942, to Port Said and thence to Tel Aviv.

The exercise book in which he set down those experiences, in German, on 82 clearly handwritten pages, was found by his family only a few years go.

The present volume reproduces the original text in photocopy and incorporates versions in English and Hebrew, the English translation by Lee Kersten of the University of Adelaide, the Hebrew version by the author’s son Yoram, in retirement from the position of Commander and Chief Scientist of the Israeli Defence Force Institute of Military Physiology. Yoram Epstein also contributes a personal preface, and there is an introductory essay entitled ‘The Dunera experience’ by Konrad Kwiet, emeritus professor of German Studies at Macquarie University and now Adjunct Professor of Jewish Studies at the University of Sydney and resident historian at the Sydney Jewish Museum. They are joined in editorship by Helen Bersten, honorary archivist of the Australian Jewish Historical Society, which is responsible for this special publication. There is a substantial bibliography, and there are reference notes useful for twenty-first century readers.

The volume is skilfully designed to resemble the exercise book in which it originated, having on its cover the words ‘TO MY BRAVE WIFE. Dunera notes from a Jewish “enemy alien”.’ To My Brave Wife was the author’s title, and it reads poignantly. Dr Epstein agonised over his decision to leave wife and daughter behind in Germany. ‘Oh how often’, he wrote on 6 March 1942, ‘I have already cursed the cowardice that caused me to go, leaving my wife and child, my mother and my sister.’ As he would learn in Palestine, Renate and Eva had been put to death four months before he wrote those words. His sister Ruth was killed in Auschwitz in 1943 and his mother starved to death six months later in Theresienstadt.

Epstein’s prose is orderly, sparing, even clinical. He lets the horrors of life aboard the *Dunera* speak for themselves. He has a sure eye for the telling detail, as in this entry on the daily schedule at Tatura: ‘Roll-call. Each man had to answer with “Here, Sir.” “Sir” here was addressed to the hut leader who was taking the roll-call, and not to the attending officer.’ In Tatura as in Hay, he has explained, hut leaders were elected by the internees, and became

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delegates to a camp parliament. Incorporating the hut leaders in the rituals of inspection was one sign of the hybrid character of the camps, as both prison and democracy. At Hay Dr Epstein himself had been elected a hut captain and deputy chairman of his camp's parliament, as well as being director of a clinic and deputy chairman of a Zionist circle, learning English, and lecturing to a medical society on heart disease and to inmates at large on hygiene. That was more than enough, he reflected; and at Tatura he declined several invitations to serve on representative bodies while continuing religious activities first undertaken at Hay, such as conducting a synagogue choir on High Holy Days and at Friday evening services. Among nicely chosen illustrations, the editors give us a reproduction of a watercolour painting by the Berlin-born Erwin Fabian of the synagogue at Tatura in which Dr Epstein served as cantor. Happily, the artist is still at work. An exhibition of his recent sculptures and monotypes is now on in Sydney at the Robin Gibson Gallery [May 2011].

Dr Epstein has much to say on the texture of life in camp: the intellectual, cultural and physical activities of these exiles who were bringing Berlin and Vienna to the bush. He refers only in passing to political conflicts in which he was either participant or close observer, but has more to say about an issue which still rankles with some old Dunera boys: the indifference or hostility of Jewish organisations to the plight of the newcomers. 'The official committee of the Australian Jews', he writes, 'the Australian Jewish Welfare Society, was asked by the government to take on the task of looking after our interests.' He describes the Society's response to that request as 'scandalous'. 'We always had the feeling . . . that the AJWS wanted to do everything to get us out of Australia so that we should in no way be a burden to the Australian Jews . . . ' When the Society's secretary visited Hay, his demeanour', Dr Epstein writes, 'almost got him hissed at.' What Konrad Kwiet describes as the 'passivity' of the AJWS and some other representatives of established Australian Judaism came as a disagreeable surprise to Dr Epstein. 'It is an example', he writes, 'of how help often does not come from the place where one expects it most . . . '

Zionists were more fraternal. Their support helped to secure his early release from Tatura at the end of June 1942 and a passage on a ship carrying frozen meat, the *Port Phillip*, which took him to Port Said en route to Tel Aviv. As unofficial ship's doctor he was kept busy from the first day out of Sydney, when as he noted, 'one of the seamen was so drunk that he fell down an iron stair on to the iron plated deck. The result was a hole in his skull that I had to sew up. The operation went smoothly in spite of my not being experienced in such

things. The next morning the patient was at work without a bandage.'

A short postscript ends with 'the hope that the time may not be so far away when I can hand this account to my beloved wife.' That time never came.

Kurt Epstein was one of perhaps 150 Dunera boys (out of some 2500) who got to Palestine or Israel. (Porush in foreword to Patkin.) He married a dentist in 1947 and practised as a physician in Tel Aviv, where he died in 1985. Yoram is one of two sons. Editing the diary, he writes, is a significant contribution to the story of the *Dunera* boys. 'It is significant as well', he concludes, 'in commemorating a humane, wonderful person, physician, and beloved father.'

Ken Inglis

EMPIRE DAY

By Diane Armstrong

(Harper Collins, Fourth Estate, Sydney, 2011), 506 pages.

This is the author's third fictional novel. Previously, she has published many travel articles, a family history, *Mosaic*, about her paternal and maternal families in Cracow and Lwow, formerly Lemberg, and the amazing story of her family and 600 other migrants' trip on the ship, *SS Derna*, from Marseille to Melbourne in 1948, entitled *The Voyage of Their Life*.

This book is a panoramic story of the residents of a street in Bondi Junction, Sydney, from May 1949 to May 1950. Empire Day was a celebration of the British Empire, which involved mainly children, and included street bonfires and hand-held fireworks, attracting both young and old in a neighbourhood. A few years later it became known as Commonwealth Day, and when hand-held fireworks were banned because of the many accidents that occurred with them, it petered out in the 1960s.

The novel recounts the lives and interactions between the inhabitants of Wattle Street during that year. Armstrong describes a group of people who include a variety of working-class Australian families, several recently arrived Jewish refugee families from Poland, and also one family of recently arrived Latvians, so-called Balts. The old Australians initially resent the newcomers, claiming they take up scarce accommodation and are involved in underhand dealings.

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There are several key characters whose experiences form the basis of the interweaving plots. One is the ten year old Hania from Poland, eager to fit in with her school friends in the street, and her widowed mother, Eda Kotowicz, who is anxious to keep her daughter Jewish and earns their living by hemming and finishing large piles of women's garments at home. Another is Mr Emil, a mysterious single Jewish male, originally from Berlin. There is also a lively red-haired Australian street urchin, nicknamed Meggsie, who befriends Hania. His deserted mother, Kath, works as a barmaid to support her family of four boys and has to dodge the sexual advances of her employer. In addition, there is the widowed Verna Browning whose only son Ted has at last become a professional reporter on a daily newspaper and who tries to advance his career by researching currently newsworthy topics. Finally there is elderly but prosperous Miss Maude McNulty, a single, embittered, unpleasant person, feared by her neighbours.

The author cleverly uses contemporary concerns to carry forward the story: the almost universal fear of communism, the antipathy and envy of old Australians for newcomers and refugees, the outbreak of a poliomyelitis epidemic and its old-fashioned treatment and the deep-seated antipathy between Australian Catholics and Protestants at that time. The nostalgia young Hania feels for the way her Polish wartime foster parents celebrated Catholic festivals and included her, while the fact that Judaism has no meaning for her is also mentioned.

