

# AUSTRALIAN JEWISH HISTORICAL SOCIETY JOURNAL



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## EDITORS' INTRODUCTION

Readers of this issue of the *Journal* may notice some changes to the style and format that have been introduced. The changes are quite minor but have been made for two main reasons, following extensive discussion with our New South Wales colleagues. First, there are changes that will bring both the Melbourne and Sydney editions in line with the format of similar publications. The changes include use of abstracts and keywords – as explained in the new comprehensive *Style Guide*, accessed from the link inside the front cover – which will aid the digitisation and on-line searching (and reading) of the *Journal* in future. The second reason for the changes is that the slightly different format will enable substantial savings in print costs, always a worthy endeavour! Plaudits to Louis de Vries of Hybrid Publishers for his input and advice regarding the new format, as well as for his help in other ways.

Our regular feature, 'One Hundred Years Ago', reproduces subjects of interest that appeared in the *Australian Jewish Herald* of 1918. This was the year of the Armistice, effectively declaring world peace, although the European news of November that year barely made it into the pages of the paper. Yet this month, November 2018, must also remind us of the monstrous events of 9 and 10 November 1938, Kristallnacht – regarded by some historians as the harbinger of the Holocaust – when almost 200 synagogues were destroyed, 8,000 Jewish shops were looted and many tens of thousands of Jews were forced into concentration camps – just 20 years to the day after the Armistice of World War One. Rectifying widespread current perceptions, Dr Hilary Rubinstein's article in this issue shows that Aboriginal leader William Cooper's now world-famous protest at the Nazis' brutality was far from being unique.

The gold rush was undoubtedly one of the most significant Australian events in the nineteenth century, and for our opening article Angus Trumble, director of the National Portrait Gallery of Australia, has rewritten his exhaustive study on the Montefiores and the genesis of the gold rush, originally published in a briefer version in the *Rothschild Archive Review of the Year* (2012).

Next, in an equally welcome contribution to nineteenth-century Australian history, Peter MacIver tells the fascinating story of the multifaceted Louis Goldsmith KC, the nineteenth-century Melbourne cricketer, chess champion and barrister.

Then comes the little-known story of impediments to Jewish voters at the polls, told by Dr Tanya Warmis.

Dr Elena Govor presents the fruits of her careful researches into the little-known subject of Russian Jewish ANZACS, and Professor Joy Damousi explores the history of philanthropic support for Jewish children, beginning in the nineteenth century, within the Jewish community of Australia and abroad.

Associate Professor Philip Mendes reminds us of ASIO's interest in the AUS Israel-Palestine debates of the 1970s, and exposes the antisemitism expressed by certain anti-Israel activists at that time.

In characteristic sparkling prose, Elisabeth Holdsworth gives us a first-hand insight into the workings of the intelligence service, one of her focuses being Australia's attitude towards Israel in the lead-up to and aftermath of 1967's Six-Day War.

We include, as usual, a number of book reviews of recent publications that we have found to be important or interesting, and which touch on the Australian Jewish experience.

Finally, we must mention here the passing in Sydney in August 2018, at the age of 104 and a half, of a remarkable member of the Society in New South Wales, a household name to many of us in Victoria, Louise Rosenberg. In the words of our New South Wales counterpart Professor Suzanne Rutland:

Born in 1914, Louise grew up in Sydney. In 1938 she went with her father to Palestine, where she met

and married her cousin, Moishe/Werner Rosenberg, a locksmith, and they had one daughter, Ruth Marianne. In 1942, they returned to Sydney and moved to the Blue Mountains, where Moishe had a chicken farm. Later the couple divorced and Louise moved back to Sydney, where she joined the Great Synagogue and was active in the Ladies' Auxiliary. For 22 years (1967-89), Louise served as honorary secretary and genealogist for the Society, working closely with Morris Forbes, who assumed the Sydney presidency after Rabbi Dr Israel Porush retired and moved to Melbourne. Louise was an amazing character, who devoted her life to the Society, going to the Great Synagogue daily, writing long letters to overseas researchers and contributing articles, reviews and reports to the *Journal*. She published her first book, *Of Folk Tales and Jewish Folk* (2004) at the age of 90; then wrote *True Blue Jews* (2011); and also edited the *Collected Essays* of the Adult Study Group. Hers was an amazing life and she touched all who knew her with her passion for history.

Howard A. Freeman and Hilary L. Rubinstein  
Co-editors

### **Volunteers sought for an AJHS Vic project on Victorian Jewish guesthouses**

Between the 1930s and 1960s Melbourne's postwar Jewish community increased greatly, and the mostly European immigrants came with fond memories of the pre-war guesthouses and spas of the old country. Most of these hard-working newcomers could not afford the interstate and overseas holidays that today's prosperity allows many families. Unable for practical purposes to take time away from their employment to indulge in long holidays, they needed easily reachable destinations, close to their city homes – preferably destinations to which the fathers could commute by bus, train or car to work after the weekend, whilst the wives and children could stay on. Jewish-owned guesthouses, such as were

found in the Dandenong Ranges and in places further afield, like Mount Buffalo Chalet, were ideal venues. Some offered kosher cooking, or at least kosher-style, and many did not. But they all offered a comfortable, relaxing and relatively inexpensive family stay, with children of the same ages and parents who often already knew each other.

If you have memories of such holidays we would love to hear from you. If you can write about your experiences, that would be even better!

We would then collate your responses into an article on *Victorian Jewish Guesthouses: an AJHS Vic Project* to be published in the Journal. If you would like to volunteer as an interviewer (no experience required!) we would also like you to participate.

If you would like to tell your own story about this quite memorable era, or participate as an interviewer, please do contact either of the Victorian co-editors at the emails inside the front cover.

### **Corrigenda**

Dr Rodney Gouttman has notified us of amendments to his article 'Against the Odds: The AIF Hebrew Chaplaincy of World War Two', in vol. XXIII, part 3, November 2017.

p. 510, 3rd paragraph, line 3: 'Inglewood' should read Ingleburn.

p. 514, lines 2-3: should read 6th Division.

p. 515, third paragraph, line 4: should read 9th Division.

p. 520, 4th paragraph, the reference, as written in the diary, is: 'Lt. Corp Joseph Reichlin' – (14th Btn, 'C' Coy, Service No. VX64086).

p. 527: The Japanese surrender was announced on 15 August 1945, and formally signed on 2 September 1945.

# THE ROTHSCHILDS, THE MONTEFIORES AND THE VICTORIAN GOLD RUSH<sup>1</sup>

*Angus Trumble*

## **ABSTRACT**

Based on original research, this article provides an inside look at the involvement of N.M. Rothschild and Co and their cousins the Montefiores in the genesis of the Victorian gold rush of the 1850s – activities rarely noted here in Australia. Detailed reports are given of the prices of goods, and in particular of the gold trade, much of it in a secret code based on transliterated Hebrew. The article illustrates the global reach of the N.M. Rothschild banking interests and the importance it placed on the Victorian gold trade.

## **KEYWORDS**

Rothschild, Montefiore,  
Victoria, Gold Rush,  
Colonial Trade

Some years ago my colleague Andrea Wolk Rager and I spent several days in the basement of the Rothschild Bank in New Court, St Swithin's Lane in the City of London, inspecting almost every one of the nearly 700 autochromes created immediately before World War One by the youthful hobbyist Lionel de Rothschild. A small selection of the best of these was, in due course, reproduced in our exhibition at the Yale Center for British Art, 'Edwardian Opulence: British Art at the Dawn of the Twentieth Century'.<sup>2</sup> After we had finished, the Rothschild Archivist Melanie Aspey asked me to examine a box of correspondence, which she thought might have 'something to do with Australia'. She was fairly certain that nobody apart from her had looked in it for at least 25 years.



Upon further careful inspection (and a subsequent visit of several days) this sizeable cache of letters turned out to be something of a revelation because they document the close involvement of the firm of N.M. Rothschild & Sons, through their Montefiore cousins, with every aspect of the gold rush in colonial Victoria. It is the only bona fide, fully paid-up card-carrying 'discovery' that I have ever made in an archive. In due course, I was invited to contribute an article about this to *The Rothschild Archive Review of the Year* (2012).<sup>3</sup> However, that piece was necessarily shorn of much detail of particular interest to Australian readers. I regretted those inevitable losses at the time, but not long ago I came across the longer, finished draft, and I am therefore grateful for the opportunity to reproduce it here in its expanded form.

In January 1851, gold was discovered near Bathurst in New South Wales, and six months later at Mount Alexander (near modern Castlemaine) and in August at Ballarat and Sandhurst (Bendigo) in the neighbouring colony of Victoria. It was immediately obvious that huge concentrations of quartz, surface and deep alluvial gold were embedded in the south-eastern corner of Australia, and both British colonies immediately braced for a rush at least equal to, and, as it turned out, even greater than the one that had been in full swing since 1849 in California. The Rothschilds were intimately involved in both from the very beginning.

In Victoria a licensing system for individual prospectors came into effect on 1 September 1851, a little less than two months after the discovery at Mount Alexander.<sup>4</sup> At this date the population of Victoria was only about 77,400, not including Aborigines, and, prior to the arrival of a relatively small party of reinforcements from New South Wales, Lieutenant-Governor Charles La Trobe had at his disposal only 44 troopers of decidedly mixed quality. These were fully occupied guarding the first gold escorts, the powder magazine, and the gaol in Melbourne. During the ensuing rush it proved impossible to recruit mounted policemen, or indeed to prevent the mass desertion of hundreds of ordinary

government officials and private employees of every description, above all domestic servants. When in December 1852 he went to pay a call on the famous author William Howitt, recently arrived from London, Chief Justice William à Beckett had no option but to go in a bath chair that was pulled along by his son – the servants had all evaporated.<sup>5</sup>

Everyone headed for the diggings, even the crews of in-bound ships, which accumulated in huge numbers, stranded in Hobson's Bay and Port Melbourne. Many of these brought experienced prospectors across the Pacific from California, where the 1849 diggings were by then over-crowded. Among the tens of thousands of passengers converging on Melbourne through the last quarter of 1851 was the seasoned colonist and businessman Joseph Barrow Montefiore (1803-93), lately returned from London, who lost no time in sending the following detailed report to his kinsmen in New Court, St Swithin's Lane. 'As you were kind enough to express a desire to hear from me,' he wrote on 18 December,

I feel much pleasure in informing you of my safe arrival on the 2nd inst[ant]., after a pleasant and speedy passage of 92 days. I was astonished to find I had arrived at a second California producing Gold in greater abundance and purity than ever that prolific Gold Region. I found realised here all the incredible tales we have heard respecting that place, nearly every labouring man gone to the Diggings and returning from time to time sometimes after only an interval of a few days to sell in the Town the Gold they have amassed, the whole nature of things in this Colony is completely altered, male labour it is impossible to obtain at any price, all the lower classes becoming suddenly wealthy, the females sharing in this renders it almost impossible to obtain servants, the difficulties that one is exposed to from such a state of things can better be imagined than described. There is an immense field now open for the labouring class of our Mother Country and

I would urge you using your powerful influence in aid of emigration.

It is now about three months since the first discovery of Gold took place and the yield of Gold is now upwards of £100,000 per week, the Diggings are at a place called Ballarat about 70 miles and Mount Alexander about 75 miles from here and extend over a surface of nearly 20 miles and it is reported there are indications of Gold much nearer the Town. [This turned out not to be true.] My son [Leslie Montefiore, 1830-1909] was one of the first who visited the Diggings and did exceedingly well for the time he was there, but his mercantile occupations obliged his speedy return—he intends going out there again in about a week. The Escort brought down last week from Ballarat 2,550 oz and from Mount Alexander 1,148 lbs besides about £5,000 cash (paid for licences) for the Government and there remains upward of 2 Tons in the hands of the Commissioners to convey down by the next Escort besides large quantities coming down daily by private hands. By this opportunity my Firm have forwarded you a small parcel of Gold amounting to 182 ozs and I have valued against the same in favour of the Manager of the Bank of New South Wales at 30 days sight for the sum of £500, I have taken the liberty to advise the transaction feeling assured you would not object to it, the Gold has proved to be above Standard value, you will consequently have a Balance in hand after disposal of the same.

I have made some large Purchases of Gold which I have forwarded to my agents in London and Liverpool. On my first arrival the price was about £3/1/6 per oz but since the large arrivals from the Diggings the price has receded to £2/16. The Bank make advances on Gold at the rate of £2/15/0 per oz taking it as a collateral security against drafts on London at 7 per cent discount. It is impossible they can go on

advancing and I expect to see the discount on Bills down to 12 or 15 per cent discount. I could with facility purchase 50 to £60,000 per week. I should be glad to act for you here on your own account by your furnishing us with a letter of credit also one through one of the Banks (my operations here are through the New South Wales Bank, their Agents in London, the London Joint Stock Bank) to any extent you may think proper or being furnished with the said letters of credit I would conduct the business on my own account valueing [sic] on you for such rate per oz as you might deem advisable to limit but such limit must be near the value of the Gold per oz as the Banks here are exceedingly liberal and will always make a fair advance. Please inform me if it would be agreeable to you to lay out the surplus of the Gold I may consign [sic] to you in Goods to my order, such Goods being limited to articles of easy Purchase such as Spirits and Brandy. Martells Brandy in H[ogs]h[ea]ds being now at 7/6 per Gallon and Rum in H[ogs]h[ea]ds Leeward Island (Demarara preferred) 10 over proof being now at 3/6 per Gallon and both with a rising Market and I doubt that these articles will obtain good prices for a long time to come. Many other articles would just now obtain high prices. Tin Plates for making the dishes etc for miners, Gunpowder, Pistols, Pickles and watches, for every Gentleman who has got Gold must have a watch, and Satins, for every become lady will have her Silk and Satin Dresses with a smart Parasol. I am daily expecting some large Cargos which will arrive to a famous Market. The staple commodity of the Colony, Wool, is hardly spoken of yet we expect to export 60 or 70,000 Bales at a value of 20 to £25 per Bale. It is a bad time for the Settlers and may for a period bring ruin on many on account of the high price of labour, in fact the difficulty of obtaining any—men are asking £1 per day for getting in the

Harvest, Bread is 1/4 per Quartern loaf not for want of Grain (for nature has been most plentiful for we have a most splendid Harvest) but want of labour to get it in. All the young men are leaving the Government offices and running up to the Diggings.

There appears a tolerably respectable Congregation of our own people here amounting to 40 or 50 families of about 200 to 220 in all. I attended the Synagogue [at 472 Bourke Street] on Saturday last the service was exceedingly orderly conducted having a very good reader ...

I need not point out to you how much more advantageous it would be to send out Sovereigns for the Bank have reduced their discounts on Bills to 10 per cent and it is impossible to say what they may reduce it to and the charge on Sovereigns is only about 1¾ to 2 per cent for freight and insurance—or Bank Bills could be obtained when I left at 2 per cent premium.<sup>6</sup>

This and the ensuing, at times frenzied, correspondence between the bank in London and Montefiore and his brothers Jacob Levi Montefiore (1801-95) and Eliezer Levi Montefiore (1820-94) through 1852 until 1855 forms a remarkable capsule of letters housed in the Rothschild Archive. Some of these are written in English transliterated into Hebrew script (a security measure). All relate to the earliest stages of the Victorian gold rush, and shine new beams of penetrating light upon Rothschilds' close but covert involvement – far closer than has hitherto been understood. Indeed here in Australia, Rothschilds' activities have rarely if ever before even been noted.<sup>7</sup>

This first and most important letter in the long series is especially notable for the accuracy of its contents, its comprehensiveness, and its firm grasp of the realities and shortcomings of the local banking infrastructure, which Montefiore knew well. As well as having been a member of the board of the South Australian Mining Company (copper), Joseph Montefiore was a



trustee of the Savings Bank in Adelaide. Jacob ('Jack') became a director of the Bank of Australasia in 1855, and Eliezer ('Levi') was secretary of the Australian Insurance Company – all neatly interlocking interests that for a while served the siblings' various other inter-colonial family businesses exceedingly well.

The granularity of the information about the various prices set out in Joseph's letter was partly to emphasise their enormous inflation under the pressure of so much new, almost instantaneous local wealth, and the temporary incapacity of the Australian banks even to furnish enough local currency to support the huge new income from gold. Montefiore's report was also prescient, because the Bank of England had yet to pronounce upon the quality of the gold flowing out of the Victorian diggings, yet they soon did so: Victorian gold was of astonishingly high quality. In the second half of 1851, diggers mostly earned £3 per ounce, which was the official insurance valuation applied to gold escorts, and very close to the Royal Mint price for gold, £3 17s. 10½d. However, following the arrival of the good news from the Bank of England the price rose sharply, and £4 is said to have become standard by the end of 1852 – and only in this respect was Montefiore's initial assessment of £2 16s. at all misleading. By 1854, scarcely two years later, 8,425,700 ounces of gold (more than 235 tons) were exported from Melbourne. He was right about the wool industry suffering in the short term. He was right about the urgent need for labour and commodities. And he was right about the reliability of gold sovereigns, as against bills and notes.

The close association between the Rothschild and Montefiore families was founded on the marriage on 22 October 1806 of Nathan Mayer Rothschild (1777-1836) to Hannah (1783-1850), the daughter of Levi Barent Cohen (1747-1808), and that of her sister Judith (1784-1862), to the future Sir Moses Montefiore (1784-1885). In subsequent generations there were a number of other Rothschild-Montefiore marriages that further strengthened these ties of kinship; Joseph, Jack and Levi Montefiore were

first cousins of Sir Moses Montefiore, whose wife was the aunt of Lionel and Anthony de Rothschild, the two principals who were most closely involved in the bank's London operations at this date. Rothschilds had had a longstanding business relationship with all three Montefiores since at least 1838 – in Adelaide, South Australia, Hobart Town, Sydney, and Brisbane. Intriguingly, writing from Hobart Town on 8 January 1839, '[Joseph] Montefiore, Surtado & Co.' begged 'to acknowledge the receipt of your favor of 3rd August advising us of your Circular letter of Credit for fifteen hundred pounds in favor of Baron Camillo de Solzbeck to which we will pay due attention on presentation.' Nothing at all is known about this exotic gentleman – what on earth was he up to in Hobart Town? – but the transaction was straightforward enough.<sup>8</sup> In other words the association between the Rothschilds and the Montefiores was as rock-solid as could be expected of any agency arrangement in the radical new circumstances of a gold rush. Yet there were problems, which in the long run proved insurmountable.

Many migrants were shocked in 1851-52 to find that upon disembarkation at Port Melbourne sterling notes issued by the Bank of England were not only not legal tender in Victoria, but that they could only be exchanged in the four Melbourne banks for local pounds, shillings and pence at a discount of one fifth. (By the time Joseph Montefiore reported to New Court this had eased to one tenth). In other words, at first £1 sterling bought only 16s. in Melbourne. This automatically increased by 20 per cent local prices, which were already soaring as a result of the discovery of gold. In 1852 bank deposits alone (in the form of 'gold dust') increased from £820,000 to £4,330,000, and in 1852-53 the price of a four-pound loaf of bread more than quadrupled, rising from 6d to more than 2s, while the cost of vegetables and dairy produce trebled. Rents were far worse: In 1852, a colonist was offered £2,200 to walk away from a slum in Bank Place for which he had been paying £9 a week. Developments as rapid and chaotic as these made any business communications flowing

back and forth between London and Melbourne almost instantly obsolete.