Gradually things improve as Australians' natural friendliness and hospitality overcome their distrust of the newcomers, and there is even a beginning of a sense of mutual appreciation between the two groups. The young reporter falls in love with the stunning fragile beauty of the eighteen-year old Baltic girl, to the dismay of her parents. A young ill-assorted Polish Jewish couple fall out of love and start new relationships. The woman who has been the bane of the neighbourhood shows a generous side and becomes accepted by people who used to dislike her.

Diane Armstrong has a deep understanding of human nature and its quirks. She has also researched the habits, the food brands, the favourite dishes of both Australians and Jewish newcomers, and the attitudes of both groups, which makes the book completely believable as a portrait of the eastern suburbs in Sydney in 1949-1950. This is a book to be savoured for its verisimilitude, its humanism, and the redemption of all its characters in one way or another and is recommended reading.

Sophie Caplan

JEWISH LIVES IN NEW ZEALAND: A HISTORY

Editors Leonard Bell & Diana Morrow with chapters written by fourteen contributors.

(Random House, Auckland, 2012).

Leonard Bell is an art and cultural historian, who has lectured at the University of Auckland, whilst Diana Morrow is a professional historian. Their book covers the diverse activities of the Jewish population of New Zealand. This is not a history of Judaism in New Zealand; rather it discusses how the various professions and arts have been enriched by the influence of the Jewish people who migrated there over the past 170 years. Each of the contributors has written extensively in their subject, from the arts (music, painting, writing) and education, through to medicine, dentistry, and commerce.

For a book published by a renowned international publisher there are some disappointing features, including errors and omissions. There are a number of typographical errors that should have been picked up by doing a computer spell-check. Similarly for a university's cultural historian to write that Rabbi Jeremy Lawrence, who is now senior rabbi of The Great Synagogue, Sydney, left Auckland and is 'currently Sydney's chief Orthodox rabbi' indicates a poor knowledge of the Australasian Jewish community.

Also near the beginning there is the problematic statement that 'Further Jewish migration followed from...Egypt in the mid to late 1950s, as a consequence of.... the Suez crisis', rather than acknowledging that the Egyptian authorities expelled a significant proportion of Egyptian Jewry in 1956. Almost all the remaining Jews were expelled at the time of the 1967 war.

We find that there are some two and a half pages devoted to Harry Maurice Miller (who is still living) whilst Eric Baume gets approximately around three quarters of a page. There is no mention of the fact that as an investigative journalist he was awarded an OBE and his highly successful radio and TV programme, 'I'm On Your Side', became a forerunner to the current programs such as 'This Day Tonight' and 'A Current Affair'. Baume was also the first *Beast* in the TV programme *Beauty and the Beast*, and set a confrontational style that was to be later imitated by other interviewers and journalists.

Another error is on page 15 of Leonard Bell's introduction, where he states that 'Early traders like Joe Polack and Joseph Barrow Montefiore, who had a Maori wife, appear to have had good, even 'special' relationships with Maori.' Rabbi John Levi in *These Are the*

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Names points out that Joseph Barrow Montefiore married Rebecca Mocatta in London and had his wife and two daughters with him when he arrived in Australia in 1829. Prior to travelling on to New Zealand in August 1830, he hired two Maoris in Sydney to teach him the language. This would explain his 'special' relationship with the Maori people in New Zealand where he resided for four months.

Unfortunate omissions are the fact that the *Ketubah* (certificate) for the marriage of L.D. Nathan and Rosetta Aarons, New Zealand's first *Chuppah* (Jewish marriage ceremony), is now in the Auckland Museum. Nor is there any acknowledgement on page 277 that besides being knighted, David Levene had served a period as Chancellor of Massey University in Palmerston.

Although there is a glossary explaining the meaning of the Hebrew terminology used throughout the book, there are no explanations for the Maori terms used such as Pakeha (white European).

There is extensive usage of photographs of people throughout the book and also of memorabilia and various books and pamphlets, all of which will be of interest to expatriate New Zealanders seeking memories and also for those who use the book for research purposes. There is a fair amount of extraneous information, but the book's major benefit for historians in the future will probably lie in the extensive endnotes and bibliography, which are excellently laid out.

M. J. Kensell

AUSTEN TAYSHUS. MERCHANT OF MENACE

*By Ross Fitzgerald and Rick Murphy
(Hale & Ironmonger, 2011), 284pp.*

Sandy Gutman might have become a dentist but the only outlet for his anger and aggression would have been the drill and one patient at a time; as a stand-up comedian the whole world is his stage.

Austen Tayshus is the alter ego of Alexander (Sandy) Gutman, son of well-known community identity, Margaret Gutman. A rude, angry, argumentative, 'merchant of menace' he was created to deal with a world Gutman found hard to relate to. Gutman developed an obsession with his father's Holocaust experiences that he could not cast aside. As a comedian, Gutman found that using Tayshus as his voice, he could rail at society on behalf of his Holocaust survivor father and release his own feelings of anger engendered by his

father's experiences. Yet today he also finds solace in the synagogue where Gutman attends as often as he can when not touring. It is a 'refuge from the chaotic, insensitive outside world.' He had been heavily into drugs and alcohol prior to a serious car accident in 1986.

Ross Fitzgerald, professor of history and politics at Griffith University and Rick Murphy, senior writer for *Scoop* magazine in Perth, both lovers of comedy, have collaborated in writing this easily-readable biography of Sandy Gutman. It is full of humour and pathos, the latter in describing Sandy's soul-searching on his father's behalf; the former in describing Austen Tayshus's outrageous behaviour. (See particularly pages 123 to 125.) The light-hearted look (Ray-Bans used as section separators in different positions as if Austen Tayshus is reading the pages) belies the serious discussion of Gutman's career achievements. The authors interviewed many people for this story but Gutman did not see the book until it was printed. However he, his family, friends and fellow comedians have contributed to the biography. His fellow students in some of the earliest classes at the Australian Film and Television School – Phillip Noyce, Chris Noonan, Jane Campion and Gillian Armstrong have not forgotten him.

In his personal life, Sandy is described as quiet, even 'one of nature's gentlemen', a caring father and good friend. But Austen Tayshus chooses to alienate friends and audiences alike in his search for the perfect performance. He loves to attack his audiences and to set both sides against each other. A good show has catcalls and fist fights as well as applause. He is described as possessing 'a razor-sharp intellect, astonishing vocal dexterity, flawless timing and profound energy'. Hiding behind his trademark Ray Ban sunglasses, he uses his voice alone to communicate with his audience. He has had some film roles but it is his stage work which attracts attention. His performance of 'Australiana' written with Billy Birmingham, became the highest selling single in Australian recording history when it was recorded by Festival Records. (The words appear on pages 91 to 93 of this book. 'Highway Corroboree', another popular performance piece, is on pages 192 to 194.)

He has been compared to American comics Lenny Bruce, Mort Sahl and Bill Hicks. His no-compromise attitude is said to be similar to Hunter S. Thompson's writing style. He is vulgar, confrontational and abusive. The authors say 'Almost all Australian stand-up comedians acknowledge Gutman's powerful performance style and undeniable intellect...yet it is his belligerent approach that causes friction.' He is a brilliant mimic who can carry on conversations in languages he does not speak. He has been described as 'totally brave' with 'the courage to fail'. Vince Sorrenti and Andrew Denton are

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admirers as are comedians in the USA. Film stars Johnny Depp and Harvey Keitel are friends.

Whether you love or loathe Austen Tayshus, you will get some laughs and learn some lessons from this book.