In the early 1850s ships carrying the mail from Britain to Australia via the Cape of Good Hope took between 87 and 119 days to reach their destination. The average duration of the voyage was therefore a fraction more than 98 days, a little more than three months – slightly longer on the return voyage via Cape Horn. To these periods one should add up to four extra weeks because the dates of embarkation from Gravesend or Plymouth were often delayed for weeks pending the sale of berths, the loading additional cargoes, even a change in the weather. Before the opening of the Suez Canal (1869) and the advent of the overland telegraph, which finally reached Adelaide in 1872, an exchange of correspondence could therefore take as long as six months. This applied no less to official confidential despatches between the governor and the Colonial Secretary in Whitehall, as it applied to the Rothschilds and the Montefiores – during which time local events leaped ahead beyond the capacity of anyone to keep track of them. Letters crossed, and their contents were often based on imperfect presumptions about new developments. Parcels, increasingly secure strongboxes of gold, letters of credit, boxes of gold sovereigns, reports of the sale of Rothschilds' goods (together with receipts from wholesalers in Melbourne and even retailers at the diggings) shuffled confusingly back and forth, often overlapping unhelpfully. Montefiore was usually pressed to write quickly in order to catch a departing vessel, the better to acquire commercial advantage from its eventual arrival at New Court ahead of any rivals. In the circumstances, he did remarkably well.

In January 1852, Montefiore was able to report the accelerating production of gold, new discoveries at Ballarat, Bendigo, and on the Ovens River further distant near modern Beechworth and Yackandandah. He noted the astounding growth of the population of diggers; the spread of a damaging infectious disease from which many suffered throughout the diggings (including the

Pre-Raphaelite sculptor Thomas Woolner who was then digging with his friend Bernhard Smith on the Ovens and at Devil's River),<sup>9</sup> and a continuing shortage of gold sovereigns in the banks.

In June, Montefiore sent a receipt for a ton and a half of flour, and a document undertaking to deliver this to a Mr T.O. Foote at Forest Creek, Mount Alexander (modern Chewton), to insure against damage on the road (a distinct possibility – the roads were terrible). He even obtained a signed undertaking from the carter in this instance, Thomas Cunningham, not to carry spirits in his dray. There followed receipts from the same Foote & Co, Melbourne, for various goods: 'sundries', boots, drapery, butter, raisins, candles, an iron hoop, three coils of rope, a cask of bacon, and a cross-cut saw. There are many such receipts in the Archive, which correspond almost uncannily with almost every detail in this and many other views of the by then blighted Forest Creek, Mount Alexander Diggings, 1852, by the itinerant lithographer S.T. Gill. Rothschilds were not just buying up the gold, but effectively supplying and provisioning the diggings, and shoring up the banking arrangements, indeed directly financing both.

At the end of July, Montefiore reported the receipt of £10,000 by one ship, quoted the local gold price (relatively high, though still apparently not yet reflecting the Bank of England's extremely positive assessment), and the latest yield figures. This he scribbled hurriedly, and in a wobbling hand, in order to catch the mail that was due to sail in a matter of hours. In October, Montefiore reported that conditions for business in South Australia were good, money plentiful, local credit sound, and 'business carried on a firm foundation'. This was certainly true – and probably reassuring in the sense that Montefiore could demonstrate that not every Australian colony was as volatile or unpredictable as Victoria. In December 1852 he passed on news from his agent at Forest Creek, John Allan, namely that it was impossible to hold cash on account for 'strangers' [i.e. gentiles]<sup>10</sup>, and of purchasing anything of value without more funds and more credit. Of course, this implied that Allan was holding cash on account for the small

handful of Jewish gold buyers and merchants at Forest Creek, such as the subject of S. T. Gill's ugly caricature. In any case, the mantra from Melbourne was increasingly desperate: More, more, more – more of everything to sell, more money with which to invest, and all of it as soon as possible!

The following month Montefiore reported the unwelcome introduction of tariffs and duties on 'tea, spirits and liquors, cordials and perfumes, tobacco snuff cigars &c., wine and coffee'. Of course in the meantime all such commodities and many others had been despatched, many from Rothschilds' own warehouse, against the Montefiores' London account. On 3 January 1853 Montefiore duly received at Geelong:

20 H[ogs]h[ea]ds Martells dark Brandy  
 15 Q[uar]te[r] C[as]ks Martells pale Brandy  
 15 H[ogs]h[ea]ds Demarara Rum 100 P[roof].  
 200 Red Cases Geneva in 4 Gallons Dutch Proof  
 100 cases Pale Brandy ea / dozen  
 50 cases dark Brandy ea / dozen  
 50 ditto "Altona" Old Tom  
 20 H[ogs]h[ea]ds Taylors Stout  
 20 H[ogs]h[ea]ds Bass's or Allsops Ale  
 200 Casks Byass Beer, ½ ale ½ porter, each 4 dozen  
 10 H[ogs]h[ea]ds Sandamans Port Wine  
 10 Q[uar]te[r] C[as]ks Sandamans Port Wine  
 10 H[ogs]h[ea]ds Sandamans pale Sherry fair middling quality  
 50 cases Port Wine ea / doz  
 50 ditto Sherry ditto  
 50 ditto Champagne ditto  
 10 Tierces [= 1½ hogsheads] Zante Currants  
 200 Boxes Eleine Raisins ea 28 lbs Boxes  
 100 Boxes Muscatel Raisins packed in cases  
 30 Bags Barcelona Nuts packed in tierces  
 20 Half Tierces "Barrets" Negrohead Tobacco  
 3 Tons Loaf Sugar, put up in 10 lb loaves, packed in tierces  
 2 tons Crushed Sugar, packed in Barrels [= 2 hogsheads]...  
 150 Cases each 3 doz ass[orte]d Pint Pickles



50 ditto ditto 2 doz ass[orte]d Q[uar]t Pickles

20 cases each 3 doz Pt Salad Vit.

15 ditto ditto 6 ½ doz ditto

25 ditto ditto 2 doz ass[orte]d Bottled Fruits 10 ditto ditto 3 doz ass[orte]d Jams and Jellies.<sup>11</sup>

Upon most if not all of these vital necessities the diggers depended, and there were many such shipments. While Rothschilds could supply these goods at favourable London prices, and take advantage of the margin afforded by the dizzying rate of inflation in Victoria, the Montefiores were hit hard by the excessively high costs of doing business there. They were also hit hard by the accumulating cost of borrowing more and more from London in order to convey the goods from Melbourne to the diggings, and to cover a multitude of exorbitant overheads.

Montefiore may have been careful to maintain strict confidentiality in his dealings with New Court, but other merchants in Melbourne certainly caught wind of their relationship. In an unsolicited *démarche* on 1 January 1852, for example, Reuben (or Rheuben) Barnett consigned three boxes of 'gold dust' directly to 'Baron Rothschild', effectively by-passing the Montefiores. Perhaps cheerfully inspired by some New Year's resolution, Barnett was a lessee of ships on the Bass Strait (Van Diemen's Land) run and, for the time being, also innkeeper of the Exchange Hotel in Collins Street, Melbourne. In his covering note, Barnett sought from them the safest form of remittance, but also boldly raised the possibility of representing Rothschilds in Melbourne into a glorious future, full of potential. The mark on Barnett's boxes – the letter 'B' inside a *magen david* – together with his signature in fairly hesitant Hebrew, made an obvious claim upon the Rothschilds' attention. This he reiterated a little later in a separate follow-up letter, explicitly claiming in a postscript that he was once well known to Nathan Mayer Rothschild himself – a claim that was presumably impossible either to disprove or to verify. It is not clear whether this Rheuben or Reuben Barnett is the same 'Polish Jew', a watchmaker, who was convicted in 1843

in the Central Criminal Court of receiving £100 of India silks and sentenced to seven years' hard labour and afterwards transported to Van Diemen's Land. It is possible. We know very little else about Barnett's Melbourne business, except that he brought criminal charges against the master of his vessel the *Jenny Lind* (*The Argus*, 26 March 1853), but not long afterwards appeared several times in the Insolvent Court in Melbourne in 1853 and again in 1856 (*The Argus*, 5 July 1853, 26 June 1856).<sup>12</sup>

Evidently, for the time being the Rothschilds preferred to deal with the Montefiores instead – and they were wise to do so – but their confidence in their Melbourne cousins was not limitless. To obtain an independent assessment of the progress of their investments in Victoria, the bank despatched from California to Melbourne a trusted employee, the peripatetic clerk John Luck. His brief was discreetly to monitor the Montefiores' transactions – even to the point of furnishing unofficial audits – while, at the same time, scouting independently for new business opportunities, and also trading on his own account, using a line of credit naturally furnished by the bank on the basis of equal caution. These practices were identical in California, South America, and many other places where the bank sustained relatively informal agency arrangements, so the Montefiores were not at all unusual in being watched closely. In the end, they became hopelessly over-extended, and in 1855 faced bankruptcy, defaulting on substantial advances from the London branch. The Rothschilds' agent Jeffrey Cullen sailed out to Melbourne to act as fireman.<sup>13</sup>

What is now clear is that the decision of the firm of N.M. Rothschild & Sons in 1852 to secure the lease on the Royal Mint Refinery in London must have been driven at least in part by the immense flow of gold from Victoria. The Paris branch had in any case refined bullion since 1827, when James de Rothschild opened his smelter in the quai de Valmy. Indeed Michel Benoît Poisat, James's business partner in that venture, eventually oversaw the technical aspects, equipment and staffing of the London refinery.<sup>14</sup> In 1835, the bank drew up a contract with the Kingdom

of Spain to market the output of the Almadén mercury mines, thereby securing a vital ingredient in the gold-refining process. And it is no accident that many of the Montefiores' reports from Melbourne were translated and sent to Paris, presumably to assess the viability of extending to London the firm's production of gold bullion. And in the broadest sense, what this capsule of Australian correspondence so deftly illustrates is the capacity of the bank to think and act globally, on a dizzying scale as well as on the almost microscopic, the better to reinforce, support and nourish a growing network of mutually sustaining, and enormously profitable interests. In the ten years from 1851 to 1861 most of the 25.2 million ounces (787 tons) of gold extracted by hand from the creek beds, escarpments, gravel pits and stony hills of central Victoria passed through the hands of N.M. Rothschild & Sons in London. This was worth far more to the firm than every one of those shipments of hogsheads of middling-quality Sandaman's pale sherry, pickles, Barcelona nuts, raisins, and currants, and even the losses incurred by their well-meaning and by no means incompetent Melbourne cousins by marriage.

## Endnotes

1. I am most grateful to Melanie Aspey and all the staff of the Rothschild Archive in London for their warm hospitality and generous assistance in preparing this article.
2. 28 February–2 June 2013. New Haven and London, Yale University Press, 2013.
3. London, the Archive, pp. 24–31.
4. The best concise histories of the gold rush in Victoria are still Geoffrey Serle, *Golden Age: A History of the Colony of Victoria, 1851-1861*, Melbourne, Melbourne University Press, 1963, and Geoffrey Blainey, *The Rush That Never Ended: A History of Australian Mining*, Melbourne, Melbourne University Press, 1963. To these may now be added Bruce Moore, *Gold! Gold! Gold! A Dictionary of the Nineteenth-Century Australian Gold Rushes*, Melbourne, Oxford University Press, 2000, and a host of more specialist books and articles.

5. Mary Howitt Walker, *Come Wind, Come Weather: A Biography of Alfred Howitt*, Melbourne, Melbourne University Press, 1971, p. 37.
6. Rothschild Archive, London, RAL XI/38/7/6.
7. Excerpt by Niall Ferguson, *The World's Banker: The History of the House of Rothschild*, London: Weidenfeld and Nicolson, 1998, pp. 578-80. For the Montefiore brothers, see Israel Getzler, 'Montefiore, Joseph Barrow', in Douglas Pike, ed., *Australian Dictionary of Biography*, Melbourne, Melbourne University Press, vol. 2, 1967, pp. 250-1; Martha Rutledge, 'Montefiore, Jacob Levi', in Douglas Pike, ed., *Australian Dictionary of Biography*, Melbourne, Melbourne University Press, vol. 5, 1974, pp. 270-1; George F. J. Bergman, 'Montefiore, Eliezer Levi', in Douglas Pike, ed., *Australian Dictionary of Biography*, Melbourne, Melbourne University Press, vol. 5, 1974, p. 269.
8. RAL XI/38/7/1.
9. Amy Woolner, *Thomas Woolner, R.A., Sculptor and Poet: His Life in Letters*, London, Chapman and Hall, 1917, and New York, E. P. Dutton, 1917, repr. New York, AMS Press, 1971. My new edition of Thomas Woolner's goldfields journal with introduction and scholarly apparatus awaits publication.
10. In Exodus 22:21 and Deuteronomy 10:19 we find, 'love ye therefore the stranger: for ye were strangers in the land of Egypt' (King James Version). Nevertheless it seems far more likely that Montefiore used the term here to describe gentiles (the vast majority). I am grateful to Rabbi Emeritus John S. Levi for his assistance on this point.
11. RA XI/38/7/5.
12. See 'Barnett, Reuben (Rheuben)', in John S. Levi, *These Are the Names: Jewish Lives in Australia, 1788-1850*, Melbourne, Melbourne University Press (The Miegunyah Press), 2006, pp. 68-9.
13. Ferguson, p. 578.
14. Michele Blagg, 'The Royal Mint Refinery, 1852-1968', *The Rothschild Archive, Review of the Year: April 2008 to March 2009*, London, The Rothschild Archive, 2009, pp. 48-9.

## LOUIS GOLDSMITH KC

*Peter R. MacIver*

### ABSTRACT

Louis Goldsmith KC (1846-1911) was a barrister, chess player, cricketer and the first Australian Jew to play for an Australian Eleven, when, in December 1878 he replaced the injured George Bailey for a game against a Victorian fifteen. Goldsmith was born at Whitechapel, London in 1846, to Polish immigrants. In 1853 the family moved to Melbourne. Following school Goldsmith joined the Civil Service Audit Department, studying Law at Melbourne University in his free time. In 1872 he was admitted to the Victorian Bar, becoming the first Jewish barrister in the colony of Victoria. At Melbourne University he was a foundation member of the cricket club and played in the first game against Sydney University, becoming a life-long friend of Edmund Barton, who played for Sydney. Goldsmith played first class cricket for East Melbourne Cricket Club and also represented Victoria in inter-colonial games. Goldsmith was a fine chess player, playing for and serving as president of the Melbourne Chess Club. One of his chess games was included in Wilhelm Steinitz's *The Modern Chess Instructor* in 1889. Goldsmith was also involved with the famous Yorick Club, several times acting as treasurer.

### KEYWORDS

Biography, Cricket, Chess,  
Law, Victoria, Melbourne



Thursday, 12 December 1878, was a magnificent day in Melbourne, and the Australian Eleven, back in the Colony of Victoria following a successful tour of the United Kingdom and North America, took the field for a game against a Fifteen of Victoria to enthusiastic applause from the spectators surrounding the East Melbourne Cricket Club ground at Jolimont. Following a serious injury to George Bailey (he broke his arm fielding in the previous match against a fifteen of New South Wales) the Australian Eleven were fielding a replacement player by the name of Louis Goldsmith.<sup>1</sup>

It may seem unusual to start this piece by mentioning a long-gone and, in reality, minor game of cricket played by the first national Australian cricket team to travel overseas to play, but the fact that I am trying to write a book about this team led me to try and find out more about the replacement who took the field for them that day. Louis Goldsmith (Goldie to his friends) turned out to be a truly interesting man. He was the colony of Victoria's first Jewish barrister, chess champion, East Melbourne Cricket Club great, enthusiastic fisherman, Yoricker, aspiring politician and most certainly the first Jewish person to play for an Australian Eleven.

Louis Goldsmith was born in 1846 at Whitechapel, London, the son of Henry Goldsmith (a cigar maker) and his wife Sarah Landeshut. According to the JewishGen website, his parents Henry and Sarah were born in 1823 and 1821 respectively. Their birthplace is suggested as either Prussia or Poland. Several siblings were also born in Whitechapel: Benjamin in 1848, Emmanuel 1850 and Montague in 1851. At some stage in 1852 or 1853 the family then left England for Australia.<sup>2</sup> Settled in Melbourne, the family continued to grow. Sophia was born in 1853, Philip in 1857, Henrietta Cecilia in 1858, Samuel Joseph in 1860 and finally Maurice in 1863.<sup>3</sup> In Melbourne, Henry set himself up as a wholesaler based at 123 King Street and trading in 'earthenware, glass and china'.<sup>4</sup>

According to the *Australian Israelite* 'he received his primary education at the Common (Jewish) School, No. 180.<sup>5</sup> This school was situated at the rear of the synagogue in Bourke Street West.<sup>6</sup>

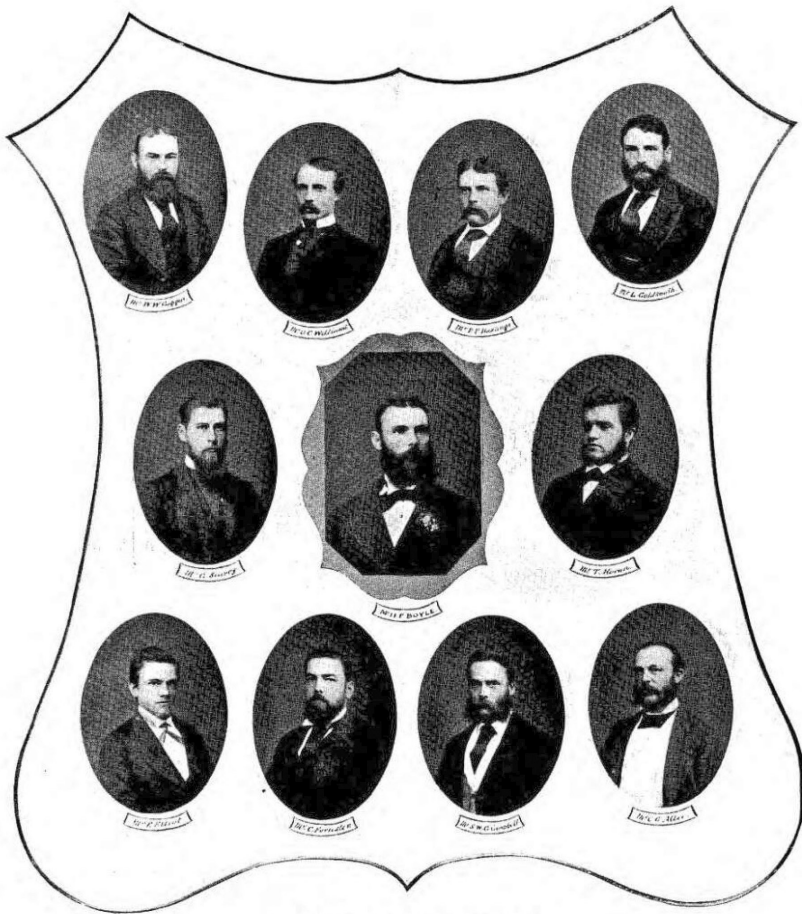


*Picture of Victorian Eighteen 1874, including Goldsmith*

His obituary in *The Argus* noted that he received his secondary education at St James's Grammar School and upon leaving he entered the Civil Service Audit department, 'where, under the late Messrs. C.S. Symonds and A.J. Agg he advanced until he was head of the correspondence branch, and was known as one of the best officers in the service.'<sup>7</sup> He is recorded as passing the Civil Service Entrance exam in 1863. During his time working in the Audit Department, Louis Goldsmith was also studying law at Melbourne University.

He matriculated in March 1866; his brother Benjamin also started at the same time and is mentioned as being one of seven students who achieved a credit in the matriculation examination.<sup>8</sup> Having passed his examinations and qualified as a lawyer, he was admitted to the Victorian bar on 8 July 1872, on the motion of Dr Dobson.<sup>9</sup> *The Australian Israelite* noted, 'We believe we are correct in stating that Mr. Goldsmith is the first Victorian Jew enrolled in the colony as a barrister.'<sup>10</sup>

Louis's brother Benjamin also worked at the audit department and both brothers are mentioned in *The Age* in 1874 when they resigned their Civil Service positions, the paper noting that the audit department had undergone considerable change with the resignation of the Goldsmith brothers and that, 'Mr. Goldsmith, we understand, intends to commence practice at the bar, to which he was admitted some eighteen months since; and Mr. B Goldsmith has commenced business as an accountant.'<sup>11</sup>



*The EMCC Eleven won every match in 1875-76*

### **Of the dashing order**

In Louis Goldsmith's obituary, Tom Horan ('Felix' of *The Australasian*, and a teammate of Goldsmith's at East Melbourne Cricket Club) noted that Goldsmith was 'one of the smartest and deftest gymnasts in the old "National" over which Mr. Techow reigned.'<sup>12</sup> Gustav Techow was a former Prussian army officer who had to flee Prussia in 1848 due to his liberal sympathies. Techow was involved in an incident where citizens stormed the Berlin arsenal and his commanding officer refused to fire on the insurgents. Techow fled, at first to the Baden-Palatinate with

his commanding officer and then, after the failure of the 1848 revolutions to Switzerland, finally ending up in Australia. Techow is regarded as having an important role in promoting physical exercise in Victoria, and it would seem that as well as gymnastics, students of the National Gymnasium were taught the art of self-defence, as Horan went on to note that Goldsmith was also a useful boxer and mentioned this in a 'Cricket Chatter' piece written in December 1890. He was writing about the Kew High School sports which were held on the East Melbourne Cricket Ground and wrote:

I also had the pleasure of meeting Mr. J. Henning Thompson, the headmaster. He still remembers the boxing bout he had with Mr. L. Goldsmith 16 years ago at the late Mr. Techow's gymnasium. I am half inclined to think that Mr. Goldsmith also remembers it.<sup>13</sup>

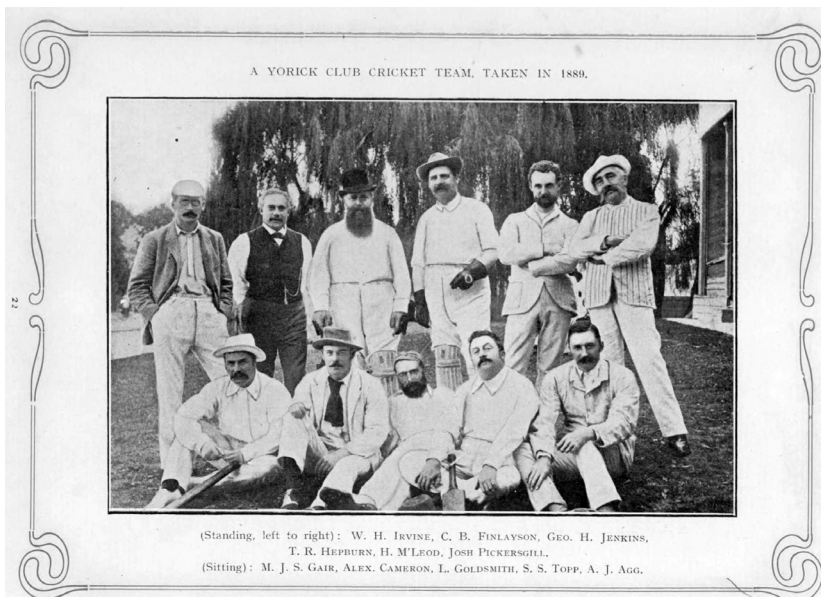
Louis Goldsmith was clearly a man of considerable energy. He held down a good job with the Civil Service, was a top chess player, involved in athletics (he is mentioned as taking part in the Civil Service athletic sports), gymnastics and studied law. On top of that, he played cricket and was one of the foundation players of the Melbourne University Cricket Club as reported in *The Australasian* of 21 August 1869. The paper hoping that 'ere long, a town and gown match may be amongst the most exciting of annual events in the cricket world that we are called on to chronicle.'<sup>14</sup> Goldsmith was also involved in the first Melbourne University v Sydney University cricket match in December 1870. Playing on the opposing team was Edmund Barton, the man who would become first prime minister of Australia and from the time of this game a life-long friend of Louis Goldsmith. Melbourne University won a close game with two wickets to spare. Goldsmith made scores of 41 and 36, his new friend Edmund Barton scoring 4 and 5.<sup>15</sup>

At the same time as studying and playing cricket at university Goldsmith was playing at the highest level available in the colony

of Victoria, that being metropolitan and inter-colonial standard cricket. It is, perhaps, difficult for us today to understand how popular cricket was in the mid to late nineteenth century. Huge crowds would gather to witness big metropolitan or inter-colonial games. Playing for the East Melbourne Cricket Club (the Jolimonters), 'Goldie', as he was known to his teammates, was playing for one of the top metropolitan teams.

At the time of Louis Goldsmith's death in 1911, Tom Horan wrote this about his time with East Melbourne:

Another of the old brigade has gone to his account. So far back as the season 1867-68 L. Goldsmith played with East Melbourne, and for eleven years later his name figures in the annals of the Jolimonters. His style of batting was of the dashing order, and there was a delightful crispness and wristiness in the sweep of his off stroke. He made that stroke with telling effect, and in an eminently attractive manner, against the best bowlers that Victoria had in those old days. He and W.W. Gaggin were known as the "two G.s," and in match after match were in the van



*The 1889 Yorick Club cricket team*



for East Melbourne. One notable match that the pair practically won was against South Melbourne, when they “collared” the famous “bowler of a century,” Frank Allan, on the Hill. Another memorable match that the two G.’s figured in was the “Lost Ball” match, on the East ground, against Melbourne, in November, 1871, indeed “Goldie,” as his comrades loved to call him, was quite the hero of that match, not through making a big score, but through nearly breaking his neck in chasing a ball hit by W. Ford, of M.C.C., into Jolimont road. They had no boundary, and Goldie, in vaulting over the fence, placed his hand on a rotten top rail, and came a heavy cropper on the path. He was stunned, and before the ball was returned the batsmen had run 8 runs. But lost ball had been called six runs had been completed. The upshot of this dispute was that only six runs, were allowed, and East Melbourne won by 2 runs. Though that game took place nearly forty-one years ago, it is fresh and interesting today as a topic amongst old warriors who participated in the fight, or were spectators of the sensational finish and the subsequent tremendous excitement in the pavilion reserve.<sup>16</sup>

It should be noted that Goldsmith and Gaggin’s nickname of the ‘two G.’s’ was a reference to the Grace brothers in England who were known as the three Graces. W.G. Grace was the greatest cricketer of the era and is still recognised as a colossus of the game today. The fact that Goldsmith and Gaggin had their names linked to the Grace brothers, especially W.G. Grace, was a great compliment and would have reflected the quality of their play in the metropolitan competition. It would not have suggested that they were the same standard of cricketers as W.G. Grace or his two brothers. Only one Australian player of the era reached that standard and he was W.L. Murdoch whom Goldie would have known and whom he played with for the 1878 Australian Eleven.

In 1873-74 Goldie played three times against the touring All England Eleven which included W.G. Grace. Playing for the Victorian Eighteen who defeated Grace's eleven in one inning (showing how rapidly cricket in the colonies was improving) Goldie had a chance to catch WG in the second innings of the English team. Tom Brown, writing 'Pavilion Echoes' in *The Australasian*, wrote:

Carr and Robertson fielded splendidly also, and so, with one exception, did Goldsmith. But that exception—how many a cricketer looking on would have given a “fiver” to have had the chance of distinguishing himself that Goldsmith had? A good ordinary long leg hit, straight and fast to long leg's hands, and from the “greatest batsman of all-time” was ingloriously dropped.

By 1878 and at the age of 32 Goldie was coming towards the end of his top-flight playing career even though many players continued at the top level until they were much older. He certainly continued playing for a number of years in less important East Melbourne fixtures as well as in other social fixtures. Quite why he was not selected to play for the Victorian Fifteen against the Eleven is not clear, but it did mean that he was available to play for the first national Australian team. A South Australian newspaper (*The Express and Telegraph*, 12 December 1878) reported at the time that, 'The election of Mr. Goldsmith in place of Mr. Bailey to play with the Eleven has given much satisfaction, as, apart from his excellent qualities as a cricketer, he was rather scurvily treated by the Cricketing Association, who in appointing a Fifteen passed him over.'

*The Argus* explained how Goldsmith came to be chosen for the Eleven:

It was expected that the vacant place in the Eleven, brought about by the accident to Mr. Bailey, would be supplied by Mr. Massie, who came with the team from Sydney yesterday, but Mr. Massie has,



11 January 1902: *Old time intercolonial players*

reluctantly, been obliged to withdraw. The team intended to have then selected Mr Woolf of the South Melbourne Club, but as he had already been chosen as one of the Fifteen of Victoria, he could not very well act on both sides. Eventually, to prevent any alteration in the personnel of the Fifteen, Mr Goldsmith, of the E.M.C.C, was invited to play with the Eleven, and he consented to do so.<sup>17</sup>

The Mr Massie who travelled with the team from Sydney was Hugh Hamon Massie who played a pivotal role in the famous 1882 match between Australia and England at Kennington Oval. This was the match that created the legend of 'The Ashes.'

The game resulted in an easy win over four days for the Eleven. Of the first day, *The Argus* reported that, 'A. Bannerman, Murdock and Goldsmith fielded brilliantly.'<sup>18</sup> Murdock was W. L. Murdoch, the future Australian captain. His surname was often spelled as Murdock in the press of the time. On the second day, Goldsmith played some nice shots for seven runs before being caught out by his fellow 'G', William Gaggin. With the Eleven all out for 198, they took the field again at 2.40pm. Goldsmith

is described as saving a four and returning the ball so smartly that Slight was run out. Day three saw the Eleven continue in the field with *The Leader* reporting that they had, ‘lost the services of Goldsmith, who had wrenched the muscles of his thigh the previous day.’<sup>19</sup> The Victorian Fifteen were bowled out by mid-afternoon and the Australian Eleven went on to win the game the following day with the loss of only four wickets. Goldsmith did not bat in the second innings. Whilst he and many others who acted as substitute players for the 1878 Australian Eleven will never be officially recorded as having played for Australia, Louis Goldsmith got to do something that only a few cricketers throughout the history of the game can claim to have done. He played for his national team.

Although Goldsmith dropped out of top-flight cricket at the end of the end of the cricket season in 1878-79, it is clear that he continued to play and maintain his enthusiasm for the game by involving himself in lesser EMCC games as well as social fixtures and the legal fraternity’s cricket matches. A very amusing piece written in 1951 by P.A. Jacobs for the *Melbourne University Law Review Res Judicatae* highlights this. The piece was called, ‘An old fee book’ and was about the scribbled notes in Louis Goldsmith’s fee book which were mainly about cricket:

Holding the book upside down and starting at the reverse end, we find on page one the minutes of a meeting held on November 23rd, 1880, at the pavilion of the East Melbourne Cricket Club to which Mr. Goldsmith belonged. Judge Cope, of the County Court, who had a merry wit, was in the chair. It seems that on this date the annual match-Barristers v. Attornies (solicitors were called attornies at that time) – was being held. After the match, the players met and formed themselves into a club composed of both branches of the profession and called “The Devil’s Own.” (Was it Judge Cope who suggested this intriguing title?) The entrance fee was declared

by the rules to be “nil” and the annual subscription “of like amount.” Players must wear “a white shirt and trousers with a black sash having a death’s head and cross-bones on same in white” also a hat or cap similarly adorned.<sup>20</sup>

I have to say on a personal note, that the legal fraternity of that time seems to have been quite aware of the reputation they had with the lay community as the name of their team and piratical sash suggests!

Goldsmith was also mentioned quite regularly attending games or talking with other cricketers in ‘Cricket Chatter’ and the annual ‘Round the Ground’ columns by his old East Melbourne teammate Tom Horan. There are also a few pictures of him attending games in *The Australasian*, usually pictured with fellow ‘old time’ players. Being friends with Jack Blackham (the prince of wicket-keepers), Frank Allan, Tom Horan and Harry Boyle meant that he was mixing with some of the giants of early international cricket.

In Goldsmith’s obituary Tom Horan also mentioned that, ‘At one time in the seventies he wrote a good deal about cricket and was an ardent supporter of the original proposal to send an Australian Eleven to England.’<sup>21</sup> It is not surprising that he supported the first tour of the 1878 team as he personally knew many of those involved. I have tried to find out which papers he wrote for but the problem is that in those days all cricket columns were written using a pen-name such as Felix (Tom Horan) or Mid-On (Harry Hedley) of *The Leader*; it is impossible to identify who wrote what unless someone mentions a person’s pen-name. As a result, I have been unable to figure out which newspaper Goldsmith wrote for.

Whilst Louis Goldsmith’s figures may not seem particularly good when compared with those of modern-day batsmen, it has to be understood that the wickets of the nineteenth century were not good compared to those of today, which meant that

they tended to be bowler's wickets. Here are his first-class match figures. Between 1867 and 1879 Goldsmith played 158 innings for EMCC. He scored 2915 runs, with a high score of 102 and was not out 9 times. His average was 19.84.<sup>22</sup> Wisden's obituary of Goldie states that 'He played for Victoria in four matches against New South Wales, four against Tasmania, and three against Mr. W.G. Grace's team, scoring in the eleven games 154 runs with an average of 9.05' and that, 'He was one of the first Australian batsmen to cultivate the pull stroke.'<sup>23</sup>

Goldsmith was also one of the first Australians to try baseball, as this piece from *The Argus* in 1897 noted:

About 30 years ago an American named Ward explained the points of baseball to Messrs Eggleston, Turnbull, Allee, Gaggin, and Goldsmith, of the East Melbourne Cricket Club who, conceiving it would be – what it did become 20 years later – a first-rate winter pastime for cricketers to keep their eye and hand in, arranged for a game in Richmond park on a Saturday afternoon. Material was bought, and the players rolled up, but, unfortunately for baseball, the Melbourne Football Club were playing a military team – 'Lieutenant Noyes and his broths of boys,' celebrated in a football poem written by the father of Mr Jack Blackham, the Australian wicket-keeper. The game was close by, the early-comers amongst the baseballers went over to see it, and became so absorbed in the battle that they forgot all about their own game ...<sup>24</sup>

Given all his sporting activities and work as a barrister Goldie must have needed some relaxation and Tom Horan noted that he enjoyed trips to the seaside. *The Argus* stated in his obituary that 'He was a renowned schnapper fisherman, and with Mr. A.J. Agg who always accompanied him on his trips, he was known at Queenscliff as the champion fisherman.'<sup>25</sup>

### One of the most brilliant players

Goldsmith was also a first-class chess player and the standard he reached is clearly shown through the fact that one of his games against Frederick Karl Esling was included in Wilhelm Steinitz's book *The Modern Chess Instructor*.<sup>26</sup> Steinitz was one of the greatest chess players of his day as well as an influential chess writer and theoretician.

In the chess section of *The Australasian* which also featured an obituary of Goldsmith, it was written that:

It is our sad duty this week to record the death of one of the most brilliant players that Victoria ever possessed ... In the seventies the Victorian team was an invincible one, and Mr. Goldsmith was one of its strongest and most brilliant members. Perhaps, however, what is best remembered is his wonderful match with Mr. Fisher in 1875, who at that time shared with Mr. Burns the honour of being Australia's two strongest players. The match was for the first winner of five, and Mr. Goldsmith went off at a great pace, so that the score stood 4 to 1 in his favour; but then luck seemed to turn dead against him, for his opponent won four of the next six games, and the remaining two were drawn.

As an example of his brilliant play we give the following game, which he won from Mr. Esling. This game, which is reproduced by Steinitz in his book, was remarkable not only for the brilliance of the play, but for the fact that it was an offhand game, rattled through in an interval between two rubbers of whist (the players had been temporarily cut out), the time occupied being only 10 minutes. Rapidity suited Goldsmith's quick intelligence; on the other hand, the game is not quite a fair example of the thoughtful and correct style of Esling.<sup>27</sup>

In 1875 Goldsmith won the annual handicap chess challenge tournament for the third time, *The Leader* reporting that 'Mr.





*Drawing of Goldie the lawyer. The Australasian, 30 October 1897*

Goldsmith, who won the cup on the first competition for it in 1873, has won it outright without its having passed from his hands.<sup>28</sup> In 1918 *The Australasian* reported that:

A most interesting memento of the very old days

of the Melbourne Chess Club turned up some days ago, when, owing to the kindness of the executors of the estate of the late Mr. Louis Goldsmith, this trophy that he won in 1875 was handed over to the club for a new competition. It consists of a beautiful silver cup and stand. On the stand are silver plates, for the inscription of the name of the winner in different years, whilst the cup itself bears a decoration representing two players seated at a table and absorbed over a game. The cup was presented for annual competition in 1873 by "The Australasian" and "Leader" newspapers, the Melbourne Chess Club, and a few other subscribers, and is said to have cost over £20. To win the cup outright it had to be won in three annual tourneys.<sup>29</sup>

Louis Goldsmith also served as president of the Melbourne Chess Club and an interesting book of 1844 by British player George Walker called *Chess Studies: comprising one thousand games, actually played during the last half century*, which must have been passed down from president to president, is to be found in the rare books section of the State Library of Victoria. The provenance of the book is stated as Sir George Stephen, Louis Goldsmith, Gunnar Gundersen, M.V. Anderson.

### **'A man likely to rise'**

By no means the least of Louis Goldsmith's achievements was becoming one of the top equity lawyers in Victoria. Tom Horan mentioned that when he started practising law in 1874 he was regarded as a 'man likely to rise' in his profession by those qualified to judge.<sup>30</sup> *The Argus* gave this glowing review of his career in his obituary. The piece starts off with some background and continues: '[he] was the survivor of a brilliant trio of barristers, the other two being Mr. Jeremiah Dwyer (brother of the present police magistrate) and Mr. St. John Topp.' There are then details of his education and time in the civil service before the piece continues:

He read with Mr. Webb (afterwards Mr. Justice Webb), who, with Mr. Holroyd (now Sir Edward Holroyd), was then leader of the equity bar. Mr. Webb's clerk was a young man, St. John Topp, who subsequently qualified and was admitted. Mr. Dwyer, who was already at the bar, recognised the worth of these two, and between them there sprang up a friendship which was lifelong. Mr. Dwyer was a brilliant man and renowned as a wit; and Mr. Webb's chambers where the three friends foregathered, became the centre of attraction every afternoon to many of the leading barristers of the day, amongst them the late Messrs. J. B. Gregory and R. A. Billing Q.C. Messrs. Goldsmith and Topp forged ahead in their profession, until, with Mr. H. B. Higgins (now Mr. Justice Higgins), who had read with Sir Edward Holroyd, they became the leaders of the equity bar. Mr Goldsmith had a splendid practice, and his services were in great demand. On one occasion he was briefed in an important equity case in Tasmania, and the fee marked on his brief—1,000 guineas with 500 guineas refresher—is said to be the largest paid to an equity lawyer for a case in Australia. About five years ago, Mr Goldsmith “took silk”, but failing health prevented him reaping the benefits of his appointment as King's counsel.<sup>31</sup>

Barrister P.A. Jacobs tells a very amusing story about Goldsmith in ‘An old fee book’, that not only highlights Goldie's cheek, but also his excellent legal mind. Jacobs wrote:

Not long before he died, he figured in an equity suit tried before Sir John Madden who gave judgment against his client. Sir John, as was his wont, spoke at some length and with great certainty as to the correctness of his law and reasoning. When at last he finished, Mr. Goldsmith rose, holding a law-book in his hand. “I hesitate,” he said, “to address your Honour after you have delivered judgment. But has

your Honour carefully considered the decision of the Full Court in the case of Blank against Blank?" He handed the law report to the judge who read it with contracted brow. "Yes," he said thoughtfully. "That certainly does appear to be in direct conflict with what I have said." Thereupon he reversed his judgment, and with that agility for which he was justly renowned, indicated his reasons for the substituted judgment with the same degree of positiveness as characterised his original judgment. Finally, he thanked counsel for "putting him right in his law." But then he too was a sportsman.<sup>32</sup>

### **The interests of his party**

Louis Goldsmith was also a supporter of the conservative side of politics, with *The Age* reporting in December of 1879 that, 'Mr. L. Goldsmith is likely to stand for North Melbourne.'<sup>33</sup> He had put his name forward to stand for the conservative opposition who were led by James Service. The colonial government in December 1879 was liberal and led by Graham Berry. With the election set for the end of February 1880, *The Argus* reported that 'Dr. Lloyd, a local man, having come forward for North Melbourne, Mr. L. Goldsmith considers that he will best consult the interests of the party by leaving Drs. Bride and Lloyd to contest the battle, and he accordingly retires from his candidature.'<sup>34</sup> It would seem that just as he was a good team man in cricket, he was the same for the party he supported. Whilst the conservative opposition won the election with a small majority, they only governed for four months, Graham Berry and the liberals being returned to power in July. North Melbourne was a safe liberal seat and neither Drs Bride nor Lloyd was elected in February 1880.