Helen Bersten

THE BIBLIOGRAPHY OF AUSTRALASIAN JUDAICA, 1788-2008

*By Serge Liberman, Third edition (Hybrid Publishers,
Melbourne 2011), 836 pages.*

This massive volume is divided into several sections, including Part One: Fiction; Part Two: Non Fiction; Part Three: Sources and Indexes of Names and Subjects. Each part is in turn subdivided, as for instance Fiction, into Creative Writing by Jews in English and European Languages, then again into Prose, Poetry, Anthologies of Jewish Writings, and other Australian literary anthologies. There is also a section on Creative Writing by Jews in Yiddish and Hebrew, again with subdivisions, and the Jew as Character in Host Australian literature. The Non-Fiction section has also many subdivisions which include the Arts and Other; Autobiography and Biography; a very large section, History and Life of Jews in Australia; Politics; World Wars I and II; Zionism and Memoirs; particularly of World War II; Judaism and Philosophy; and even Jewish Visitors to Australasia.

This publication is a huge undertaking, particularly when one knows that Dr Serge Liberman is a physician who earns his living by practicing medicine, and who also writes and publishes novels and volumes of short stories. It is dedicated to the memories of three personalities who influenced and helped Liberman in his two previous editions. The first is Joy Ruth Young, nee Perlman, editor and indexer of the first edition 'without whose perseverance and devotion this project would never have reached fruition, nor established the basis for its ongoing expansion and development'. She was also the only and late sister of Suzanne Rutland, the editor of this Journal. The second is the late Nancy Keesing, an Australian novelist and member of the Australia Council for the Arts, who encouraged Serge in his endeavours. The third is the late much missed Professor Alan David Crown, 'scholar, teacher, innovator, editor, founder of the Archive of Australian Judaica and of the Mandelbaum Trust, and prime mover behind the *Bibliography of*

Australian Judaica. Liberman and his publishers also thank the Pratt Foundation and the Australian Centre for Jewish Civilisation at Monash University in Melbourne for their funding and support. There is a Foreword by Rabbi Dr John Simon Levi who emphasises the role of books in the Jewish religion and the prevalence of literacy amongst the early Jewish community, which set it apart from the rest of the population. 'It was the ability to read that defined a Jewish adult above the age of thirteen'.

This is certainly an admirable volume and the care and detail Liberman has invested in compiling it deserve great *yichus*, but one may find some criticisms. The section of World War II memoirs takes just over one hundred pages of about five stories per page. Many more memoirs have been written and published in Melbourne under the Makor Library 'Write your story' scheme and under a similar project at the Sydney Jewish Museum. In my estimation this volume contains at least seventy-five per cent more stories from Melbourne memorialists than stories from Sydney survivors. Whether in fact many more such stories were published in Melbourne than in Sydney is impossible to ascertain. There are also far more Melbourne books, pamphlets, and journals listed than those published in Sydney, possibly because it was easier to become aware of them by an author residing in Melbourne.

A very worthwhile feature is the fact that there are also New Zealand publications included. In certain parts, non-Jewish authors, even antisemitic ones, are included, yet Australian Jews who are regularly published in overseas Jewish quarterlies such as *Avotaynu*, the *International Review of Jewish Genealogy*, on topics relevant to Australian Jewish life, are omitted. Similarly the *Kosher Koala*, the *Australian Review of Jewish Genealogy* which was published as a quarterly for ten years, but is now published on the internet, is not mentioned. Surely Australian Jewish genealogy deserves at least to be mentioned.

Perhaps the answer to these relatively small defects is that Dr Serge Liberman should be granted more funds in order to be able to acquire aides, preferably someone active in Sydney and also someone in New Zealand. The fact that he undertakes such a vast and demanding project for the third time must earn the gratitude and admiration of all Australian Jews.

Sophie Caplan, OAM

MY MOTHER'S SPICE CUPBOARD: A JOURNEY FROM BAGHDAD TO BOMBAY TO BONDI

*By Elana Benjamin (Melbourne: Hybrid Publishers, 2012), pp.
xiv+229, with bibliography.*

In *My Mother's Spice Cupboard*, Elana Benjamin has produced a warm and detailed account of her family's story, as they moved from Baghdad to Bombay (now Mumbai) and finally to Sydney, Australia. Whilst its title might indicate that it is a recipe book, this is certainly not the case. Rather, with loving strokes, she has created a detailed picture of everyday life for Jews living in Bombay during the British rule, followed by the disintegration of the community in the post-independence period. By the early 1960s, when her family left, the majority of India's Jewish community had emigrated. Thus, she has managed to recreate a world that no longer exists, whilst there are still family members around to tell her their stories. *My Mother's Spice Cupboard* is very readable, and makes an important contribution to understanding the everyday life of the Baghdadi community in India.

The book is written in first person, with Elana Benjamin interlacing her own reactions and thoughts as she outlines the family history. It provides an insider's perspective into the life of Baghdadi Jews in Bombay and is the product of ten years of research and reflection. Elana Benjamin has sought to mix memoir with history and whilst she did not want the book to be purely academic, she wanted to ensure that it was placed in its historical context and time. At one level the themes explored are universal, highlighting the changes across the generations that have occurred in both Jewish and general society and at the same time demonstrating the role of food and the importance of family. At another level, the book deals with the particularistic experience of the Jewish people and their transnational migration experiences across continents and cultures, whilst aiming to maintain their unique cultural and religious heritage.

The book is divided into four different parts. The first part, entitled 'Baghdad to Bombay', deals with the story of the Benjamin family, the paternal branch of Elana's family, tracing their history from the escape of her grandfather, Jacob Benjamin, out of Baghdad to his marriage to Hannah, and the development of family life in Bombay. It describes in detail all aspects of every day life, with the enjoyment and various vicissitudes that the large family of nine children experienced. Whilst managing such a large family was a challenge for Hannah Benjamin, Elana commented that the

children's life was 'so carefree and so much more fun than mine' (p.39). She discusses how the Baghdadi Jews acculturated to British culture in India, moving from speaking Arabic to English, although Hindustani was spoken in the kitchen. Altogether, this first part succeeds in creating the colours and contours of this hybrid culture, which emerged for this group of immigrants in Bombay.

The second part of the book describes Elana's return in 2003 for her first visit to Bombay – renamed Mumbai – with her father, husband and brother. This part is written with a great deal of emotion, particularly in regard to the visit to the Jewish cemetery, where she could see the graves of many of her relatives, and the synagogue, *Keneseth Eliyahu*, where her family attended services. It was in a neglected state, and she noted that the visitors' book included many names of people who, like her family, had come 'to see the remnants of a community of which their relatives had been a part'. (p.83) In analysing the structure of the book, I can understand why this part was placed here, so that all the sections dealing with Bombay are together, but it still created a sudden shift in time and place to move from the family still being ensconced in life in Bombay in the 1950s, to the story of a return visit in 2003, before the migration process had been discussed.

Entitled, 'Bombay to Bondi' the third part of the book deals with the migration process, first of the Benjamin family moving to Sydney, and then of her mother's family moving to Los Angeles. This section highlights the difficulties of migration. As with many other waves of Jewish refugees and immigrants, the Benjamin family was prohibited from taking any money with them to Australia, so that her father arrived with just seven dollars in his pocket. The matriarch, Hannah Benjamin, had to face the struggle of looking after her large family as they settled into life in Bondi. However, the existence of a small Baghdadi community in Sydney and the opening of the Sephardi Synagogue in Fletcher Street, Bondi Junction, in 1961, smoothed the integration of the family into Jewish life. In contrast, her maternal grandparents, Eze and Hilda Jacob, decided to migrate to Los Angeles, and to settle in the Valley. However, their integration into American life proved more challenging, since there was no Sephardi congregation close by and they joined an Ashkenazi synagogue where they felt strange. As a result, Elana's mother, Shirley, decided to move to Israel, which is where she met Elana's father, Abe Benjamin, at the urging of a mutual friend, Rubin Shellim.