### **The Yorick Club**

Goldsmith also seems to have had an active social life involving the Yorick Club. In a book about its history, George Bell the editor quoted rule number one from 1871: 'The Yorick Club is established for the purpose of bringing together literary, artistic,

scientific and professional men.’<sup>35</sup> The club was formed by men such as Marcus Clarke, author of *For the Term of His Natural Life*, and Frederick William Haddon, editor of *The Australasian* and later of *The Argus* and catered for the more bohemian element of Melbourne society. Goldsmith became a Yoricker in 1875. His brother Samuel was also a member as was his fellow barrister and friend S. St John Topp and his fishing companion A.J. Agg. Goldsmith was several times the secretary with his friend Agg as treasurer. He was present at one of the most memorable evenings (along with 85 other Yorickers) put on by the club when Samuel Langhorne Clemens addressed members and ‘delivered a most interesting speech, containing reminiscences of a visit he paid to the Mississippi in 1880 to revive the memories of his youth when he was a steamboat pilot on the great river.’<sup>36</sup>

### **‘Respect and esteem’**

Louis Goldsmith died on 15 September 1911 and received appropriately glowing tributes in many newspapers. His funeral was held on Sunday the 17th (he was buried in the Jewish Section of the Melbourne General Cemetery) with *The Leader* reporting that:

The respect and esteem in which the late Mr. Louis Goldsmith, K.C., was held was manifested on Sunday by the large and representative gathering which attended the funeral. The burial took place in the Melbourne General Cemetery. The pall bearers were Sir Edmund Barton, Mr. Justice Cussen, Mr. D. Wutterston, Mr. Theyre Weigall, K.C.; Mr. S. Leon, K.C.; Mr. H.E. Starke, Mr. A.J. Agg and Mr. S.G. Pirani. Mr. S.J. Goldsmith, P.M., the only surviving brother of deceased, was chief mourner. Wreaths were sent by the members of the Yorick Club and the East Melbourne Cricket Club.<sup>37</sup>

It may be true that in cricketing terms, Louis Goldsmith was a relatively minor figure even if he did play a part in some interesting moments in Australian cricketing history. He may not have risen to the heights of his East Melbourne Cricket Club



From left to right Standing: Riggall Allee Peryman W. Campbell Gaggin Goldsmith Darke Dan Wilkie  
Sitting: Dave Wilkie Heather Williams

### *EMCC in the lost ball match*

team mates Tom Horan or my own personal cricketing hero, Harry Boyle, but, nonetheless, he led an extraordinary life both in sporting terms as a cricketer and off the field as a chess player and lawyer.

### **More than their fair share of tragedy**

Whilst this piece is about the life of Louis Goldsmith, it should not be told without making some mention of his family. Their story is, no doubt, typical of Victorian-era immigrant stories, but it is also true that they had more than their fair share of tragedy. I shall try to give brief pictures of each of the Goldsmith siblings, but due to the information available some will be very brief. I recognise that there were also stepchildren, but have chosen not to record what happened to them as I wished to focus on direct descendants of the family.

Louis's brother Benjamin was born in 1848 at Whitechapel, London and joined the civil service in 1865, two years after Louis.<sup>38</sup> He actually beat Louis in the Melbourne University matriculation



examination, the result of which appeared in the *The Australasian* in March 1866. Like Louis, Benjamin Goldsmith was also a fine athlete and is mentioned in the papers of the time as taking part in the Civil Service athletic sports, rowing competitions and as being captain of the Melbourne Football Club. In July 1875 he resigned as captain and left for China.<sup>39</sup> In Hong Kong he worked for the China Traders' Insurance Company, returning to Melbourne in 1884 as manager for the Australian colonies. Benjamin served as a councillor on Hawthorn Council and was twice mayor. His first wife May died by drinking poison in front of him on 4 May 1907. She was described as not having been well for some time.<sup>40</sup> The following year Benjamin married Emily Blackett Firth at Holy Trinity Church in Kew. In 1909 he died by a self-inflicted gunshot wound to the head, the coroner passing a verdict of suicide.<sup>41</sup> At the time of his death he had retired from the China Traders' Insurance Company and was described as a well-known broker and adjuster of marine averages.

Emmanuel was born in 1850 at Whitechapel, but nothing is known of him other than that he must have died some time prior to the family arriving in Australia. Montague was born in 1851, also at Whitechapel. He travelled with the family to Melbourne but died on 15 May 1857 at the age of five and a half. His death was recorded in *The Argus*.<sup>42</sup>

Sophia Goldsmith was born in 1853 and died in January 1868. I was unable to find any more information about her. Henrietta Cecilia Goldsmith was born on 15 May 1855 at King Street.<sup>43</sup> She died on 8 April 1884 aged 28 at University Square in Carlton.<sup>44</sup> I was unable to find any more information about her.

Philip (Phineas) Goldsmith was born (only a month after the death of his brother Montague) at 123 King Street on 13 June 1857<sup>45</sup> and died at the family home at Power Street in Hawthorn on 17 June 1887, aged 30.<sup>46</sup> He passed the Civil Service exam in 1872, but seemed to sit it several times and on one occasion both he and his brother Samuel are noted as having passed the Civil Service Examination with private tuition in 1879.<sup>47</sup> Not being as



well-versed in this area as I would like, I assume he must have been aiming for a higher score to ensure a better position in the civil service. In the family tradition Philip was a sportsman, playing for the East Melbourne and Carlton Cricket Clubs, football for Melbourne, as well as in connection with rowing and athletics for the Civil Service.

Samuel Joseph Goldsmith was born in 1860 as registered in the Victorian Births, Deaths and Marriages register. There does not seem to have been a record of his birth posted in any newspaper. He passed the Civil Service examination in 1879 and is recorded as having passed the Civil Service Law Examination during the February term in 1883.<sup>48</sup> At the time of his death in 1917 *The Argus* stated that:

Mr Goldsmith, who would have been 58 years of age in January next, was a bachelor. He entered the service in June 1877, as a clerk attached to the Police Court at Heidelberg. He was subsequently transferred to the old Police Court in Swanston street, which was situated on the site of the Town Hall extension. In 1890 he received his appointment as clerk of Petty Sessions, and after being appointed a police magistrate he did duty at Castlemaine, Ballarat, and Melbourne. He was the presiding magistrate in the Melbourne District Court for the last two years, and on the recent death of Mr P.J. Dwyer, PM, he assumed the position of senior magistrate at the City Court.<sup>49</sup>

An inquest into his death was held and *The Argus* reported that he fell overboard from:

... the ferry steamer *Planet* during a trip from Williamstown to Port Melbourne on December 7 ... After hearing evidence, the coroner said it was not clear how Mr Goldsmith had entered the water. There was no evidence before him pointing in any way to suicide. Mr Goldsmith had been very enthusiastic about his work. Latterly he had complained of a very

tired feeling, and had found it necessary to discontinue cycling. The medical evidence showed that his heart was dilated, and might have given way at any time. It was quite possible that Mr Goldsmith had sat on the rail of the steamer and fallen overboard. It seemed a feasible explanation. Mr Goldsmith had shown himself a hard-working and conscientious magistrate, and no doubt the close attention he had given to several heavy Commonwealth cases had tended to exhaust him somewhat, he found that death had been accidental.<sup>50</sup>

Maurice Goldsmith was born in 1863. Like his brothers he seems to have been involved in sport and also had academic ability. He is mentioned in *The Age* in 1876 receiving a prize at the Melbourne Hebrew School.<sup>51</sup> In January 1883 he is recorded as having passed the examination qualifying himself for admission into the ordinary division of the Civil Service of Victoria.<sup>52</sup> Then in 1886 he is noted passing second year articulated clerks constitutional law at Melbourne University.<sup>53</sup> 1889 was a big year for Maurice as in March he was admitted to the bar<sup>54</sup> and in September of that year he married, an announcement in *The Argus* stating:

On the 10th inst., at the residence of the bride's mother, Tarawera, Manningtree-road, Hawthorn, Maurice, youngest son of Henry Goldsmith, of Power-street, Hawthorn, to Debbie Flora Fletcher (Queenie), second daughter of the late J.F. Anderson, of Dunedin, New Zealand.<sup>55</sup>

The following year must have been even more special because of the birth of Nea Ettie Goldsmith on 17 June 1890.<sup>56</sup>

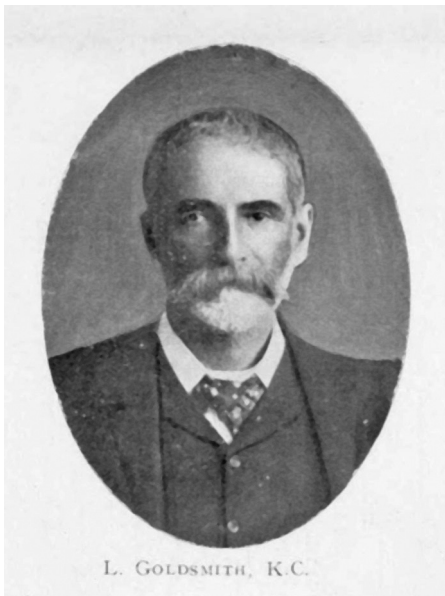
This must have been especially significant for Henry and Sarah as this was to be their first and only grandchild. The following year on 21 December 1891 Maurice died. He was only 28 years old.<sup>57</sup>

His former wife Deborah remarried in 1897 and moved to South Australia where she settled with her new husband Samuel David Stevenson in Medindie. They had three sons, Kenneth,

Geoffrey and Wallace. In 1911 Nea married Edward Robert Southouse and at some time after that the couple moved to America. They settled in New York and in 1931 further tragedy ensued when their elder daughter Beryl died.<sup>58</sup> In 1951 when Nea's mother-in-law Ada Mary Southouse passed away her death notice stated that she was the grandmother of Sheila Goodall and Constance Lewis.<sup>59</sup> Sheila was the daughter of Nea's sister-in-law Constance Vera Christmas. Constance Lewis was Nea's surviving daughter.

Constance married William Ray Lewis and they had four children. Deborah Caroline, born in 1947, Cathryn Nea, born in 1950, Mark Edward born in 1958 and Sally Ann born in 1959. Constance died in 1970 at the age of 37. Had she lived, she would have had the pleasure of knowing that she had seven grandchildren.

Henry Goldsmith died in 1900<sup>60</sup> with his wife Sarah dying two years earlier in 1898.<sup>61</sup> They must have been saddened by the fact that only three of their children and one grandchild were alive at the time of their passing.



*Louis Goldstein KC*

The story of the Goldsmith family may well be filled with tragedy, but it is also one that demonstrates what immigrant families can achieve. I, an immigrant also, am glad that I have had the opportunity to meet Louis Goldsmith and his family through the stories they have left behind and to have had the pleasure of hearing about the family members alive in America today.

## Acknowledgments

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## DISENFRANCHISEMENT OF THE AUSTRALIAN JEW: INCLUSION OR EXCLUSION?

*Tanya Warme*

### ABSTRACT

The right to vote or stand for government in Australia has never excluded people on the basis of religion. Yet while articles proliferate on both the number of Jews in Australian parliaments and the voting preferences of Jews, there has been minimal research of the history of suffrage of Australian Jews. From the 1880s and beyond the 1900s, potential new electoral laws had the power to stifle Jewish freedom to vote, such as by proposing legislation to make Saturday polling day. Whenever it was threatened that these laws be enacted, not only did Jews protest, but so did their non-Jewish sympathisers. This paper provides evidence of the philo-Semitic activities and laws that were concerned with the enfranchisement of Jews among the non-Jewish Australian community at this time. For instance, it describes addresses in Parliament by non-Jewish Ministers of Parliament, and also cites the significant number of philo-Semitic articles about the enfranchisement of Jews in the non-Jewish newspapers of the period. These objections culminated in

### KEYWORDS

Philo-Semitism,  
Australian Politics,  
Media, Jewish-Gentile  
Relations

certain legal provisions being made so that, despite Saturday becoming voting day, Jews and other religious minorities could still exercise their right to vote in Australian Federal and State democratic elections.

## Introduction

Australia has generally been considered successful in creating and managing a culturally diverse society.<sup>1</sup> In contrast to European countries, Australian Jews have been said to experience less antisemitism and often more philosemitic attitudes which has always included being given the full rights enjoyed by any other citizen.<sup>2</sup> For example, even though there have been laws excluding men and women and those from other backgrounds from being able to vote (such as disenfranchisement of those from Aboriginal, Asian or Papua New Guinea backgrounds: see the *Commonwealth Franchisement Act 1902* (Cth)), the history of the franchisement of Jews in Australia could be argued to be an illustration of how Australian electoral laws have dealt with religious diversity through inclusion rather than exclusion, and even so far as assisted to enable cultural and religious groups such as Jews, to maintain their own identity.<sup>3</sup>

The right to vote or stand for government in Australia has never excluded peoples on the basis of religion, unlike for example, the experience of the Jews in England.<sup>4</sup> In England and Ireland, several Acts disenfranchised non-Anglicans or non-Protestants such as by imposing a religious oath before admission to vote or to stand for office.<sup>5</sup> However in Australia, as early as 1849, the Jew, Lionel Samson, was elected to the colonial government of Western Australia and another Jew, Saul Samuel, in 1854 in New South Wales, represented the counties of Roxburgh and Wellington in the NSW Legislative Council.<sup>6</sup> Yet while information highlighting the number of Jews in Australian Parliaments has been numerous, as has the voting preferences of Jews, there has been minimal analysis of the history of suffrage of Australian Jews.<sup>7</sup>

In the 1880s, potential new Australian electoral laws had the power, if enacted, to threaten Jewish freedoms. As a result, not only did Jews protest, but so did their non-Jewish sympathisers.<sup>8</sup> Such objections culminated in certain legal provisions being made for Jews and other religious minorities so they could still exercise their right to vote in Australian democratic elections. Viewed according to the theory of deliberative democracy, electoral provisions for Jews have somewhat decreased inequality and the concentrations of power which were in the hands of the majority of (Christian) voters. It has enhanced political liberty, equality and the integrity of the democratic processes, and ensured that those who wrote the laws at the time did not gain particular advantage from them, all by simply adding to carefully targeted procedural rather than court-enabled legislation.<sup>9</sup> Examples of such philo-semitic actions among the non-Jewish community were shown by addresses in Parliament by non-Jewish MPs expressing concern of the franchisement issue, and the significant number of philo-semitic articles about the franchisement of Jews in the non-Jewish newspapers of the day. These are described below.

### **Saturday voting: an issue for Jews**

Saturday has been the day of the week legislated to be voting day in Australian Federal elections since 1911 and similar turn-of-the-century dates for Australian States, for example, Victoria (1926), New South Wales (1903), Queensland (1915), South Australia (1896), Western Australia (1907).<sup>10</sup> However, it is well-known that it is difficult for Jews to attend a polling booth on a Saturday as it constitute breaches of the sanctity of the Sabbath. These breaches include (but are not limited to) not only the prohibition of driving (to a polling station) (conceptualised from the original law of being inhibited to light a fire), but also the inhibition to complete a ballot paper (from the original law against writing).<sup>11</sup>

Prior to the early 1900s, when Saturday was legislated as being Election Day, voting could be held on any day of the week in any Australian parliamentary election (but not Sunday, being

the Christian Sabbath). The interest in legislating for Saturday as the day for voting in Australian elections appears to have begun in the late 1880s. The preference for Saturday voting has been claimed to be due to the change in work practices in Australia. When elections were held on a week day, employees had to take time off work to vote, or vote in their lunch hour. With polls often closing on weekdays at 1pm, 4pm or sometimes even 5pm, if employees took time off work, they ran the risk of their pay being deducted.<sup>12</sup> Employers too, were also becoming more interested in voting on a day that was not a weekday. Saturday was their preferred day so that the productivity of businesses would not be interrupted by allowing employees time off to do their civic duty.<sup>13</sup> Furthermore, with the increasing popularity of the 'Eight-hour Day' movement, and Saturday increasingly becoming the day of rest for many employees (as a whole day if not half of the day), Saturday became popular as a possible voting day.<sup>14</sup>

One of the first governments that attempted to legislate for Saturday as polling day was the Berry Government of the Colony of Victoria in 1880. This Bill caught the ire of the Jews of Victoria who naturally protested as did their non-Jewish sympathisers. Jews and non-Jews approached their local MPs to dispute Saturdays as voting days, and the local Jewish papers also mounted their own campaigns against Saturday voting.<sup>15</sup> For instance, in 1880, it was reported in the *Jewish Herald* that '[Saturday as election day] this being the Jewish day of rest, large numbers of our co-religionists can neither take active in the elections, which, as good citizens, they have hitherto considered it their duty to take, nor are they able to record their own vote.'<sup>16</sup>

Possibly in response both to the protest in articles in the Jewish newspapers, and also to the number of prominent Jews who were active in Parliament at the time (for example, Ephraim Zox, Jonas Levin, and Benjamin Benjamin), this potential plight of Jews was noticed by several non-Jewish newspapers around Victoria.<sup>17</sup> These articles reported in a philosemitic way, how difficult it would be for Jews to get to the polling booths if Saturday

voting was legislated, and their tone was often sympathetic. For instance, it was reported by the *Ballarat Courier* in 1880 that during parliamentary discussions in the Legislative Assembly, Ephraim Zox, MLA, said ‘The hope that the elections would not be appointed for Saturday as by that step, the elector belonging to the Jewish Community would be placed in serious difficulty’.<sup>18</sup>

In the *Mount Alexander Mail* in 1880 it was also noted that:

The date of the general elections will be Saturday the 28th February [1880]. It appears that under certain provisions of the Levitical law, no conscientious Jew can efface or deface anything on his Sabbath. This has been construed to mean that he cannot on that day, scratch out a name of a candidate from the voting paper ... It may be remembered that a few nights ago in the Assembly, he [Graham Berry] remarked that it might be difficult to evade the Sabbath sections without giving offence to some.<sup>19</sup>

Soon after, the *Geelong Advertiser* reported the consideration that Cabinet was giving to the issue: ‘It will be, therefore, seen that the Government was anxious to meet the wishes of the Jews, Mr Berry and his colleagues were really forced by greater considerations, to pass it over ... After this, we think, the Jews will see that no offence to them was intended.’<sup>20</sup> A cartoon appeared in *Melbourne Punch* on 19 February 1880, satirising Graham Berry as ‘Gagging the Jews’.

Whilst this particular Bill was not passed in Victoria at that time, years later, the issue about Saturday voting was again discussed in Federal Parliament as part of amendments to the *Commonwealth Electoral Act* (Cth) in 1911. This time, there was a ‘petition, delegations and even more letters to the editor (of Jewish newspapers) all describing the protests from members of the Jewish community:

The bill before the Federal Parliament ... is being watched with much interest in Jewish circles ... It will be remembered that about a month ago Mr J. Levi J.P.,

wrote to the Prime Minister calling attention to the hardship such an enactment would impose upon the Jewish community ... Following this, a deputation, consisting of the Rev. J. Lenzer, The Rev. J. Danglow, M.A., and Mr Joseph Levi ... waited upon the Minister for Home Affairs ... on behalf of the Jews of Australia ...





On the 16th [November] a petition, ... was presented to the Senate on behalf of the Jews of Australia.<sup>21</sup>

The Jews also found sympathisers in some gentiles within Parliament such as Alfred Deakin and Senator Edward Millen: 'My objection was that the Bill [to legislate for Saturday voting] does not make provision for the Hebrews.'<sup>22</sup>

As in 1880, philosemitic comments about the risk to Jewish franchisement were again found in non-Jewish newspapers of the day. This time, the articles were printed in newspapers not just in Victoria but around Australia, and again, comments centred on the risk of Jews becoming disenfranchised if Saturday voting was legislated. For example, the plight of the Jews was reported (and re-reported) in newspapers such as the *Daily Telegraph* (1910), *The Age* (1911), *Maitland Daily Mercury* (1911), *Sydney Morning Herald* (1911), *The Examiner* (1911), and the *Snowy River Mail* (1911).<sup>23</sup> In the *[Brisbane] Week* in 1911 it was reported that 'He [Senator Millen] received the proposal to have the polling on Saturday with misgiving. "Members of the Hebrew faith would not be able to vote on Saturday, as the Sabbath extended until sundown, sometimes until after 7.15pm."<sup>24</sup>

In 1911, *The Age* reported that: 'Then in providing for polling on Saturday, it made no provision for those who had contentious objections to voting on that day. In other words said Senator Millen, it disenfranchised the contentious Hebrew.'<sup>25</sup>

Far away from the seat of Federal politics in Melbourne, *The West Australian* 1911, noted that: 'Mr Deakin (V.) said that the Bill created a disability in regard to the Jewish members of the community by enacting that all polling should be on a Saturday. No suggestions had been made to allow Hebrew electors to vote on the previous day.'<sup>26</sup>

The number of articles appearing in the non-Jewish daily newspapers expressing concern about a minority group being disenfranchised is of great interest to us today. It is even more remarkable when one considers that, not only were Jews a tiny minority in the country, but that in 1911, voting in Australia was

still voluntary (compulsory voting for federal elections not legislated until 1924).<sup>27</sup> Championing the plight of the Jews by non-Jews has also been seen in other facets of Jewish life in Australian history. For instance, there were requests for government action for Russian Jews during the pogroms of the late 1800s, and again during the Nazi era of 1930s. During these periods, donations, newspaper articles, letters to the editor, addresses in Parliament and petitions were often seen in Australia by non-Jews.<sup>28</sup>

It is of course possible that those who reported the negative effect that Saturday voting would have on the Jews, may also have been using this argument to further support for their own feelings about Saturday voting, rather than for any sympathy for the Jews. For example, supporters of Saturday voting suggested that because it disrupted the working week less, it would encourage higher voter turnout, be more impartial and also be, 'easier to administer'.<sup>29</sup> In Federal Parliament, for instance, it was recorded that 'Mr. Hunt remarked that he thought Saturday would be a very inconvenient day for the poll. Besides the objection already mentioned by the Honourable Member for East Melbourne (Mr Zox), if the polling took place on Saturday, people living in country districts would be unable to learn the result of the elections in the various constituencies until the following Monday.'<sup>30</sup>

Saturday voting was also considered to provide political advantage to the Government of the day because it was thought that '[Saturday voting] would handicap the Labour [sic] party's political opponents'.<sup>31</sup>

It must also be noted that, long after Saturday and provisions for voting were legislated in the *Commonwealth Electoral Act* (1911) and the respective electoral acts of each states, the issue of Saturday as polling day for Jews continued to be of interest for the general community into the 1970s. This can be seen in the number of times the issue of Saturday voting for Jews was reported in the daily newspapers: 'About 800 members of the Adelaide Jewish Community had only 18 Minutes in which to vote tonight ... Most ... had a duty to their country to vote.'<sup>32</sup> 'Jewish residents

in the Hamilton electorate will be in an embarrassing position over the by-election. [It is] the Jewish Day of Atonement. On that day, Jews are forbidden to participate in anything but religious worship ... it would be almost impossible for them to go to the polling booths.<sup>33</sup> In the *Canberra Times* (1972): 'Thousands of Jews are expected to use postal voting in the Federal election because election day, Saturday, December 2, is their Sabbath.'<sup>34</sup>

By comparison, in 1911 it was not only the Jews for whom Saturday voting was problematic. Those of the Seventh Day Adventist faith were also at risk of being disenfranchised because of similar reasons to that of the Jews: their Sabbath is also on a Saturday. This also inhibited them from attending polling booths during daylight hours on that day of the week.<sup>35</sup> As such, the Seventh Day Adventists' difficulties with the *Commonwealth Electoral Act* (1911) were also recorded in newspapers of the day. For example: '... the clause in the Electoral Roll, which specifies Saturday as polling day, will practically disenfranchise the members of this denomination.'<sup>36</sup> As reported in the *Gosford and Wyong District Advocate* of 1911: 'The cry of disenfranchisement raised by the new electoral bill is not confined to Seventh Day Adventists.'<sup>37</sup>

### **Provisions for Jewish voters**

As Saturday voting was being legislated in Federal Parliament (with the note in the *Commonwealth Electoral Act* being: 'The day fixed for polling shall be a Saturday')<sup>38</sup>, a provision in that same Act was made to ensure Jews (and others such as Seventh Day Adventists) were not disenfranchised. This provision was to extend the opening hours of polling booths so that these two religious groups could get to a polling booth after sundown.<sup>39</sup>

In New South Wales, the ability to have someone else mark their preferences on their ballot paper for them was also added to their state's legislation.<sup>40</sup> Other religious provisions (not specifically for Jews) were: amnesty from having to abstain from voting and postal voting. Even pre-poll voting, whilst not originally

introduced for religious purposes, it has, now with religious provisions, been beneficial for groups such as the Jews and the Seventh Day Adventists as it has enabled them to avoid voting on a Saturday. Religious provisions to various state and commonwealth electoral acts are detailed below.

### **Extended hours**

In the *Commonwealth Electoral Act* (1911) (Cth), Federal politicians made certain provisions for those of the Jewish (and also Seventh Day Adventist) faiths to allow them to perform their civic duty and cast their vote. This was the extension of polling hours to 8pm (an increase of one hour from 7pm to 8pm).<sup>41</sup> 'Section 137: The poll shall open at eight o'clock in the morning and shall not close until all electors present in the polling booth at eight o'clock in the evening and desiring to have voted.'<sup>42</sup>

For state electoral laws, similar considerations were made.<sup>43</sup> These were again noted in a philosemitic way in the local press. For example, in New South Wales, the *Daily Telegraph* in 1910 reported that 'It had been urged that those of the Jewish persuasion might object to this [Saturday voting]. But extending of the polling to 8 o'clock would give them time.'<sup>44</sup> Similarly, as noted in the *Daily Post* of Hobart in 1913, 'For the convenience of the Jews, the polling booths were kept open until 8pm, so that they might be able to vote after the close of their Sunday at Sundown.'<sup>45</sup>

For Seventh Day Adventists who could not attend State elections as state polls closed before sunset, sympathetic tributes continued to be paid to them in the local press of the day: 'The Chief Electoral Officer ... said the hours of polling viz. 8.30am-7pm were fixed by statute, and could not be varied ... the electoral officers conferred yesterday with representatives of the [Seventh Day] Adventists, who are anxious to comply with the requirement of the electoral law.'<sup>46</sup>

Years later, in 1983, possibly because religious provisions for postal and pre-poll voting were already available, extended hours of polling were decreased from 8pm to 6pm.<sup>47</sup>

### **Assistance with voting: the case in New South Wales**

In 1912, to further provide a means by which Jews specifically could cast their vote in state elections, the New South Wales government legislated for other provisions.<sup>48</sup> Specifically, if the Jew could get him/herself to a polling booth (presumably by walking), they could ask a Returning Officer to mark their ballot paper for them in a manner not unlike those who have their ballot paper marked for them if they are visually impaired.<sup>49</sup> If, when the day appointed for taking any poll falls on a Saturday or on any day on which occurs a Jewish fast or festival, any person to whom a ballot paper has been delivered, declares at the prescribed time and in prescribed form that he or she is of the Jewish persuasion, and objects on religious grounds to vote in the manner provided by this Act, an election official shall, at the request of such person, and in presence of such person, and for him or her, and in presence of another election official and the scrutineers (if any), mark the ballot paper according to the instruction of such person, and deal with such ballot paper in the manner provided by Section 108.<sup>50</sup>

Furthermore, this provision was not made for any other religious group, and still exists today:

Assistance to certain electors (1) If:

(a) an election official is satisfied that an elector is unable to vote without assistance, or (b) an elector makes an oral declaration to an election official in the approved form that the elector objects on religious grounds to vote in the manner provided by this Act, the election official is to permit a person appointed by the elector to assist the elector to vote. Note. For example, an orthodox Jewish elector may, for religious reasons, be unable to cast a vote in a written form on a Saturday or other Jewish festival day.<sup>51</sup>

### **Amnesty from abstaining from voting**

The *Commonwealth Electoral Act* (1911) (Cth) and later the *Electoral Act* (1985) (SA) included an amendment for any elector to abstain on religious grounds (by stating that penalties occur for those electors who fail to record their vote at any election without a sufficient and valid excuse): 'In this section 'valid and sufficient excuse' shall include an honest belief on the part of the elector that abstention from voting is part of his religious duty.'<sup>52</sup>

### **Postal voting**

For Jews, being eligible for postal voting meant that they could cast their preferences before an election day and thus avoid attending the polling booths on Saturday. Although postal voting was available for Australians from 1902 (repealed in 1911 yet made available again from 1918), there were no provisions in any federal or State legislation for postal voting on the basis of religion until 1944 in Queensland.<sup>53</sup> Around that time, in the *Courier Mail*, it was noted that:

Voters who conscientiously object to voting on Saturday, because it is their Sunday, will be given special facilities for the first time ... The Act provides that members of any religion organisation or community who would be prevented from voting ... polling day can apply to the returning officer for a postal vote.<sup>54</sup>

Other states eventually followed. For example in South Australia in 1959, postal voting was extended to members of religious orders who could not leave their home on Election Day.<sup>55</sup> Religious grounds for postal voting were enacted in 1958 for Victorian voters, 1987 for Western Australia, and in 1961 it was finally included into Federal legislation.<sup>56</sup>

### **Pre-poll voting**

As stated above, since 1985 in South Australia, and since 2010 federally, pre-poll voting has been a great boon for Jews and Seventh Day Adventists.<sup>57</sup> In these Acts, an elector may apply



for a pre-poll vote on any of the grounds that are similar for a postal vote, and hence that includes religious grounds.<sup>58</sup> This has enabled both Jews and Seventh Day Adventists to avoid voting on a Saturday. Interestingly, it has been said that the proportion of all Australians voting early via postal or pre-polling is increasing, with nearly half of the voters in the 2015 Victorian by-elections voting early.<sup>59</sup>

## Conclusion

Mirroring the sympathy the Australian public had for several overseas crises to the Jewish people in the 1800s and 1900s, during this time, there has appeared to be a formidable body of gentile opinion expressing the plight of the Australian Jews at the risk they had at being disenfranchised. This was manifest in non-Jewish newspaper editorials, articles, letters to the editor, and addresses by relevant cabinet ministers in both State and Federal parliaments.

From this it can be concluded that the Australian public as a whole and its office bearers, do/did consider the right to vote for its citizens (for which the Jews have been regarded since their entrée to the first British settlement in 1788), very important. It has been argued that the plights of Jews has been assisted by the prominent role they have played in Parliament (such as Isaac Isaacs) and also in other aspects of society such as business (for example J.B. Montefiore) and medicine.<sup>60</sup> Backed by the Australian Constitution, which guarantees freedom of religious observance and also the inhibition prohibiting religious expression, political gentiles have greatly assisted to ensure that Australian electoral laws were adapted to incorporate religious practices such as those of the Jews.<sup>61</sup>

Today's Australia is a modern nation of enormous diversity. From the arrival of the First Fleet and concerns about convicts in transit, throughout its history, Australian egalitarianism and the 'fair go' ethos has often made allowances for various cultural, linguistic and religious differences of its citizens.<sup>62</sup> Although

there was an 'integration' and 'assimilation' approach to ethnicity before and leading up to the 1950s, the history of electoral laws in Australia provides an example of a policy that assisted in the maintenance of a minority group's cultural identity in providing opportunity of access. This occurred almost one hundred years before the term 'multicultural' became commonplace from the 1970s, 1980s and beyond.<sup>63</sup>

### Acknowledgments

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## JEWISH ANZACS FROM RUSSIA: CHALLENGING STEREOTYPES

*Elena Govor*

### ABSTRACT

There were nearly 150 Jewish Anzacs among the 1000 First World War Anzacs born on the territory of the Russian Empire, whose stories are recorded in my book *Russian Anzacs in Australian History* (2005). Like the other Russian Anzacs, these men are subsumed into the Anglo-Saxon majority in most traditional First World War histories of Australia; they also disappear among the mass of all other Jewish-identifying Anzacs in Australia. Among them were, of course, some well-recognised heroes, but many were Jews whose military service did not go well, who had a chequered history in the army, or even just men whose service was not especially noteworthy. This paper will explore a number of individual and social narratives in the histories of these otherwise almost invisible and forgotten Jewish lives, working towards the construction of a prosopographical portrait of this ethno-confessional group.

### KEYWORDS

Russian Jewish Anzacs, Immigration (pre-1914, from Russia), First World War, Antisemitism

Until recently the Anzacs, an iconic marker of Australian history, were ethnically associated with Australia's Anglo-Celtic heritage, and politically with the heritage of the British Empire. C.E.W. Bean, in the opening pages of his *Official History of Australia in*

*the War of 1914-1918*, asserts of Australia in those years: 'The percentage of Australians who came of any other stock [that is, other than English, Scottish, Irish, and Welsh] was negligible; the population of this vast unfilled land was as purely British as that of the two islands in the North Sea which had been the home of its fathers'.<sup>1</sup>

Australian Jewry in the 1st AIF was the first non-Anglo-Saxon ethno-confessional and trans-territorial group which demonstrated that people of 'other stock', as Bean put it, were not negligible, either in numbers or in their contribution to the war efforts. The expression 'Jewish Anzacs' was coined by Jewish chaplain D.I. Freedman, already in 1917.<sup>2</sup> It was provision for Jewish religious needs at the battlefield, which made them visible and identifiable as a specific confessional and cultural group. Drawing from data accumulated by Freedman, the Jewish community celebrated its contribution to the Australian war effort in the *Australian Jewry Book of Honour*, compiled by Harold Boas and published in 1923. Recently, the story of the Jewish Anzacs was celebrated by Mark Dapin in *Jewish Anzacs: Jews in the Australian Military* (2017), which extensively uses personal and archival records, letters, and memoirs.<sup>3</sup>

My research in this field came about through a different approach to the subject. Since 2000 I have been working on locating Anzacs who had been born in the Russian Empire and whose records were hidden in archives and private papers. It was in the course of this work that I began sifting the stories of the different community groups resident in nineteenth-century Russia, among who were Russian-born Jewish Anzacs. This research was presented in my 2005 book *Russian Anzacs in Australian History*,<sup>4</sup> which was followed by papers about Anzacs from Latvia and Belarus, and a recent book about Anzacs from Ukraine.<sup>5</sup> The stories of Jewish Anzacs from these territories form an essential part of each of these works. Some of my research about Jewish Anzacs was published in Russian for the benefit of Russian-language readers.<sup>6</sup> I also maintain a database of Jewish Anzacs

born in the Russian Empire with detailed information about each serviceman, including biographical data and links to digitised archival documents, newspaper articles and other publications, portraits and blogs.<sup>7</sup> This has allowed me to find the families of these Anzacs, with their own stories and archives, and to commemorate those who had no family to cherish them.

In identifying Anzacs as 'Jewish' I did not strictly follow the rule that 'a Jew is taken as any person who has a Jewish mother'<sup>8</sup> or actively practices Judaism. My Russian experience and study of the family history of my Jewish husband, Vladimir Kabo,<sup>9</sup> taught me that identity in historical research must be comprehended as a fluid entity and an individual's change of religion or indifference to it in the twentieth century does not nullify their original identity. The process of identity formation should furthermore be seen as inclusive, with multiple identities, such as Jewish, Russian/Polish, and British/Australian, overlapping rather than excluding each other.

Untangling the multi-ethnic complexity behind the iconic image of the Anzacs was only one aspect of bringing the 'Anzac legend' into the present. As the Australian nation grows, each new generation of Australians invests into this legend its own understanding of the past, creating a powerful balance as the nation learns to reconcile the spirit of the legend and the new facts of history. In recent years, for instance, attention has been focused on the stories of people whose heroism was not limited to the battlefields alone – these men had to prove their bravery in civilian life as well. This is the story of thousands of servicemen, maimed physically and mentally, who tried to find themselves in post-war Australia. Among them were veterans whose lives did not fit into the standard framework of stereotypical heroes, along with those who failed in their fight with post-war life and committed suicide.<sup>10</sup>

With such an approach in mind, my aim was to explore the lives of all Russian-born Jewish men who enlisted in the AIF during the First World War, including those who did not reach the

battlefront for various reasons. My database includes the names of at least 148 such enlistees. This adds a number of new names to Boas' lists and provides some new dimensions to the experience of Jewish participation in the AIF. These previously un-noted names were often of Jews who were too ill to serve, whose military service was not especially 'heroic', or who had a chequered history in the army, being discharged or deserting before reaching the front. A study of the cohort of Russian Jewish Anzacs in their entirety not only allows historians to combat antisemitic stereotypes such as those that labelled Jews as shirkers of military duty, but also to see Jewish individuals and their emerging communities in all their complexity. They may not have all been awarded military medals or honours, but the war was part of their history too, and they were in turn a part of Australian war history.

A notable example of such left-of-field Jewish servicemen was the flamboyant Louis Brodsky, who, as a boy, had fled the misery of life in the Pale of Settlement to become a sailor. After years of working on ships he settled in Australia with a young family, but at the first sounds of war he rushed to join up. His son remembered that 'He ... was repeatedly rejected because of his poor teeth and campaigned against the Army authorities so vigorously that he won newspaper publicity, and he finally won approval from the authorities to create and establish a corps of men rejected only for poor teeth.'<sup>11</sup> But this was only the beginning of his odyssey. After being finally accepted into the army, he embarked for Egypt. Upon arriving, he realised that the army was not the place for him after all, and sought a discharge. This was refused, so he purchased the identity papers of a Russian refugee named David Lipschitz, assumed this new identity and took French leave. As David Lipschitz he worked as a steward on various merchant ships for the rest of the war, eventually returning to Australia in 1918. There he surrendered himself to the military authorities, but was not prosecuted. That was not the end of his adventures. During the 1930s he visited the Soviet Union, on the same false passport of course, and even managed to get into trouble with

Scotland Yard along the way. When the Second World War broke out, he was one of the first to offer his services to Australia yet again.<sup>12</sup>



*Illus. 1. Louis Brodsky, in the centre, with his twin sons on the right.  
Image courtesy of Vivien Brodsky*

Louis Brodsky's army tales were an essential part of his family's folklore, but none of his family had any idea about the real truth behind his war adventures. It is hardly surprising that his twin sons, Alexander and Isadore, inherited his nonconformist spirit. They both served during the Second World War and were court-martialled several times for all sorts of typically Australian pranks, in spite of their otherwise perfect service.<sup>13</sup> Although Louis Brodsky was stripped of his war medals and as such was quite justly not included in Boas' book, he shouldn't be excluded from Anzac history.