The final part of the book deals with Jewish life in Bondi for the young couple and their children. Here we read more about Elana's own experiences as a child growing up in her extended Benjamin

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family, and above all the ongoing narrative of food and family gatherings. In a chapter with the same title as that of the book, she describes grandmother Hannah's kitchen. The descriptions of food provide an insight into the broader family dynamics and culture, which typify this community.

In different parts of the book, Elana raises the issue of the Holocaust and compares the experiences of her husband, who comes from a Jewish survivor background, to that of the Jews of India. Thus, she describes how Jewish life in India during World War II was so different from what was happening in Europe, and how her family enjoyed religious freedom, even though they were somewhat isolated from the broader Indian life and did not have non-Jewish friends. When the family visited Mumbai sixty years later, she comments that whilst she was able to visit the graves of her ancestors, there are no sites that her husband is able to visit in Europe.

This book is a social history dealing with the everyday life of two families joined by marriage, taking the reader through an extended journey from Baghdad to Sydney. However, it is not a researched history in the more conventional sense of historical studies, and does not build on archival or other historical documentation. Thus, whilst there are references to the Sephardi Synagogue, particularly in terms of her parents' involvement, the book does not deal with its history. The bibliography shows that Elana did use Naomi Gale's doctoral study of Sephardi Jewry in Sydney, but did not draw on that book dealing with the Sephardim in Sydney, published in 2005. She also did not use Myer Samra's doctoral thesis, which also explored the topic of Sephardim in Sydney.

Thus, much of the book's focus is on the story of her grandparents, providing a detailed pen sketch of Jewish life for the Baghdadis in Bombay, and the complexities and challenges of their migration experiences, highlighting the differences between Sydney and Los Angeles. With the passing of her grandparents' generation, Elana Benjamin has provided an important service by providing an additional layer of understanding of Sydney Jewry's rich migration history, illustrating the transmission of culture from Baghdad to Bombay to Bondi. Given the fact that Sephardi Jewish history in Sydney has been neglected in the past, when compared with Ashkenazi Jewish history, her contribution is even more important. Reading this easily accessible book will, therefore, take Sydney Jewish readers into a different cultural world from which they will emerge with a greater understanding of the many dynamics that constitute the Jewish experience.

Suzanne D. Rutland

SARONA

By Helmut Glenk (Milton Keynes: Trafford Publishing, 2011), pp. i-ix, 229.

This novel is centred around the German Templer settlement of Sarona, which was established northeast of the town of Jaffa in 1871. It was one of seven Templer settlements and was one of the first agricultural settlements to use modern technology in Palestine in the nineteenth century, becoming famous for its 'Jaffa oranges'. When the early Jewish pioneers arrived in Palestine after 1878 and also began to establish agricultural settlements, they learnt from the Templer technology, so that Jaffa oranges came to be associated with the early Zionist endeavour. In 1909, the fledgling town of Tel Aviv was founded and as it expanded it began to encroach on Sarona. By the 1930s, tensions started to develop between the German Templers, who had retained their German nationality and were exposed to Nazi ideology, and the Jews of Tel Aviv. It is against this background that this novel, the story of a romance between a young Templer man and a Jewish girl, is set.

The author, Helmut Glenk, himself a child of Templers from Sarona, was born in the internment camp of Tatura in Victoria during the Second World War and grew up in Australia. As I discussed in my article,¹ the Templers eventually received some restitution for their loss of property in Palestine, due partly to pressures on Germany from the Australian Liberal government in 1952, and in recent years many Australian Templers have visited Israel and developed good relations. Glenk was one who did so, and has been researching and writing the history of the Templers, publishing *From Desert Sands to Golden Oranges*, providing a pictorial history of Sarona. The close relationship he has developed with Israel can be seen in his speech at the opening of a special exhibition on the history of the Templers at the Tel Aviv Museum.

The strength of this novel is that, whilst set in mandated Palestine, it has been written from the perspective of a Templer who grew up in Australia. As such, it provides an insider's view of attitudes and life within the Templer settlement, highlighting the difficulties and complexities of the relationship between the two communities – German and Jewish – in Tel Aviv in the 1930s. This is a love story, but one set in a difficult historical period, which was bound to end in tragedy – although Glenk manages a happy reunion at the end of the story.

The major weakness of this book is in the author's literary skills, as he lacks the linguistic ability to create a compelling narrative.

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Thus, the writing is very simplistic, in places stilted, and cannot be classified as good literature. This lack of writing skills detracts from the impact of the book, which fails to meet its possible potential. However, if someone is interested to gain a different perspective of life in Palestine in the 1930s, and of the cultural and national clashes of these two groups in a little-known story, then it is still worth reading the novel.

Given that Sarona is presently being restored, under the supervision of art historian and restorer, Shay Farkash, and will become a major tourist attraction, this unlikely link between Israel and Australia will be highlighted and the novel, although flawed, is timely.

Suzanne D. Rutland

1. 'Buying out of the Matter': Australia's Role in Restitution for Templar Property' AJHSJ vol 18, part 3, 2007, pp. 410-434.

DIE VERSCHWUNDENEN MUSIKER: JÜDISCHE FLÜCHTLINGE IN AUSTRALIEN (The Vanished Musicians: Jewish Refugees in Australia)

By Albrecht Dümmling Böhlau / €49.90, ISBN 978-3-412-20666-6

Albrecht Dümmling's *Die verschwundenen Musiker: Jüdische Flüchtlinge in Australien* (*The Vanished Musicians: Jewish Refugees in Australia*), written in German, is an important contribution to Australian immigration history. It is about ninety-six refugee musicians from Nazism who settled in Australia, most of whom were Jewish. Very usefully the work contains an appendix with summary biographies of each of the ninety-six musicians. This appendix is worthy of being translated in its own right.

A few of the refugee musicians were famous artists who toured Australia and stayed, most notably the piano virtuoso Jascha Spivakowsky; others were lesser known or part-time musicians forced to leave Germany or Austria because they were Jewish, had anti-Nazi connections or played blacklisted music such as jazz. Many downplayed their musical talent when they applied to enter Australia, aware that Australian officials insisted on more practical skills among immigrants. Only a minority of them were ever able to work as professional musicians in Australia because of restrictions imposed by the Musicians Union of Australia. Many of the refugees vanished from the annals of musical history.

Dümling is best known as the curator of *Degenerate Music*, an important exhibition about Nazi propaganda in music. His approach in this work is like that of a curator who brings neglected historical exhibits to light. He has meticulously researched the hidden musical talents of the refugees and assembles an enormous corpus of facts to ensure that these lives are never again forgotten or ignored. He draws on a vast range of primary sources, including interviews with the refugees and their descendants, personal files, shipping lists, correspondence, travel documents and applications for visas, employment and citizenship. His study has more than 400 pages and 1100 endnotes. Many of the details are telling but at times the book reads more like a lexicon or reference work than a narrative history.

Dümling writes that the 'history of the musicians who fled to Australia consists of many individual memories which have never been connected, pieces of a mosaic which have never been put together.' What does the complete picture give us over and above the array of retrieved biographies? Dümling is sceptical about any narrative building to a climax; the final section is not called a 'conclusion' and ironically is titled as a fairy tale ending, 'Happily ever after.' Nonetheless an overall storyline does emerge through the points of similarity and contrast between the various biographies.

Overwhelmingly the refugee musicians did not come to Australia by choice but because their preferred destination of America had been ruled out; or they were sent without any say in the matter, like the 'enemy aliens' deported from England on the notorious *Dunera*; or because by chance they had a contact, sponsor or even distant cousin in this country. Those who came on their own initiative faced imposing barriers, including strictly rationed landing permits and the requirement to have hundreds of pounds of landing money. Many of the refugees were interned during the war and composed or performed music in the internment camps such as the wry musical 'Hay Days are Happy Days'. Those who attempted to revive their musical careers after the war, like the once famous *Weintraub Syncopators* came up against the power of the Musicians Union, which put the refugee musicians in a catch 22 situation: they were unable to work without union membership and unable to gain membership without being naturalised.

Whilst only a few of the refugees became successful musicians in Australia - the composers George Dreyfus and Felix Werder were the most prominent success stories - many others contributed in important, unobtrusive ways to the local musical scene. They were active in musical life in voluntary societies, through private tutoring and mentoring and in suburban and regional groups from Tasmania to Kalgoorlie. As Dümling writes, they made 'hidden contributions to

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cultural diversity.' Readers interested in further details and examples might wish to consult the reviewer's longer article at <http://www.inside.org.au/vanishing-acts/>

Migration history is often written in terms of 'waves', within which everyone is assumed to share a broadly similar experience. *The Vanished Musicians* gives us a very different picture. There is an enormous variety among the ninety-six individuals' experiences and the turning points in their lives were often accidental or surprising. For example, Richard Goldner and Walter Dullo established Musica Viva in 1945 because Goldner had funds from an unexpected government contract, happened on news of the murder of his musical mentor, Simon Pullmann, in Treblinka, and fortuitously met Dullo who shared his passion for music. From this series of events arose Musica Viva, which continues to operate 67 years later.

The refugee musicians were forced to compose their lives anew in Australia. For those used to making up music it must have seemed that this time they were improvising their very lives. Many changed their names and found new livelihoods. By showing us the challenges and the twists and turns they all experienced, Dümpling makes 'the vanished musicians' a compelling presence in the history of forced migration and the movement of refugees.

Glenn Nicholls

EGYPTIAN-JEWISH EMIGRÉS IN AUSTRALIA

By Racheline Barda (Amherst, NY: Cambria Press, 2011), 441 pages. \$129.99 (Hardcover); \$35.00 (Paperback).

Until the middle of the twentieth century, some 75,000 Jews lived in Egypt. Like most of the Jewries of the Islamic world, this was a community with roots that went far back into Antiquity. But unlike most other Jewish communities in that region, it had grown exponentially throughout the preceding century since the boom of the cotton industry and the opening of the Suez Canal, and was composed of Ashkenazim from Central and Eastern Europe, Italian, Levantine, and North African Jews. It was a multilingual, cosmopolitan society in which Jews spoke Arabic, French, English, Yiddish, Italian, and other tongues. Today, less than one hundred elderly Jews remain, and like their co-religionists from other Islamic lands, Egyptian Jews and their descendants are now scattered in a worldwide diaspora that includes Israel, Western Europe, the Americas, and Australia. Racheline Barda has now provided us with

a finely detailed, nuanced, and personal portrait of the Australian diaspora written with the critical eye of a scholar coupled with the sensitivity and empathy of a member of that community who has herself lived some of the experiences that she documents.

Barda's monograph, which is based upon her doctoral dissertation at the University of Sydney, offers considerably more than a social history of the Egyptian Jewish immigrant community in Australia. It provides readers with the background necessary to understand the people about whom she is writing and to see them within the broader context of Jewish, Egyptian, and Australian history. The first chapter, 'State of Research' (pp. 11-48), provides a convenient *vademecum* through the existing scholarly and popular literature and debates on the history of Jews in the Islamic world generally and Egypt particularly. These debates are in no small measure a consequence of the Arab-Israeli conflict and the political passions and intellectual stances that it has engendered even among academics. Barda judiciously weighs the merits and the failings of a number of works. She has a keen eye for ideological biases of some scholars (e.g., Joel Beinin), while at the same time appreciating the genuine insights to be gained from their research. This dispassion is refreshing and, alas, all too rare. The first chapter also surveys the previous work on Australian migration studies both with regard to Jews and non-Jews and to studies on other Egyptian diasporas, particularly those of France, Brazil, the United States and Canada.

Chapter Two, 'Understanding the History of Egyptian Jews' and 'The Jews of Egypt in the Modern Age' (pp. 49-67), continues the background with a general discussion of the Egyptian Jews who served as informants for the material gathered in oral interviews and via written interviews, and some insights into the author's own methodological approach which are delineated in greater detail in Chapter Four. It is to Barda's credit that this chapter, like the preceding historiographical one, while providing valuable intellectual and methodological background to everything that follows, does so without becoming mired in social science jargon which all too often proves tiresome even for the most dedicated professional scholar. Barda makes everything accessible in clear prose for a broad readership.

Chapter Three, 'The Jews of Egypt in the Modern Age' (pp. 69-111), the last of the introductory background portion of the book is a condensed survey of modern Egyptian Jewish history highlighting major social, economic, and political factors in the evolution and dissolution of Egyptian Jewry from the Napoleonic invasion of 1798 to the Six-Day War of June 1967. This chapter is a deft synthesis of contemporary scholarly literature.

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In Chapter Four, 'The Australian Sample Group' (pp. 113-151), Barda describes the informants who provided the oral histories that infuse a vibrant humanity to her archival and secondary sources and the statistics and factual data derived from the latter. She describes their socioeconomic, educational, and general cultural profiles and her own methodology of engagement with them and analysis of their testimonies. Actually, this is the most social-scientific chapter of the book and is accompanied by numerous charts, graphs, and statistical analyses of her data.

The character of her informants, who are representative of the broad spectrum of the diverse Egyptian Jewish community is fleshed out still further in Chapter Five, 'Jewish Ethnicity, Religiosity, and Politics' (pp. 153-177). Here, the three religio-cultural ethnic groups are delineated – Sephardim, Ashkenazim, and Karaites. The first two groups, as Barda rightly points out, were actually composites themselves. The Karaites, who constituted a small minority within Egyptian Jewry, were, and remained, the most Arabised, and it is not surprising that, on the whole, they remained in Egypt the longest. On the basis of her informants' testimonies, Barda briefly describes religiosity of Egyptian Jews, most of whom were self-defined as 'traditional,' although not necessarily strictly observant. Again, not surprisingly, her data tends to show that 'modernity, Westernisation, and upper class mobility brought a growing laxity in religious practices' (p. 165) which conforms to the general pattern elsewhere as well. Finally, the chapter deals with the relation (participation, non-participation, or opposition) between Jews and the Zionist, Communist, and Egyptian nationalist movements. She also tries to explain the overall failure of the nationalist program of Egyptianisation and Arabisation which stands in marked contrast to the example in Republican Turkey. While I tend to agree with her and with the German scholar Gudrun that this recasting of Egyptian Jewish identity was already a lost cause by the 1940s, she never really does explain how Egyptian Jewry differed from the Turkish case which has some similarities, but also significant differences.

Chapter Six, 'Forced Emigration' (pp. 179-195), one of the shortest chapters in the book, deals with the three 'trigger events' that were behind what Egyptian Jews refer to today as 'the second Exodus' – namely, the 1948 Arab-Israeli War, the 1956 Suez War, and 1967 Six-Day War. Each of these led to a dramatic decline in the Egyptian Jewish population and to the progressive undermining of the social, economic, and security situation of the Jews who remained.