This approach allows us to probe the notion of the Anzac spirit from different angles, for instance the validity of 'mateship' in application to those who were considered 'different'. This returns us to the role of ethno-cultural and religious identity. Was

it important for these Anzacs to preserve it? Or, on the contrary, did they aim to put it aside? When speaking about Jewish people in Australia a century ago, it would be limiting to see them only as a community united by religion, irrespective of their original national background. Due to the cultural specifics which each national group brought with them, we can definitely distinguish from each other groups such as Australian Jewry, which had been settled for several generations in their new land; British Jewish immigrants; South African; German; and Polish Jews.<sup>14</sup> So-called 'Russian Jews' in Australia were in their turn highly diverse groups sharing the same national origin and religion but differing from each other in many other aspects. In respect to pre-revolutionary immigrants it is possible to distinguish at least four distinct groups.

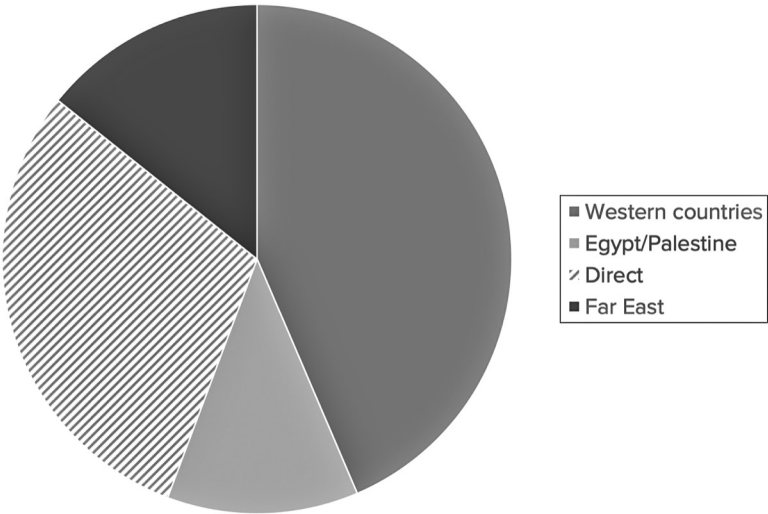
The first group are Jewish emigrants who came to Australia as a result of a two-stage migration via UK, America, and to a lesser degree, Western European countries and South Africa. They were mainly families from Poland and some Baltic territories. Their children, future Anzacs, who, for instance, grew up in the UK and later immigrated to Australia, were readily accepted by both Australian Jewish communities and the Anglo-Saxon population at large. Their language of communication was usually English. To this group we can add Jewish seamen, well assimilated within Western culture by the time of their arrival in Australia.

The second group were also two-stage migrants, whose first station was Palestine. Here we find the strongest influence of the ideas of Zionism; while settled there they also gained agricultural skills, and learnt to defend their livelihood and their settlements. I also include in this group those who stayed in Egypt. They were notable for their knowledge of a variety of languages to which they were exposed in the process of their two-stage migration, but often lacked a good knowledge of English. Their first port of call was usually Western Australia; some of them later moved to eastern Australian states. In large part due to their revitalised Zionist-Middle Eastern heritage, in which many took great

pride, it took them some time to be accepted into mainstream Australian life.

The third group were direct immigrants to Australia, mostly from Ukraine and Belarus, who arrived as a result of chain migration. They mostly settled in Western Australia, Victoria, and Broken Hill in NSW. They spoke Yiddish; a number knew some Russian but almost none knew any English at all. Still, the support of their chain migration networks, the earlier members of which were well equipped for Australian life, and a great determination to master the language and to succeed in their new lives helped them to settle successfully in Australia.

The fourth group were Jewish immigrants who came to Australia via Siberia, the Russian Far East, and Harbin city, situated in Manchuria, China. They mostly settled in Brisbane and Sydney. Although they preserved their Jewish religion, they were Russified to a significant degree; some of them were imbued with ideas of radicalism, and, arriving in Australia just a few years before the war, they had little opportunity to master English before 1914, and faced many difficulties finding their way into Australian society.



*Chart 1. Distribution of Jewish Anzacs according to the routes of their immigration*



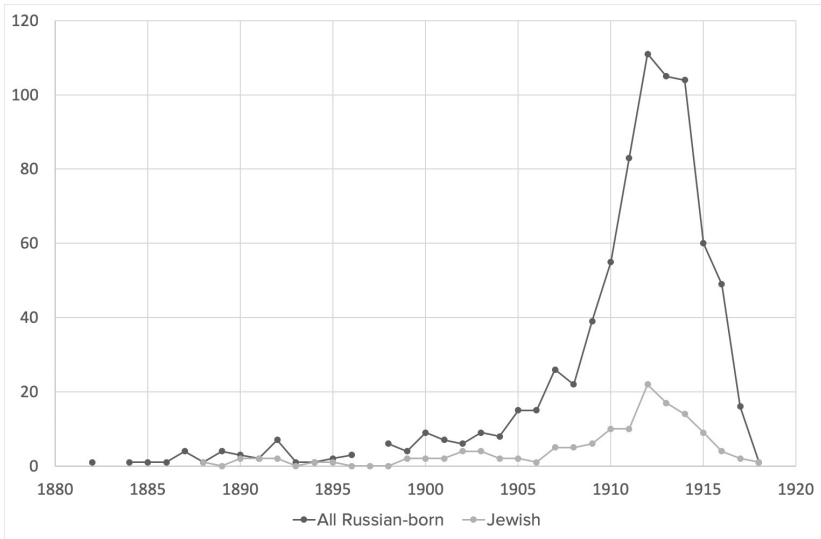


Chart 2. Arrivals in Australia

The dynamics of arrivals of future Jewish Anzacs from the Russian Empire in comparison with the arrivals of all Russian born Anzacs indicates that although there was a significant rise in the number of arrivals on the eve of the First World War, a factor characteristic for all ethnic groups, for Jews it was not as steep as for other immigrants (see Chart 2). This can be explained by the fact that the pattern of Jewish migration differed from that of these other groups: for Jews it was a chain migration that had been taking place over a long period of time. This tendency, along with the central role of family in Jewish migration dynamics, tend to suggest that on the eve of the First World War the Jewish community as a whole was more embedded into Australian life than the communities of other ethnic groups from Russia.

The reasons for this emigration were diverse. Russian historians of emigration often tend to pigeonhole immigrants into the two categories of *economic* and *political* emigration. It is obvious on the example of Jewish emigration that in every case the decision to move to another country was a multifocal process. Of course, emigrants aspired to a better life and economic prosperity, and as such they can be considered economic immigrants.

But factors of a socio-political nature were also ever-present and there are no scales which might allow us to understand which of them were dominant. Here family memoirs play an important role. Historians often consider family memoirs or interviews with descendants as sources of factual information. But if we subsequently find they are inaccurate, we tend to dismiss them outright; for the approach I employ, these kinds of sources have an additional value, one that is even more essential, in the case of their inaccuracy.

The Lakovsky family from Odessa is a good example for this. Two of their boys, Edward and David, enlisted in the AIF, and Dorothy Lazarus, their niece, relates the circumstances of her family's departure from Odessa. Her grandfather Tom Lakovsky, she says, earlier moved from Ekaterinoslav 'to Odessa, because there was more education and music for the children. Grandfather at 21 built a hotel in Odessa, he had about 250 employees ... My grandfather spoke Russian and Yiddish. Because my mother was 14 when they came out, she had wonderful memories of Russia, as they were very wealthy people and had a very good life in Russia.' With growing social unrest the situation changed. When her grandfather witnessed the brutal repression of rebel soldiers and sailors in Odessa, 'he said to the family, "If they are doing that to themselves, what will they do to the Jews? Let's get out of here". So my grandfather paid fares for the whole lot of the relatives and brought them to Australia, to Perth.' Another granddaughter of Tom, Leah Jas, told me that her grandparents came to Australia because the Bolsheviks were 'killing off people'.<sup>15</sup> The fear of the past left behind in Russia obviously resonates in these memories, but in fact the Lakovsky family, according to shipping records, came to Fremantle in 1902-03, well ahead of the brutal crushing of the revolutionary rebellion in Odessa in 1905, and certainly well before 1917, when the Bolsheviks came to power in Russia. These family tales, however, are not simply inaccurate, but contain the hidden memory of other terrors. The word *pogroms* was not mentioned by the original storytellers, probably because

it was too horrible to pass it on to young grandchildren. Instead, the fear of being Jewish in Russia is mixed up here with the fear of being taken for 'Russian Bolsheviks' in Australia: these memories were likely passed on to grandchildren at the time of the Red Scare in Australia. So, in spite of their jumbled facts, these memories prove that immigration of this family was in essence political, and we would probably recognise them now as political refugees.

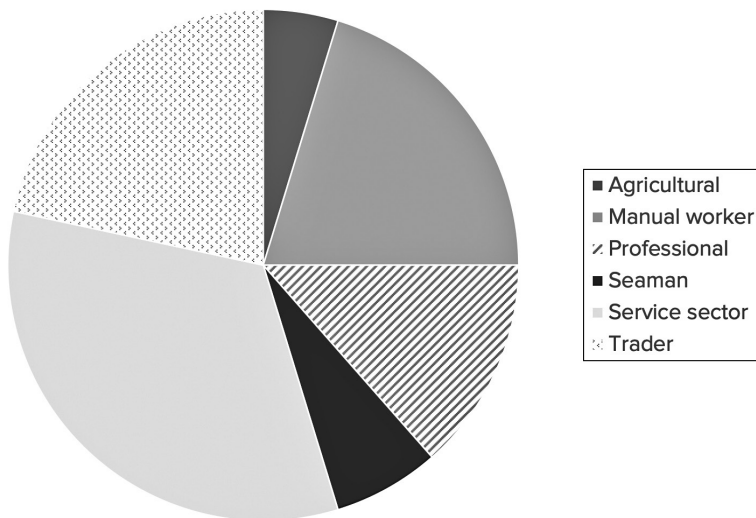
Another common memory about the causes of Russian Jewish emigration to Australia was the avoidance of compulsory Russian Army service. Many families fled Russia to avoid it when children were young; in other cases young men, reaching the age of 20, would leave for Australia to avoid being conscripted at age 21. Although by 1906 the long-term compulsory service in the Russian Army was shortened to three years, it remained ingrained in family memory as a horrible trial; Jews experienced humiliation and systemic bullying in the Russian Army and lacked institutions which would care for their religious and cultural needs.<sup>16</sup> Due to this avoidance of army service Jews in Russia were often perceived as shirkers. The mass enlistment in the AIF of these very youth, who had just fled Russia to avoid conscription, refutes these antisemitic stereotypes.

One of them was Moisey Kotton, a young Jewish man from Kremenchug in Ukraine, who fled to Australia in 1912, at 20 years of age, on the eve of his age of conscription. Two years later his brother Samuel followed him at exactly the same age. When applying for naturalisation in Australia, Moisey wrote to the Australian authorities: 'Since I arrived in Australia I lived under the name of Max Kotton. The reason I done so was the fear of being sent back to Russia: I have not done any crime except leaving the country, which is a crime itself according to the Russian law.'<sup>17</sup> In Australia he settled in Naughton's Gap, NSW, working as a carter. With the outbreak of the war he made several attempts to join the AIF. When he was finally accepted the local newspaper reported: 'Mr. M. Kotton, who succeeded in passing the medical test, is a naturalised Russian, and is only 5 ft. high. The minimum

height is 5 ft 2 in, and Mr. Kotton was pleased when he was admitted as a bugler. He is very anxious to get to the front.' In September 1918 he was killed in the battle south of Peronne. The local farmers of Naughton's Gap, whose love and respect he had won, mourned him.<sup>18</sup>

The case of Max Kotton, accepted by an outback community, helps us to fight another stereotype, about the occupations of Jews in Australia. In 1914, the Russian consul in Australia, Alexander Abaza, reported to the Department of Foreign Affairs that, 'Except for the Jews who live in cities and are engaged here, as elsewhere, mainly with various trading matters and light crafts (tailors, shoemakers), almost the entire Russian population in Australia lives exclusively by manual labour.'<sup>19</sup>

The antisemitism in this official voice from Russia is plain to see. In reality, the distribution of occupations among the Russian Jewish Anzacs was quite different: along with those engaged in trades in the service sector, like tailors, cooks, hairdressers, traders, commercial travellers, drapers, storekeepers, and merchants, the other half of the sample had quite different occupations. The professional and white-collar sector was significant, and included



*Chart 3. Occupations of Jewish Anzacs*

engineers, medical practitioners, musicians, a surveyor, and university students; some were engaged in farming. Contrary to the Russian consul's claims, quite a large sector of the Jewish community were engaged in manual labour, working as labourers, blacksmiths, carpenters, a miner, and so on. Furthermore, as a response to Australian conditions, we find among the Jewish Anzacs archetypically Australian outback occupations, including bushmen, swagmen, a rabbit trapper, and a fossicker.<sup>20</sup> Finally, one very interesting aspect is the significant percentage of seamen – nine men in our small cohort of 148. (See Chart 3) It was possible to identify those who were seafarers from the descriptions the enlistment clerks recorded of their distinctive tattoos, some of which were quite striking, such as David Minor's 'Chinaman's head pierced by sword'.<sup>21</sup>

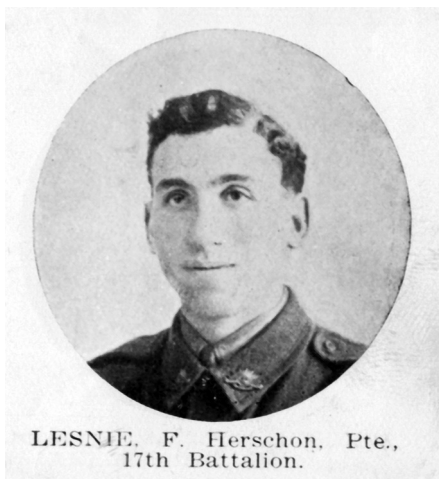
The well-known Captain Eliezer (Lazar) Margolin was among those who lived as bushmen. When he arrived in Western Australia in 1902, he had left behind a comfortable upbringing in Russia and an education from an elite high school in Belgorod, not far from Moscow, followed by ten years in the newly founded Jewish settlement of Rehovot in Palestine. He had no knowledge of English when he arrived in Australia and started off as a navy and teamster, before trying his luck goldmining in Coolgardie and Kalgoorlie, and then as a greengrocer at Lawlers. Over this time, he began to master English and developed various business interests. Despite this, however, his bush experience left a noticeably lasting imprint on his personality. The Jewish journalist Zéev Jabotinsky, who came to know Margolin well during the war, remarked of him: 'He thought like a man who had spent his life far from big cities, in Palestine in the time of the first pioneers and at the back of beyond in the Australian bush: slow, lofty, terse, and deep, with a keenly instinctive understanding of life'.<sup>22</sup>

Another outback story was that of Father Paul Ephraim Zundolovich. He was a Roman Catholic priest, but his background was Jewish. He came to Australia in 1892 and travelled on horseback through remote outback areas in Wilcannia, NSW,

preaching among first settlers and Aborigines, winning the love and respect of this motley outback community. During the war he accompanied Australian troops to England as a chaplain.<sup>23</sup> On the evidence of the lives of these remarkable men it is impossible to argue that the Jewish immigrant experience in early twentieth century Australia was limited to 'various trading matters and light crafts'.

The question of how these Jewish Anzacs identified themselves and negotiated the complexities of accommodating their Russian and Jewish heritages at the same time as coming face to face with a young Australian nation was another intriguing aspect uncovered in my study of their lives. As a rule, younger community members willingly embraced the new world of Australia. Frank Lesnie, who grew up in England and had adopted the name Frank Bernard when he joined the army after two years of farming in Australia, decided to give his allegiance to the young nation. He was asked why he hadn't instead enlisted from England, where he had lived since early childhood, and replied: 'Australia, the home of workers, will suit me in the capacity of a worker or a soldier. I have a love of freedom which would have been denied me, had I joined a home regiment.'<sup>24</sup> Surviving Gallipoli, he wrote in one of

his letters from the Western Front to his relative on a topic that must have been preoccupying him:



LESNIE, F. Herschon, Pte.,  
17th Battalion.

*Illus. 2. Frank Lesnie, Australian Jewry Book of Honour, Perth, 1923*

Now to the original subject under discussion ... Your statement that I would not have my present nature had I been other than a Jew ... You say only a Jew could die as did the Rabbi at Keshineff. I've seen men die – game, by gad. The instance of the rabbi is nothing compared to them.<sup>25</sup>

This was the last of his letters to survive; he was killed in March 1917 during an attack on German trenches. Young Samuel Ettingove was a nephew of Sidney and Elcon Myer, the founders of the Myer Emporium, and joined his rich uncles in Australia at the age of 15. Before enlisting in the army, Ettingove wrote to the Australian authorities explaining his deep-seated wish to enlist as a British subject. 'It is my earnest desire,' he wrote, 'to enlist as a British Australian soldier, and not as a Russian. I consider myself as of Jewish race (not Russian) and as belonging to the British people, to whom my sympathies and convictions entirely belong, and in whose civilisation I have been educated.' At the time he was writing this, Russians were being accepted for enlistment in the Australian army without being naturalised. Previously they were required to become British subjects, but from 1915 the



*Illus. 3. Edward Platt, impresario. AWM21, 3914/18*



Defence department had halted naturalisation for all Russians under the age of fifty in an attempt to encourage them to join up. Nevertheless, Ettingove wanted to take the oath as an Australian as a matter of principle. In his case an exception was made and his naturalisation was expedited so that he could enlist with his university comrades.<sup>26</sup>

Haim Platkin was another Anzac who made a conscious choice about his identity, but with a markedly different outcome. He was from the same area of Belarus as his contemporaries, the two Myer brothers, Sidney and Elcon. He left the area around the same time as they did, but went to England, where he lived for the next twenty years, taking on an English identity and even adopting an English-sounding name, Edward Platt. Under this name he arrived in Australia in 1914 as the impresario for some Russo-Jewish musicians. When the war started he soon became involved in war charity work, producing patriotic badges, and even tried to organise a Russian unit within the AIF. Then, he went and enlisted in the AIF; but, in a gesture of solidarity with his motherland, he enlisted under his original, distinctively Russian-Jewish name of Haim Samoilovich Platkin.<sup>27</sup>

Further reassessment of the Anzac legend – founded on the principles of mateship, egalitarianism, and endurance – in



*Illus. 4. Eliezer (Lazar)  
Margolin in Egypt, 1915,  
AWM, P05772.003*

the context of Anzacs of different ethno-cultural backgrounds allows us to understand it as a more complex and multivocal narrative. The iconic painting by Ellis Silas, 'Roll call', captures a glimpse of an army unit after bloody fighting for Queen's Post in Gallipoli on 9 May 1915, soon after the landing. Name after name is called; the reply – a deep silence. The prototype for the commander conducting this roll call was the Gallipoli comrade of



*Illus. 5. Ellis Silas, 'Roll call', in Ellis Silas, Crusading at Anzac A.D. 1915, London, 1916*

Silas, Eliezer (Lazar) Margolin, the commander of the 16th West Australian battalion. Silas's journal chronicled the bond that grew between Margolin and his soldiers after the landing. When it became obvious that the mission his men had been charged with was impossible to accomplish, Margolin exclaimed of them: 'My poor lads ... I don't want to lose my boys for nothing.'<sup>28</sup>

Who did Margolin feel himself to be in those difficult days – a Russian who grew up on Russian humanistic literature under the tutelage of teachers at the Belgorod Grammar School, or a Jew who became a warrior and found his roots in the ancient land of Rehovot? I think that at that time, first of all, he was an Australian, just like these boys from West Australian farms and mines loyal to the military oath and ready to lay down their lives for their friends. And in spite of the fact that he had been an immigrant, a man with a funny accent, Silas observed how warmly his men responded to him. 'Dear old Margy', they called him, 'a fine fellow and brave beyond compare.' This is indeed the Anzac legend in the making – being reinforced by the palpable 'difference' of Margolin, who is nevertheless readily accepted into it.

But at the very moment Margolin was being absorbed into the legend, there was another side to it, too, as shown in a quite different story unfolding in these first few weeks after the Gallipoli landing. Alfred Markowicz was a worldly, well-educated man, who had shown courage and initiative saving the lives of his comrades during the chaos of the first days after the landing. In his case, however, his foreignness was not seen benevolently: he was arrested without evidence on suspicion of pro-German sympathies, deported to Australia, and discharged. A pencilled annotation in his service records, reading 'No Crime. Doubtful name', blighted his life forever; attempts to gain justice and clear his name failed and he committed suicide in 1935. When enlisting in the army he gave his denomination as Roman Catholic, but was buried by the Sydney Chevra Kadisha.<sup>29</sup>

Instances of Anzac mateship can be discovered as entries of misconduct in the service records of our Anzacs. One such man was young William Zavodtchikoff, a Siberian Jew, who was serving in a Queensland depot as a sentry. He had been there several months when he allowed an Australian-born prisoner to escape from the guardroom, whereupon Zavodtchikoff himself was detained. At this, Zavodtchikoff said to the sergeant of the guard: 'You put that man in for nothing. Put me in too.'<sup>30</sup> In Russia, no private in the army, let alone a Jewish private, would have ever dared use such insubordinate language, but Zavodtchikoff was clearly already intoxicated with the newly discovered mateship he had found in the Australian army. Norman Myer, another of Sidney Myer's nephews, also took on this spirit wholesale. According to his service records, Myer was a soldier with exemplary conduct, although he later seemed to enjoy portraying himself as a dinkum digger. His friends remember his tales: 'For leave there were Paris and London. Myer never got the dates exactly. He was prone to stay away until his pay book was exhausted. Then there was the inevitable fine when he got back.'<sup>31</sup>

Once again, this seemingly seamless absorption is counter-balanced by another narrative, a tragic one. In 1948 a story was

published in Australian newspapers about someone called 'Anzac Harry, who was wounded at Gallipoli while serving with an A.I.F. artillery unit, [and] is in an Arab internment camp at Baalbek (Syria)'. The story related how, after being demobilised at the end of the Great War, this former soldier had gone to Beirut, where he opened 'Anzac Harry's Bar' on the seafront. During the Second World War '[h]is bar was the first port of call for thirsty men of the 7th Division which fought in Syria and captured Beirut. If a digger were broke, he could always get a drink on the house at Anzac Harry's'.<sup>32</sup> Harry never revealed his true name but his photo in Australian Light Horse uniform on the wall of his bar was the best proof of his authenticity.

Alas, archival files revealed that 'Anzac Harry' turned out to be the same Haim Samoilovich Platkin who had enlisted with his Russian name, but his experience as a soldier in the AIF had not been a happy one. He enlisted in 1917, enrolling in the Duntroon officer school, where he suffered discrimination as a Russian. After embarking for overseas service, the discriminatory attitudes of his fellow soldiers only got worse. In May 1918 he complained to his commanding officer that the men 'invariably called me Russian anarchist, Russian spy and [I] am generally considered a suspected person'. He was a cultivated man, who used words as his weapon, and had no real fighting skills – none of this helped allay the mistrust of his fellows. His battery commander's blunt assessment was: 'He is absolutely useless as a gunner being both incapable and unreliable'.<sup>33</sup> His last hope was to be accepted into the Jewish battalion, and he asked for a transfer ... So, there he was. A man destined to remain an eternal outsider, inventing his exploits in Gallipoli, where he had never fought. And yet, is this just a story about a stateless Russian Jew assuming a false identity? A story about being ostracised by Australians? No. Rather it is the story of a man who, from the First World War to the Second, tried to overcome what he had been denied, and managed to achieve what he aspired to, even if it was only in his imagination. And for the privilege of being called 'Anzac Harry' he was happy to offer

free drinks to Australian soldiers ...

In 2016 Kevin Rudd, visiting my exhibition 'Russian Anzacs: Threads of a Buried History' in Tsarskoe Selo, near St Petersburg, choose to speak at the poster of Margolin, because he was a hero, and had a high rank. My belief is that for us Australians and Jewish Australians, and our children and grandchildren, the story of Haim Platkin, a failed, ostracised soldier, must be equally important. They are both part of our history, with all its bright and sad aspects.

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## JEWISH CHILDREN IN AUSTRALIAN HISTORY

*Joy Damousi*

### **ABSTRACT**

In this paper I discuss the history of efforts to support and assist children within the Jewish community in Australia and abroad. There is a long history of philanthropic support for Jewish children beginning in the nineteenth century that has often been overlooked. This support was not only national but also international, and by the end of the Second World War such efforts had positioned Australia at the forefront of philanthropic efforts to assist Jewish children.

### **KEYWORDS**

Philanthropy, Childcare,  
Charity, Communal  
Organisations,  
Immigration

I will explore the themes of support and assistance through an examination of the work of two very different but active organisations that were established specifically in Australia to aid Jewish children.

The first is the Melbourne Jewish Orphan and Children's Aid Society, a charitable and philanthropic society that assisted poor Jewish orphaned children from the 1880s. While the numbers under its care were small, its work in the period up until the 1930s has been largely undocumented and yet it was a key organisation in Melbourne that offered financial support and assistance for poor Jewish children. The late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries are a period that has drawn less attention from historians researching the history of Jewish children.

The second organisation I will be discussing is the history of fundraising for Youth Aliyah in Australia. Originally established in 1933 in Germany, Youth Aliyah was a child rescue campaign that relocated Jewish children in Europe to Palestine. Its wider aim was distinctively political: to draw on children to build Palestine, and later the state of Israel. In 1943, the Youth Aliyah group was launched in Australia and aimed to raise funds for the international body and its activities. This became a major humanitarian organisation that attracted support from a cross-section of the Australian community. By the post-war period, Youth Aliyah had established several branches throughout Australia and had become a nation-wide organisation.

A consideration of both these organisations can shed light on the long history of a focus on children to national and humanitarian campaigns undertaken by the Jewish community. It also reflects the centrality of children to religious and cultural survival of a community – a concern that of course predates the events of the second half of the twentieth century. The Youth Aliyah movement although highly contested drew on the compassion and empathy of the wider Australian community as well as the Jewish community. It reflects a particular moment in time when Jewish children were the focus of international relief efforts.

### **Melbourne Jewish Orphan and Neglected Children's Aid Society**

The Melbourne Jewish Orphan and Neglected Children's Aid Society (hereafter 'Society') was formed in 1882 in Bourke Street, at the hall rear of the Melbourne Synagogue. Twenty-five men gathered for the event and Ephraim Zox was voted the chair of the Society.<sup>1</sup> He was an upstanding and prominent member of the Jewish community in the 1880s and 1890s in Melbourne. He arrived in Australia in 1852 aged 15 and rose to become a state politician. He was president of the Melbourne Hebrew congregation in 1883-85, treasurer of the Melbourne Hebrew School in 1883 and president of the Melbourne Jewish Club in 1885. In 1890 he

chaired a meeting of the Melbourne branch of the Anglo-Jewish Association of London that protested against Jewish persecution in Russia. He was vice-president of the Discharged Prisoners' Aid Society from 1885 and chairman in 1898-99, a director of the Royal Humane Society of Australasia and board member of several hospitals.<sup>2</sup> We should from the outset remind ourselves that in the nineteenth century, charity was the main institutional assistance, which protected poor people from destitution and homelessness. After the introduction of benefits and pensions in the early and mid-twentieth century charity organisations served a vital purpose, but less acutely so. The Jewish community had been at the forefront of this movement. Indeed, Melbourne's first philanthropic society was established by the Jewish community in November 1848 in Melbourne.<sup>3</sup> Since the 1850s Melbourne has had the largest Jewish population in Australia.<sup>3</sup> In 1900 the Jewish community numbered about 15,000, most of whom were from Britain.<sup>4</sup> The Society reflected Zox's own personal interest in philanthropic causes as it did for the men who ran the organisation in its formative period. Its aim was:

to place destitute orphans and neglected Jewish children with Jewish persons of a trustworthy character, for the purpose of providing them with a Jewish and secular education until they shall have attained the age of sixteen years, and to find suitable employment for the children brought up under the care of the society.<sup>5</sup>

The launch of the society was welcomed by the Jewish community. The *Jewish Herald* – especially noting the importance of Jewish guardians looking after Jewish children – commented that:

by any words of praise we could bestow upon them will they find themselves rewarded by the fact that henceforth Jewish children, whom Divine Providence has deprived of that parental care which they require, will no longer be turned from one charitable institution to another ... Destitute orphans and neglected children of the Jewish persuasion will

now find kind and sympathetic guardians in the officers of the new society, and under the auspices of the latter will such children be given a chance of becoming good citizens and faithful Jews.<sup>6</sup>

The acquisition of the society was warmly welcomed – stressing the responsibility of the Jewish community not to be a burden on the State –

Indeed, the Jewish public of Victoria, if not that of all the Australasian colonies, may be congratulated upon the acquisition of such an institution, for in the midst of so many well-to-do Jews it would have [been] to their everlasting discredit, if destitute children of their own faith children of their own flesh and blood, would have been allowed to become a burden upon the State, with the probable result of being alienated from the faith of their ancestors.<sup>7</sup>

Another motivation for the Society was keeping philanthropic efforts alive of other leading Jewish figures. In 1885, the philosophy behind support for orphans was made explicit with the death of the famous philanthropist and banker, Moses Montefiore, and there were efforts to keep his name and work alive. There was an asylum established in 1885 which would assist with the work of the Society:

The proposed institution is intended to mitigate the loss of those unfortunate children whom a wise Providence has bereft of their natural guardians, and by means of a thorough religious and general education, combined with the comforts of a home, to give them a fair chance of success in life. It will also be a befitting monument to the unbounded benevolence of the lamented Baronet which may act as an incentive to the rising generation to follow in his footsteps. At the present time nine orphan children are brought up under the care and at the expense of our charitable societies, and there is every probability that before long this number will

be largely augmented. An institution such as it is intended to establish will furnish the Jewish Orphan and Neglected Children's Aid Society, already in existence, with the necessary machinery for the efficient discharge of its functions. To carry out this object, no less a sum than £3000 is required, but it is confidently expected that the Jews of Victoria and their friends, both in the colony and abroad, will do their utmost to further this desirable cause, either by one or several annual donations.<sup>8</sup>

Over the ensuing years, the numbers under the care of the Society remained small but the key focus was to have Jewish children looked after and cared for by members of the Jewish community. In 1891 it reported how two girls remained under the care of the Society and the vital importance of ensuring they were placed in the care of the community:

Of the six children formerly under the care of the Society, but two, both girls, now remain. Of the other four children, one boy was handed over by the Industrial Schools' department to the care of his brother, and the other three, one boy and two girls, were partly maintained from the Society's funds up to their respectively attaining the age of sixteen years. The two girls still remaining are placed with orthodox Jewish families, resident in Melbourne, and are, in all respects, well cared for.<sup>9</sup>

The work was done by members of the Society themselves who were very active. In 1896, at the annual general meeting, the honorary secretary, M.E. Benjamin, noted that most of the work had been carried by himself and some Board members which involved placing Jewish orphans in Jewish families which was a high priority for the Society and was a core aspect of its existence. 'If it had not been for these gentlemen some Jewish orphans would have been brought up amongst non-Jews'. Since its inception to that point, the Society had taken charge of twelve children.<sup>10</sup>

In May 1897, there were only three children under its care. But the committee did not apologise for this small number, nor did it entertain ideas that it would amalgamate with other philanthropic societies. This was for one fundamental and crucial reason. As the treasurer, Mark Moss, explained:

It was incumbent upon the members of the community to see that those orphans were not only housed and fed, but also taught the tenets of their religion. In the past it had occurred that orphan children – through the want of an Orphan Society – had been placed-in non-Jewish institutions. It should be the endeavour of every member of the community that such things should not occur again. There were at present only three children in charge of the Society, and some people said it was ridiculous to have a separate society for that purpose. Attempts had been made in the past to amalgamate the Orphan Society with the [Jewish] Philanthropic Society; but the latter Society had always strongly opposed any such amalgamation.<sup>11</sup>

While there ensued some disagreement regarding the role of the Jewish Philanthropic Society, on one point all agreed: Jewish children should be cared for by the Jewish community, and not the State. Rev. Elias Blaubaum reminded his fellow committee members of this key fact and why the Society emerged in the first place. He recollected that some years earlier he ‘took two or three Jewish children out of a Catholic Society where they had been placed, and it was then that the Orphan Society was established. Let them be thankful that no such thing could occur again.’<sup>12</sup>

Others such as the Rev. Dr Abrahams claimed that there may be an argument about the value of amalgamation with the Philanthropic Society, but their Society owed them a debt.

Two orphaned children were suddenly thrown upon the community. The Philanthropic Society urged this Society to do its duty. The result was the committee set to work, collected subscriptions,

and brought new life into this movement. It was not merely for the orphans that they had now, but for those they might have in the future, that such a Society was absolutely necessary. If at any time anyone should mention that there were some Jewish orphan children who had to be taken care of [they] could turn round and say we have a Society to take care of them.<sup>13</sup>

By the early twentieth century, the Society believed it still served a need. Although there existed a Jewish philanthropic group,

[the Society] is valuable by virtue of the assistance it is ever ready to afford the parent body in its special sphere of activity. That this society ranks among the necessary Jewish charities of Melbourne cannot be questioned, because the care of the orphan and neglected children must appeal to the tender sympathies of the Jewish heart, susceptible as it proverbially is to the cry of distress and helplessness.<sup>14</sup>

The details of the circumstances of individual children are elusive but were occasionally published in the press. These were some of the examples of the cases dealt with by the Society:

A letter was received from the secretary of the Industrial Schools Department, asking if the society was yet in a position to relieve the State of the cost of maintaining the Jewish children. It was resolved that the letter should be acknowledged, and that the secretary be informed that the society was not yet in a position to do so. It was reported that three of the children under the care of the society had been removed from Ballarat to Melbourne. It was resolved to write to the chairman of the East Melbourne Hebrew School Board asking that the children should be allowed free Hebrew and religious education at the East Melbourne Hebrew School. Those of a Jewish boy in the Industrial Schools was considered, and it was resolved to take steps to have him



apprenticed to a Jewish tradesman. The case of a widow woman with four children was dealt with.<sup>15</sup>

In 1905 it was reported 'that one of the orphans, Joseph Cohen, who has been under the society's care for some considerable time, has been apprenticed to Messrs. Sniders and Abrahams, with the object of learning the cigar making trade. The executive feel confident that before very long this lad will be able to earn almost sufficient for his own support, thereby relieving the society of its present pecuniary responsibility in this case.' The president remarked that although the calls upon it were fortunately not very extensive, 'still the society did good work and filled a decided want in the community by carefully looking after its helpless and friendless children. A number of such orphans are now under its care, and during the past year one of them had been advantageously apprenticed. He trusted that the Jewish public would continue to give to the society the support which it merited.'<sup>16</sup>

Letters of appreciation by the children themselves were often reprinted in the Jewish press such as the one below, published anonymously in 1908.

To the President and Committee of the Melbourne Jewish Orphan Society – Gentlemen – I have just been informed that I will not receive the kind assistance of your society any longer, and that in the future I will have to keep myself. I will ask you now to accept my heartfelt thanks for the kindness you have shown towards me for so many years. It is through your influence I am learning a trade and that I am able to earn my own living. You have watched my welfare in such a manner that no child would or could expect more from his own parents. I will endeavour to conduct myself in a manner that will be a pleasure and credit to you.<sup>17</sup>

Gradually, the numbers of children under the care of the Society began to rise. By 1917, the Society was dealing with larger and more frequent cases of the destitution of Jewish children. The *Jewish Herald* observed how the Society had been a very small

and modest organisation from its beginnings. It described its approach as one of 'diffident reserve and modest unobtrusiveness'.

And yet for more than thirty years this same Society has been quietly ... steadily doing good work and necessary work. When we say that the Society has been doing this work, we mean that one or two, benevolent-minded gentlemen have voluntarily taken upon themselves the responsibility of representing or, more properly, of constituting – the Society, and of discharging unaided its important functions. They have acted in this way because they found that the only alternative was utter collapse.<sup>18</sup>

There has been a 'curious want of interest' shown, largely because the small cases that came to its attention were dealt with within the resources available to them and without much pressure on existing Jewish organisations. But as the Melbourne community began to grow and expand the demand for the services of the Society shifted. It called for a wider and broader effort by the community to support its efforts and endeavours.

But great changes have taken place of late years. From a small and compact body the Jewry of Melbourne has developed into a large and widely scattered community; and its growth naturally involves, if not a higher percentage, at least, a larger actual number of instances of distress of all kinds, including, of course, the particular kind which this Society purposes to relieve.<sup>19</sup>

What formally could be managed through 'haphazard methods' could no longer be applied. The notion of charity should appeal to the Jewish community and its sympathies, 'for nothing can be more pitiful and pathetic than the condition of innocent and helpless young children deprived of the support and guardianship so vitally essential to their rearing, welfare, and training'.<sup>20</sup> Several individuals had shown commitment and compassion and it was time for the community to do the same: 'it is now time that dependence upon the efforts of one or two individuals should

cease, and that the general consciousness should be awakened to the necessity of placing this charity upon a secure basis side by side with our other philanthropic establishments'.<sup>21</sup>

By 1918, the number of children under the care of the society had grown to 16 and there was a major call for additional funds as well as support from other organisations such as the Hebrew Ladies' Benevolent Society and the Jewish Women's Guild.<sup>22</sup> Some cases revealed the plight of some Jewish families. In an appeal by the society in 1918, the following case was publicised by the president Moss Marks:

Some five years ago a family arrived in Melbourne from London, without any local relatives or personal acquaintances. During the past few weeks both the father and mother have died, leaving seven children in destitute circumstances, the eldest a girl of sixteen, the next a boy of fifteen, and the ages of the remaining five ranging from four to thirteen years. For the two elder children, who are bright and intelligent, suitable employment has been found, but the younger five must be clothed and fed, and otherwise looked after, which means an annual expenditure of about £250.