Chapters Seven and Eight, 'A Journey to the "Edge of the Diaspora"' (pp. 197-233) and 'A Multilayered Identity' (pp. 235-262)

deal with the immigrant experience in and to Australia and the multiplicity of reactions and feelings of the immigrants toward their former and new countries. These chapters also cast light upon the encounter between the Egyptian immigrants and Australian Jewish society. Barda's research shows that Ashkenazi Egyptians, who constituted only eight percent of the Jewish population in Egypt, made up nearly 25 percent of the Egyptian immigrants to Australia and that they migrated earlier than did their Sephardi compatriots. Her explanations for this phenomenon are persuasive: 1.) they were more likely to be English-speakers; 2.) their roots in Egypt were more recent and less deep; 3.) they were more likely to have relatives already in Australia; and 4.) their own or the experience of their European forebears 'might have made them more sensitive to the ominous signs of danger looming ahead' (p. 217). The tensions between the Sephardi newcomers and the predominant Australian Ashkenazi community, on the one hand, and between them and the veteran Australian Sephardi/Mizrahi community made up of primarily of Iraqis and Indians, on the other, make for highly interesting reading as an example of the inter-communal diversity of Jews even within some broader uniting categories.

In Chapter Nine, 'The French Migration Experience' (pp. 263-295), Barda brings her comparative case, and the differences with the Australian case could not be more striking. Although they had a similar socioeconomic profile, the Egyptian Jews who came to France were mostly Sephardim. They came as refugees rather than as certified immigrants at a time when France was still recovering from World War II. Many were not only francophone, but deeply imbued with French culture, and they were part of a much larger wave of Sephardi migration from the former French colonies in North Africa that totally transformed the face of French Jewry which had been majority Ashkenazi, but was numerically depleted and spiritually exhausted after the Holocaust. As a French Jewish colleague of mine of old Alsatian lineage, remarked to me many years ago, 'The coming of the Sephardim was the best thing that ever happened to French Jewry which was in petrified state before their arrival.' Barda's research shows that despite their fondness for French culture, the Egyptian Jews immigrants had a strong sense of their own identity, history, and culture. Under the leadership of the distinguished psychoanalyst and political activist, Jacques Hassoun, France became the centre for the movement to preserve and transmit the Egyptian Jewish cultural heritage, forming the Association pour la Sauvegarde du Patrimoine Culturel des Juifs d'Égypte (ASPJCE) in 1979 which became the inspiration for other such organisations in the United States in Israel. The isolation, distance, and much smaller

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numbers of Egyptian Jews in Australia to a great extent cut them off from these developments. My one critique of this very important chapter is that none of the excerpts, some of which are of paragraph length, from Barda's French informants have been translated to English, but are left only in the original. Though not a problem for academic readers, this is an impediment to many general readers and to undergraduate students who certainly would benefit from the book.

Racheline Barda has made a valuable and welcome contribution to the growing literature on the diasporas of Jews from Islamic countries.

Norman A. Stillman,
Schusterman/Josey Chair of Judaic History
University of Oklahoma

OBITUARIES

MORRIS OCHERT, OAM, 1918-2012¹



Morris in 2011 at his wife Miriam's birthday

Morris Stephen Ochert was born on 18 February 1918 in Sydney, the third son of Samuel and Rachel Ochert. The original surname was Ocheretyansky, his father's family originating in the Ukraine; his mother's in nearby Russia, her family name being Chayes. His mother and his younger sister died in 1923, when he was four, as a result of the Spanish Flu epidemic. The three boys were looked after by their paternal grandparents until the latter migrated to America when the boys moved to Bankstown to live with the Silverman family in 1925. They had a tough life being raised by a variety of housekeepers until their father married again. Even then they had to fend for themselves but they learnt many survival skills as a result.

As a youth Morris was a scout, becoming a King's Scout and a Rover and developing the leadership skills he used throughout his adult life. War broke out when he was 21 and he became a merchant marine engineer. He survived air and torpedo attacks and later wrote humorous articles about his experiences.

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When the war broke out, he was already courting Miriam Ravdell, the daughter of his father's friend. The two fathers, Samuel Ochert and Norman Ravdell had escaped from Siberia together. The Ravdells lived in Brisbane while the Ocherts lived in Sydney. Morris and Miriam married at the end of the war in 1945 and enjoyed 66 wonderful years of marriage together. They made Brisbane their home and had two children, Naomi (usually known as Noni by friends and family) and David. Morris worked as a mechanical engineer by day and a lecturer in industrial management by night. He was handyman at home and could fix anything. He worked tirelessly for the Brisbane Jewish Community, held positions on many communal committees, and attended *Shul* weekly. He was known to everyone because of his extensive involvement in every area of Jewish activity in Brisbane. Morris proudly supported his children's activities and was known to all their friends as Uncle Morry especially at Betar camps.

Morris was responsible for the renovations and upkeep of the Brisbane Synagogue and of the Talmud Torah there. He was always active in the Jewish National Fund (JNF) Bluebox collecting in the early years and later responsible for the donation of literally millions of dollars left to JNF by people through bequests. He and Miriam were always active in the Chevra Kadisha. Morris was also responsible for the restoration of a Montefiore grave in Sydney's Rookwood cemetery. For his work in the Brisbane Jewish Community Morris was awarded an OAM of which he was very proud. He was generous in sponsoring others in the Jewish community for similar honours.

A prolific writer and raconteur in his retirement, Morris read and researched widely and then wrote many short articles including the history of the Brisbane Jewish Community. The Queensland representative of the AJHS from 1990 to 2004, he had 18 articles in the *Journal* over a twenty-year period from 1984 to 2004 as well as in the newsletter and also in B'nai B'rith publications. Many years ago, he performed one of his papers at a Sydney meeting, dramatically re-enacting his life in Bondi in both English and Yiddish to the alternating delight and shock of the audience.

A few years ago Morris and Miriam moved to Melbourne where they have four grandchildren and nine great grandchildren. He died on 7 January 2012. He would have been 94 in February.

We wish his family long life.

Helen Bersten

1. This obituary is based on family information provided by Morris Ochert's daughter, Noni Gordon.

SAM FISHER

Sam Fisher, a leading figure of many key institutions of Sydney Jewry, passed away in Jerusalem on March 2012.¹ He was born in Warsaw, Poland, in 1924. At the age of three, his family migrated to Australia but later they moved to Palestine where he spent his formative years at Kfar Hassidim in the north of Israel. Experiencing financial difficulties, the family decided to return to Sydney where Sam completed his schooling. His tertiary studies included accountancy and production management. He went into the clothing business and established a sizeable industrial clothing manufacturing company, Koss & Fisher, and Motoman Industrial Wear in Chippendale.

In his active community work, he contributed to many Sydney Jewish institutions, including Central Synagogue and the Chevra Kadisha, but his most important contributions were to Moriah College. Two years after his marriage to Joan Marks in 1950, he joined the Moriah Board at Abraham Rabinovitch's request, after the purchase of the Vivian Street property. He sent his four children, Jeffrey, Warren, Jillian and Lindsay, to the school. Joan proved to be the ideal partner in every aspect of his endeavours and she was also active in the Parents' and Friends' Association.

When Fisher joined the Board he was only 28 and he worked closely with Rabinovitch until his death. He admired Rabinovitch for 'his determination in the face of the hesitant Anglo-establishment and also his financial generosity'. Rabinovitch was his mentor. Over

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the years he held the positions of honorary treasurer and honorary secretary; in 1973 he was elected vice-president; and at the end of 1975, he assumed the mantle of president. He was to preside over the College for the subsequent nine years during which it experienced its most significant period of growth. His warmth, sincerity and dedication to the College were clear for all to see. A quiet, unassuming man, his concern for the welfare of the staff and students made him loved by all. As with the previous Moriah presidents, he devoted much of his spare time to the school. He visited the College almost every day and was in constant contact with the teaching and administrative staff.

Sam Fisher was active in liaison with state and local government authorities. When he assumed the presidency, the College had 600 pupils and over the next nine years as president of the College, Sam Fisher dedicated himself to its expansion. By the time he retired from the presidency, Moriah had acquired the lease on the old Eastern Suburbs hospital at Queens Park, and the College was set for its next period of expansion, with ambitious plans to build a completely new College on the property.

In addition to his commitments to Moriah College, Fisher also served as trustee of Mount Zion Preschool and became a trustee of Moriah in 1974. He served for many years on the Board of Central Synagogue and in 1971 and 1972 was chairman of the Education Committee of its Hebrew Education Centre. After he retired from the Moriah presidency, he served two terms as the synagogue's president from 1987. In 1970, he joined the Chevra Kadisha and in 1971 was elected as its vice-president, serving in this position for the ensuing 21 years. As president of Moriah, he also served on the Council of Presidents of the New South Wales Jewish Communal Appeal. In December 1990, Sam Fisher became the inaugural chairman of the New South Wales Kashrut Authority, having played a major role in its formation, which combined for the first time the Beth Din and Yeshiva Kashrut authorities. He served in this position until he and Joan settled in Israel in August 1992, joining their children. In the 1982 Queen's Birthday Honours List he was awarded the Australia Medal for Services to the Jewish Community.

In Israel, Fisher did not rest on his laurels. He became deeply involved with his synagogue, Beth Knesset HaNasi in Jerusalem, where he served as *gubbay*, as well as continuing with his personal Jewish learning. He continued to maintain his interest in Moriah and Jewish education in Sydney. On a personal note, Sam Fisher's support and interest in this area provided sustenance to me, from before I started the modern Jewish history course at Moriah in 1976, until my most recent visit to Israel in December 2011. It was his vision to

produce a history of the College, and his ongoing interest in Australian Jewish history, which we continued to share during my many periods in Israel, was significant to me. I was very privileged to have known and worked with Sam Fisher.

Sam Fisher brought a unique set of qualities to each of the community organisations in which he was involved. Apart from his hard work and dedication, he had a warm and caring nature and in all his dealings he demonstrated both tact and compassion. His quiet but firm approach won him great respect. As such, he was totally self-sacrificing and was not driven by egotism in any way. He was a strictly orthodox man with excellent religious knowledge as well as being fluent in Hebrew. At the point of time in its history, when Moriah experienced its most significant period of expansion, the College was fortunate to have such an effective president at its helm. As Phil Goldwyn, a teacher and subject co-ordinator at the College described him: 'He was one of the best: lovely and good to staff, always willing to listen'. There is no doubt that the changes, which occurred during his nine years as president owed much to his special abilities. His wise counsel and concern for the betterment of Sydney Jewry, and Israel, will be greatly missed.

Suzanne D. Rutland

1. Much of this obituary is based on my book, *'If you will it, it is no dream': The Moriah Story*, (Sydney: Playright Publishers, 2003), pp. 154-156. See also J-Wire staff, 'Remembering Sam Fisher', 3 April 2012, <http://www.jwire.com.au/news/remembering-sam-fisher/24198>, accessed 22 April 2012.

PRESIDENT'S REPORT 2011

We have had a year of great changes, with two important people leaving the committee after many years of activity, and one new committee member joining us half way through the year.

Firstly our long serving and very efficient archivist and office manager, Helen Bersten OAM, decided to step down after thirty-two and a half years as she would like to be able to spend more time with her grandchildren and pursue her other interests. She advertised for a successor and found Dr Sophie Gelski, a PhD in history and former history teacher at Moriah College. Sophie spent over six months with Helen before taking over as archivist for the Society from 1 June 2011 with the continuing support of Noela Symonds and the other volunteers. On 10 May 2011 the Society held a luncheon at Mandelbaum House to farewell Helen. This was attended not only by all the committee and many members of the Society but also by members of Helen's family and a number of personalities of the Jewish community and as well as other organisations making it clear the important role which Helen had played for so many years had touched a great many people.

The other person we lost from our committee was Judy Shapira. A member of the Society for many years she had been on the editorial committee of the Journal as well as editor of the newsletter for several years, and was our senior vice-president. Unfortunately Judy's health has deteriorated and she is now a resident of the Montefiore Home at Hunter's Hill.

In the middle of the year Roger Davis, a senior student of history under Professor Suzanne Rutland, was welcomed to our committee and intends to play an active part.

At the Annual General Meeting on 21 November 2010, Professor Suzanne Rutland gave a paper on *Jews of the Outback*, together with her student, Kate Mannix, the book she had co-written for the commemoration of the centenary of the Broken Hill Synagogue with Professor Leon Mann, Broken Hill historian, Margaret Price and Kate Mannix. The meeting held at Princess Gardens, B'nai B'rith Retirement Village in Rose Bay attracted a larger audience than usual, and a week later a number of historical society members from Sydney, Melbourne, Brisbane, Adelaide and Canberra attended the centenary of the first stone laying of the Broken Hill synagogue. A number of the descendants of the former Broken Hill Jewish community arranged a re-enactment of the original proceedings. The

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whole weekend was occupied by activities, some arranged by the Broken Hill general community, others specific to Jewish people, and the ABC filmed and interviewed some of us.

The synagogue is now the home of the Broken Hill Historical Society, which has renovated the flat where the rabbi's family lived. As well as members of the various Jewish historical societies, Jewish members of some Masonic lodges who have an excursion every year at this time also chose to come to Broken Hill at this time so that there were approximately two hundred people present.

Suzanne Rutland participated as a speaker at the major events which included the launch of the book, *Jews of the Outback, The Centenary of the Broken Hill Synagogue, 1910-2010* in which she had written a chapter as had Professor Leon Mann of Melbourne who was born in Broken Hill, Kate Mannix, and Rabbi John Levi, who wrote the preface. There were also various brief chapters about Jews born in Broken Hill. The members of the Broken Hill Historical Society were delighted by the large Jewish attendance and requested us to come again as we helped the sluggish tourism in Broken Hill.

As usual the Society was on leave from mid-December 2010 until early February 2011. Our first general meeting on Sunday 13 February featured a family history lecture by our committee member Helen Rasko, OAM, titled *From Rhineland to Rockdale* which was the story of her great grandfather, a Jewish vintner who came from Germany and who settled in the south eastern Sydney areas of Rockdale and Kogarah and established vineyards and orchards.

On 3 April Jenny McNaughton read a paper originally written by her aunt Mary Lazarus, but edited by Jenny McNaughton herself, about their ancestor and relative Moses Angel, the principal for over fifty years of the Jews' Free School in London, a most inspiring story. Several members in the audience had relatives who had been pupils of the Jews' Free School, including my late mother-in-law.

In late April I fell and broke my shoulder and spent five and a half weeks in hospital and then a further six weeks undergoing rehabilitation. I could not finish assessing the Dr Hans Kimmel essays usually sent to me, so the teachers selected this year's winners. I, nevertheless, provided the prizes and chaired the presentation evening in the Drama Space of Moriah College attended as usual by an enthusiastic crowd of parents, grandparents and staff, as well as members of the Society.

In August, together with a number of committee members I attended the annual JCA main event. The Society is a constituent of JCA and we receive funds from them towards the maintenance of our library and archives. We will be looking to them for additional support as we continue to look for larger premises, as we have now

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outgrown our present one.

Suzanne Rutland continues to act as editor of the NSW edition of the *Journal*, which appears in June, while the Victorian edition is published in November. Philip Moses has taken over as editor of the *Newsletter* in addition to secretarial duties. Jeannette Tsoulos, now president of the Australian Jewish Genealogical Society, continues to deal with the genealogical queries and Gary Luke works with matters connected with Jewish cemeteries, including updating and repairing older graves.

Russell Stern, our honorary treasurer, continues to look at the finances very carefully, and also undertook, with Helen Bersten, the editing of a number of the prize winning Hans Kimmel essays, which were printed and published by the Society this year. The launch of the book took place on 5 September at Moriah College after the reading of this year's winning essays.

Also this year the Society printed and published the diary kept by Dr Kurt Epstein, who came on the *Dunera* to Australia and wrote the diary for his wife in Germany. He wrote the original diary in German and it was translated into Hebrew and English. We printed the three versions side by side under Kurt Epstein's original title *To My Dear Wife*. The book was edited by Professor Konrad Kwiet and launched by Professor Ken Inglis.

I have decided to step down as president of the Society after six years, but intend to continue as a committee member and as our representative at the Board of Deputies plenum. We need more committee members who will play a role in our Society and hope that some volunteers will come forth.

Sophie Caplan, OAM

ERRATA

ERRATA AJHS JOURNAL VOL 20 PART 2 2011

The title for Graeme Skinner's article on Isaac Nathan is incorrect (and wrong in two different ways) both in the table of contents and again at the head of the article itself. The correct title is:

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

In 'Seeking Treasure Island', the reference to endnote 28 on p.322 has been omitted. It is:

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.

GENEALOGICAL ENQUIRIES 2012

This list represents enquiries made to the AJHS until April 2012, 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.

COHEN, Dora. Born 1877, daughter of M. Cohen, 375 George St, Sydney, went to Sydney Girls' High. Was Secretary of the Armenian relief fund of NSW between 1922 and 1930. Seeking any information on her adult life.

GOLDSTEIN, Solomon. Solomon was born in Cooma, 1893, to David Goldstein and Dora née Blumberg. Dora died in childbirth and David and Solomon are believed to have left Australia for Natal, South Africa, around 1895. Seeking any trace of them.

MENDOZA, Ann. Born Ann Stewart, she married Aaron Mendoza in the Hobart Synagogue in 1854. Aaron later went to Sydney and married again in 1873. Seeking information on Ann after 1854.

WEISSENSTEIN, Grete. Jewish photographer born Vienna 1893, arrived 1939, died Lindfield 1963. Worked at Ingret Studio. Seeking information about her professional achievements.

WEISZ, Maria. Photographs and documents relating to the family of Maria Weisz, born Hungary 25/8/1897 to Ignacz and Hedwig Weisz, were found lying in a street and were handed in to the AJHS. Seeking family members.

YAFFIE, Annie. Annie was the daughter of Isaac and Sarah (née Asher) Yaffie, who married in 1894 in Sydney. Annie's siblings were Miriam, Bear and Bessie (Porter). Seeking any information on Annie.

NEW MEMBERS, 2011-2012

The following became members during the year:

Peter Allen

Rosalind and Alex Fischl

Joe Flinkier

Jonathon and Barbara Goodman

Toby Hammerman

Peter Keeda

Katherine Harper

Steve Hartman

Sue and Gary Inberg

Professor Gus Lehrer

Ian Levi

Yair Miller

David Nathan

Deborah Palmer

Ron Perlman

Peter and Sheila Philippsohn

Philip Symonds

Georges and Marliese Teitler

Allan Vidor

Peter Wertheim

CONTRIBUTORS

Raymond Apple, AO RFD, BA, LLB (Melb), MLitt (UNE), Hon LLD (UNSW), FJC (London School of Jewish Studies), 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 Editorial Committee was the honorary archivist of AJHS Inc from November 1979 to May 2011 when she retired after almost 33 years of dedicated service to the Society. She writes book reviews for the journal and has compiled cumulative indexes to the Society's journals and newsletters.

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 pre-war refugees and lectured on the Shoah at the University of NSW. In 1991 she founded the Australian Jewish Genealogical Society and in 2004 she was elected as president of the AJHS, retiring at the end of 2011. Her work has been published in anthologies and journals in English, French and German.

Cris Eliyahu George, AM RANR, joined the Royal Australian Navy in 1978 as a direct entrant after having served in the Royal New Zealand Navy for 12 years as a helicopter pilot. He has served in flying postings ashore and afloat and held several Command positions as Captain before retiring from full-time service in 2003. He has continued his naval service as an active reservist. He is married to Cindy and lives at Nowra, New South Wales with two grown up daughters close by.

Ken Inglis, MA, PhD, is a renowned Australian historian. In 1956 he was appointed as a lecturer to the University of Adelaide. He subsequently became Professor of History at the Australian National University, and the University of Papua New Guinea. He has written extensively on the ANZAC tradition, the Stuart Case, war memorials, and the Australian Broadcasting Corporation. Currently

he is engaged in a large-scale research project designed to publish a comprehensive monograph on the *Dunera* experience.

Joe Kensell was born at Waverley (Sydney) in 1938. Beginning as an apprentice to Burns Philp & Co, he retired from his sea-going career in 1968 after rising to position of Chief Officer. He joined the stevedoring company Conaust Ltd (which later became fully owned by P&O Australia) as Australian commercial manager. After obtaining a Graduate Diploma in Business in 1990, he did a number of consultancies for the P&O Group including periods in East Africa and the Philippines; then for the Australian Army and a number of Australian companies such as Comalco, Reckitts & Coleman and the Australian Chamber of Commerce. Joe was a Board member of The Great Synagogue for nine years, and for the past 12 years has worked two days a week as a volunteer in the Great's office, mainly looking after its archives. Currently he is in his second year of a Master of Arts degree at Sydney's University of Technology.

Greg McCarry, BA, LL.M (Syd), has been retired for some years. He was, among other things, an Associate Professor of Law at the University of Sydney, a consultant solicitor to a large city firm and a Magistrate, from which position he retired. He is the author of numerous legal articles but this is his first venture into genealogical writing. Greg is married with four married children and eight grand children.

Glenn Nicholls, PhD, MA, BA (Hons), is an Adjunct Research Fellow at the Swinburne Institute for Social Research and the author of *Deported: A History of Forced Departures from Australia* (UNSW Press 2007). He has researched extensively on forced migration and published a long review of Albrecht Dümmling's *Die verschwundenen Musiker* online at *Inside Story* in February 2012.

Suzanne D. Rutland, OAM, OHD, MA, BA (Hons), is Professor in the Department of Hebrew, Biblical and Jewish Studies at the University of Sydney. She has published widely on Australian Jewish history, as well as writing on the Holocaust, Israel and Jewish education. Her latest books are *The Jews in Australia* (Cambridge University Press, 2005) and co-author with Sarah Rood of *Nationality Stateless: Destination Australia* (Melbourne: Jewish Museum of Australia and JDC, 2008). She received a government grant from the Australian Prime Ministers Centre for research on Australia and the campaign for Soviet Jewry and is writing a book on this topic with Australian Jewish journalist, Sam Lipski.

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Norman Stillman, PhD, is the Schusterman/Josey Chair in Judaic History and has directed the Judaic Studies Program at the University of Oklahoma since the program began. He has published extensively, focusing his scholarship on Jewish-Arab encounters in Arab lands. He is currently finishing a book on Jews in North Africa in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. He is editor-in-chief of the *Encyclopedia of Jews in the Islamic World*, published by Brill, a five-volume reference work comprising of over 2,500 entries covering Jewish history, religion and culture of this region.

Georges M. Teitler was born in Switzerland in 1937. He spent the war years and his initial education there, followed by studies in Paris and London in Economics, culminating with a Textile Engineering degree in Germany. He migrated to Australia in 1961, settling in Sydney. He says 'Bloch and I must be the only two Swiss Jews who migrated to Australia on their own free will and not because of political upheaval'. As both his parents were ardent and very active Zionists, he involved himself in numerous Jewish and Zionist organisations, including being the Capital Appeal Chairman of Masada College and president of the North Shore Synagogue, Lindfield. He became, early after his arrival, a self-employed businessman and now spends his time equally between Sydney and Switzerland. His hobby is Jewish Genealogy and in particular to put pre-war Jewish families in Germany on the internet.



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