This case drew a combined effort from the philanthropic organisations across Melbourne. The Hebrew Ladies' Benevolent Society, the Jewish Women's Guild, the Melbourne Jewish Philanthropic Society, and the Jewish Orphan's and Neglected Children's Aid Society constituted a committee 'to look after the physical, moral and spiritual welfare of these unfortunate children'.<sup>23</sup> In 1918, the Orphan Society was assisting eight children but its funds were stretched to full capacity. A plea was made to the Jewish community 'to augment the number of annual subscribers to the Jewish Orphan and Neglected Children's Aid Society, which, considering the work it accomplishes, and is now called upon to undertake, is very inadequately equipped with the funds that should be at its disposal. It is urgently hoped that the

public will readily respond to this appeal, now that it has been awakened to the value of this society, and to the highly important aim necessary communal task it aims at discharging.<sup>24</sup>

In the following year, in 1919, five orphans all under the age of 20 – three under the age of 16 – had been ‘thrown on the Society’s hands during the year’, highlighting the fact that ‘serious cases may need attention at any moment, and this, together with the high price of clothing, and of food, and the increased rents demanded, make it impossible to anticipate what fresh and heavy demands may be made on the Society’s resources’. The assistance of other Jewish organisations such as the Hebrew Ladies’ Benevolent Society and the Jewish Women’s Guild was gratefully acknowledged.<sup>25</sup>

Fundraising continued apace in the 1920s with successful results. The ball held in September 1922 attracted over 500 people.<sup>26</sup> In 1921 it received funds bestowed from the will of philanthropist Joseph Kronheimer of £25,<sup>27</sup> as well as other charitable fund-raising events.<sup>28</sup> By 1923, it recorded the highest number of 18 children ever under its care. The committee continued to be run on volunteer labour and the generosity of its members. The appeal to the Jewish community continued: ‘From time immemorial the cry of the orphan has made a special appeal to Jewish hearts and it is with confidence that the Committee of this Society looks to the local Jewish Community to extend to this humanitarian enterprise its most generous financial support.’<sup>29</sup>

The minute books of the 1930s show continued activity of the Society with an increasing number of philanthropic events being held as the numbers of children continued to rise. By 1939 the number had increased to 34 children. The fundraising drives were central and raising money was a constant struggle. A major appeal was launched in 1939.<sup>30</sup> The Society continued to support orphans and take responsibility to board, clothe and educate children. In 1938 the organisation described their work as ‘the welfare of each individual child is carefully studied, and no effort is spared to provide all that is required to induce happiness and

contentment'. The Bachelors' Ball Committee and other charitable functions went towards their funds.<sup>31</sup>

Throughout the war years, the focus of the Society remained local to Melbourne. In 1940, the Society reported 32 children in its care. In 1941 it was noted that the children 'attended Synagogue, Sabbath school, and Hebrew classes'.<sup>32</sup> In 1942, 28 children were being cared for. The society continued into the 1950s with 19 children being cared for by the society in 1951. By then, these were being housed in Frances Barkman House and through the Hebrew Ladies' Benevolent Society.<sup>33</sup> This history reflects a long-standing commitment to the welfare of Jewish children. Ideas about humanitarianism and charity were pronounced about children as was the responsibility of the community. Its key message was that the Jewish children who were orphaned or destitute should be looked after by the Jewish community *not the State* and that there was a long history of this commitment as demonstrated by the efforts of the Society.

The focus on Jewish children became more pronounced within the community and more broadly within the Australian community as the devastation of the Jewish community across Europe became known, as the Second World War progressed. I will now turn to examine an international movement focusing on the welfare of Jewish children that has received relatively little attention in Australia, Youth Aliyah.

### **Youth Aliyah**

Youth Aliyah was founded in Germany in 1933 by Recha Freier. Following the rise of Nazism, Freier's initial concept was to establish a group of Zionist organisations to work together to relocate German Jewish children to Palestine. Youth Aliyah very soon became a large-scale child rescue effort to save children from the destruction and brutality of the Nazis. Between 1933-45, this group relocated 11,000 Jewish children to Palestine.<sup>34</sup> Henrietta Szold was a key figure in these efforts. In 1934 Szold became the Director of the Youth Aliyah Department in the Central

Department for the Settlement of German Jews (later the Youth Department of the Jewish Agency) in Jerusalem. She worked with international agencies throughout Europe, the US, the UK and Palestine to ensure the success of the child rescue scheme.<sup>35</sup> It continued to work after the war.

Some key international figures in the world became active in Youth Aliyah. Most notable of these were Hannah Arendt and Eleanor Roosevelt. Arendt became involved in Youth Aliyah through her friend Juliette Stern, who had met the founder of Youth Aliyah, Henrietta Szold. Arendt was keen to travel to Palestine to view the experiment. In 1935 she was given the task of accompanying a group of trainees and she travelled to Palestine with them. As Arendt's biographer notes, her interest in the movement was for 'practical political reasons' because of the urgency of the need for refugees – rather than for religious or cultural reasons.<sup>36</sup> Eleanor Roosevelt was also a staunch supporter of Youth Aliyah, both during and after the war.<sup>37</sup>

There has been less work done on the Youth Aliyah movement in Australia. In these years, it was an active and energetic organisation which successfully attracted funds from within and outside the Jewish community.

### **Youth Aliyah in Australia**

In February 1943, the Children and Youth Aliyah campaign was launched in Sydney in Australia. *The Hebrew Standard* declared the function:

was one of the most significant Jewish gatherings ever held in this city, and the representative attendance was an indication of the 'wide interest and open-hearted generosity which this poignant cause has aroused amongst those who recognise their responsibility towards helpless Jewish children.'<sup>38</sup>

It was indeed a moving and emotional event. It was reported that 'spontaneous giving' and recognition of the severity and gravity of the day 'resulted in contributions and promises of help totalling a sum as great as has ever been collected at any communal

function in Sydney.<sup>39</sup> The generosity and open hearts of those donating was palpable. The speeches were stirring. Silva Steigrad, the Joint Chairman of the Appeal, gave a compelling and dynamic speech. There was much at stake and he emphasised the

unique opportunity this Campaign presents to the Jewish people – and others – of actually saving life and of doing their share in redressing Hitler's wrongs to children. Mr. Steigrad urged that citizens should respond so readily and generously that the lives of 250 children might be saved by the Jewish Community of Sydney. This would be a work of supreme humanitarian as well as of Jewish national value.<sup>40</sup>

The feminist activist Ruby Rich was the chairman of Youth Aliyah and spoke too of the Jewish nation scattered throughout Europe and the people of Poland who were the first victims of Nazi atrocities.<sup>41</sup> Another prominent campaigner for Youth Aliyah was Aileen Fitzpatrick who was publicity officer for Youth Aliyah (Immigration Committee).<sup>42</sup> Fitzpatrick was a well known Sydney social worker who by the time of her involvement in Youth Aliyah had extensive experience in dealing with child refugees, most notably assisting in repatriating Greek children with their parents following the Greek Civil War.<sup>43</sup>

### **Activities**

Fundraising was the core activity of the organisation, with branches focusing on such fundraising. The appeals were seen as a way to 'save the children' and was an issue 'that has touched all our hearts. It offers a chance of saving something from the wreck and of doing a constructive piece of work for our brethren in Europe'.

In December 1943, contributions came from Newcastle, Brisbane, Melbourne and Perth.<sup>45</sup> The *Hebrew Standard of Australasia* reported regular news on the fate of children and the need to keep the subscriptions and donations. In December 1944, *The Hebrew Standard* announced the issue of 10,300 Certificates of



Refugees, half of them to Youth Aliyah children. This demanded more support and more money. *The Hebrew Standard* noted the organisation would need to raise £500,000 world-wide.<sup>46</sup>

Its appeal was pitched in terms of an organisation that offered real and practical relief for children. In 1944 it was announced that 11,000 children had been saved from extermination: 'People often talk of relief work, now or after the war, but the Youth Aliyah is actually doing relief and rehabilitation now and has never ceased doing so since its beginnings ten years ago.'<sup>47</sup>

These children, whose ages ranged from six years upwards, included 78 full orphans, 21 half orphans, and 10 the whereabouts of whose parents were unknown. When they arrived in Palestine they were undernourished, emaciated, totally neglected and in rags. The Youth Aliyah will lead them back to life. The number of children who can be so saved depends upon the support and cooperation which the Youth Aliyah will receive from the whole community.<sup>48</sup>

Other Jewish newspapers also covered the opening of Youth Aliyah and the funds that quickly poured in support. The *Jewish Herald* described the campaign as an 'enthusiastic and spontaneous' response to saving children. All speakers made 'an earnest plea' that the children be saved as quickly as possible. One speaker who spoke of the opportunities afforded by Youth Aliyah:

painted a picture of light and shadow as she contrasted the darkness of Nazi-occupied Europe with the new life, which 8,500 children had found in Palestine through Youth Aliyah. She stressed the splendid training the children were given, fitting them for a productive life on the land and in industry and that gave them the feeling that not only had their lives been saved but that they were preparing the way for others.<sup>49</sup>

The *Herald* announced in February 1943 that the 'response to the Appeal for saving children is an enthusiastic and spontaneous', one evidenced by the fact that £11,000 has been promised

and £5,000 was already in hand. One of the key protagonists and supporters of the campaign was Professor Julius Stone, Professor of International Law at the University of Sydney. Reca Stone, his wife, was the president of Youth Aliyah. At the official launch in January 1943, 350 were present and all 'the speakers made an earnest plea that the children be saved as quickly as possible', and here were voluntary contributions announced from non-Jewish friends.<sup>50</sup> The appeal was broad and emotional:

The appeal to save the children is one that has touched all hearts. It offers a chance of saving something from the wreck and of doing a constructive piece of work for our brethren in Europe.<sup>51</sup>

In drawing together the various organisations of the Jewish communities, Harold Cohen believed 'there could be no more worthy humanitarian project than that of saving the children'. It was reported and implied that children had been smuggled out illegally: 'These children have been helped to escape from Nazi German and other occupied countries by means which cannot yet be revealed'. The children 'are all classed as orphans since they have become separated from or have lost their parents'.<sup>52</sup> The British government had 'once again played it humanitarian part by granting special permits to allow these children to enter Palestine'.<sup>53</sup>

Radio broadcasts were part of the wider appeal. Friedl Levi, the Australian representative in Australia, gave a broadcast on station 2KY on the eve of the official opening of the Youth Aliyah Appeal in Sydney on the subject of 'Rescue and Rehabilitation of Jewish Children'.<sup>54</sup>

On the tenth anniversary of the first Youth Aliyah group in Australia a major event was held honouring the events of the organisation. Reca Stone spoke with great emotion about the event. Stone said it was with 'mixed feelings' that they 'celebrated the anniversary, with feelings of despair and sadness' at the circumstances which have resulted in the emergence of Youth Aliyah, circumstances that 'necessitated the separation of parents

and children, and on the other hand with feelings of joy and pride at its great achievements'. She read from messages around the world, including messages of congratulations from President Roosevelt and other organisations around Australia. The challenge lay ahead in the post-war world when the Youth Aliyah movement, according to Stone, would be part of the solution in post-war Europe, that is, to

heal broken bodies, rebuild shattered lives and faith; and that the Youth Aliyah in this task was expected to take its place to the forefront as in the past. In ten years, over 11,000 children had been saved by the Youth Aliyah, including 6,000 since war began ...<sup>55</sup>

In 1944, the efforts of the Youth Aliyah movement remained two-fold, including building a new homeland. The aim was to

rescue a lost generation of Jewish children, and to transplant them to a new life among their own people who welcome them ... and are eager for the chance to direct them towards their future as valiant bearers of Jewish culture and tradition. These boys and girls are building up not only a new life for themselves. But at the same time they are helping to rebuild their homeland.<sup>56</sup>

The post-war years would be vital in this enterprise. According to Julius Stone, Youth Aliyah would not 'lose its meaning' at the end of the war, when in fact it would only 'then begin its proper task to bring young people to Palestine and thereby give vital help to building up Jewish homeland'.<sup>57</sup> The Youth Aliyah was active in recruiting children to its organisation and promoting its cause among children.<sup>58</sup> After the war, Jewish Children's Day on 19 April was honoured.<sup>59</sup>

The wider purpose was not only to save children from the Holocaust, but to draw on them for the future and the building of Palestine, and subsequently, Israel. Within this political endeavour, children were the symbol of the future. Youth Aliyah took it upon themselves to construct the future of Jews through

the movement of children to Palestine. The link to antisemitism was direct as well. In July 1945 E.C. Lindeman, a sociologist, was to link the saving of children to resistance of antisemitism, but claimed this was not for selfish purposes:

I do not suggest anything so heartless as using this as a selfish motive for rescuing little children, suffering humiliation and torment still in Europe ... but antisemitism is in itself everywhere a foul evil and Jews who combat it know they are working not only for themselves, but also for humanity and civilisation as a whole.<sup>60</sup>

But the significant point was that the condition of children also related to the condition of Jewry.

If these children are allowed to continue as starving vagabonds in Europe, the prestige of Jewry everywhere will be lowered. If the miracle of love and devotion is performed which we know Palestine can perform for them, with our help in establishing them there, then, the strange mentality of even the cities of Jewry must be impressed.<sup>61</sup>

It was not only the Jewish press that responded to this issue. The *Sydney Morning Herald* highlighted the predicament of Jewish children and in particular the activities of Youth Aliyah's work – much of which had been done secretly and illegally.<sup>62</sup> Several case studies of children were published to highlight the flight of children and support given by Youth Aliyah.<sup>63</sup> The moving, tragic stories of children escaping persecution were used to raise funds. In a 'Case History of a Waif', the trials of one child, Sarah Seidman, are documented in tragic details and captured the desperation and plight of children.<sup>64</sup>

### **Post-war**

The organisation continued to have a presence in Australia and the world, after the war. Its efforts included raising money for Jewish children affected by the war. In 1947, at the Youth Aliyah general meeting, there was 'regret that owing to many other

appeals, the Youth Aliyah had not been able to raise funds on a large scale.<sup>65</sup> Yet a feature of 1946 was that £9000 had been raised. A branch was established in Brisbane by Mrs Freidl Levi. Levi made a speech saying:

Looking back at the beginning of YA in Germany, she gave a picture of the big progress the organisation had made in 12 years and of its successes, but, she said, more and more help was needed. We must, and could, help the many Jewish children from the camps and roads of Europe and take them to a new, free, and creative life in Palestine. She appealed to everyone in the community to concentrate on the preservation of the Jewish youth and never again to allow our children to become the booty of depraved and degenerate tyrants.<sup>66</sup>

In July 1948 the committee was supporting the United Nations appeal for children. This was to be a mass Australian drive which aimed to collect over £1,000,000 to draw on a mass demonstration of school children in Martin Place. A street collection on July 30 was planned to involve the National Council of Jewish Women.<sup>67</sup>

Throughout 1960, the centenary of the birth of Henrietta Szold was celebrated. This occasion was drawn upon to raise funds for Youth Aliyah; the Jewish press in 1961 carried stories on Szold and her work for Youth Aliyah. There were state activities across Australian and branches throughout – Queensland, Western Australia, South Australia, Victoria and New South Wales. These state branches were largely organised fund-raising activities. It was reported in 1961 that £13,250 was raised – £10,000 being committed to Jerusalem for Youth Aliyah.<sup>68</sup> By 1961, the organisation had several branches that supported the international efforts and these were in large part to keep the program of support for Israel alive.

\* \* \*

In this paper, I have explored two very different phases of the history in Australia of philanthropic and humanitarian efforts for

Jewish children. Neither have been the close focus of attention by historians. The common theme drawing them together is the insistence by these organisations in different times and places that the Jewish community must take responsibility for Jewish children in desperate plight. Both these organisations in Australia mobilized support within the Australian Jewish community with considerable and enduring philanthropic success.

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## WILLIAM COOPER AND KRISTALLNACHT: SETTING THE RECORD STRAIGHT

*Hilary L. Rubinstein*

### ABSTRACT

Apparently first brought to public attention in 1997, the protest in December 1938 of Yorta Yorta elder William Cooper and his Australian Aborigines' League to the German consul in Melbourne regarding Nazi persecution of German Jewry is inexorably passing into legend as the sole non-governmental protest of that persecution in Australia, or indeed anywhere in the world. It was most certainly not the sole, nor the first. This article aims to set the record straight.

### KEYWORDS

Jewish-Gentile Relations,  
Australian Philosemites,  
Kristallnacht, Nazism,  
Philosemitism, William  
Cooper

This issue of the *Journal* is published 80 years to the month since Kristallnacht (9-10 November 1938), so it is an appropriate vehicle in which to try to dispel a myth that has replaced fact, a myth that has gained rapid ground in the Australian Jewish community and beyond – namely, that Aboriginal activist William Cooper's protest to the German consul in Melbourne shortly after the evils perpetrated on that terrible occasion was unparalleled, or almost so. For reasons of time and space, as well as the geographic emphasis of this *Journal*, the present overview concentrates solely on Australian responses to Nazi persecution of Jews, and even then does not purport to be comprehensive. Its objective is to help

to restore a balanced narrative by highlighting some of the other pro-Jewish initiatives taken by Australians during 'the Devil's Decade' of the 1930s. This article is prompted by my concern, as a student of philosemitism in the English-speaking world<sup>1</sup>, to see historical accuracy served, and not by any intent to belittle the protest of William Cooper.



*A response to Kristallnacht by Brisbane artist Wilson Cooper (1912-98)*

A feature article by Lawrence Money in *The Age* of 15 November 2012 headed 'Half a world away, sound of breaking glass found an echo' begins:

There were so many shattered windows that night in 1938 that the murderous Nazi attack on German Jews became known as Kristallnacht – night of broken glass ... The date was November 9 and it was an ominous indication of what Hitler had in store for the Jewish people. Half a world away in Melbourne, Aborigine William Cooper read in outrage about the brutality. Cooper, son of a white labourer and a Yorta Yorta Aboriginal woman, waited for the international protest that would surely follow but, to

his astonishment, there was virtually none. Cooper, who had been fighting for Aboriginal rights for years with little success, felt an immediate affinity with the Jewish plight and what he did next has rung down the years for Jews and Aborigines alike.<sup>2</sup>

‘Virtually none’? Newspapers throughout Australia carried reports of overseas protests condemning Nazi brutality. Apt was the headline in the *Cairns Post* of 15 November 1938:

‘Barbaric Treatment of Jews: World-Wide Protests’. Not for nothing did Lady Gowrie, wife of Australia’s then governor-general, observe to the Lithgow Country Women’s Association on 25 November: ‘The Nazis’ treatment of the Jews has horrified the world.’<sup>3</sup>

William Cooper (1861-1941) was certainly a remarkable man and deserves to be remembered. Articulate and resolute, living from the early 1930s in a succession of rentals in the Melbourne suburb of Footscray, he was founder and secretary of the Australian Aborigines’ League. Like his siblings and many other Yorta Yorta people he had spent his youth at Maloga, a mission station near Echuca. There, they had imbibed a deep Christian faith and ‘the historical narrative of the Bible, especially the Book of Exodus, encouraged them to envision themselves in terms akin to the persecuted and suffering Israelites’. While insisting on his people’s rights, Cooper was no embittered firebrand, writing in 1939, for instance, that the League ‘and an overwhelming majority of natives realise that missionaries have been our best friends, and if it had not been for missions and the work and interest of missionaries, very few aborigines would have survived. We take off our hats to missionaries who have left the comforts of civilisation for the heat, flies, dust, bad water, and other discomforts of the mission field.’ He also praised the Lyons ministry for doing more for Aboriginal people than any previous administration had.<sup>4</sup>

Cooper’s associate, Ballarat-born Essendon resident Arthur Penrose Acteson Burdeu (1858-1941), a railwayman and trade

unionist who became president of the League – **Aborigines** affectionately termed him ‘the black white man’ – was also a devout Christian. The League was deliberately ‘non-political and non-sectarian’, Cooper explained in 1935 (the year before the League was formally constituted) since in its quest for the advancement of indigenous Australians the League sought allies ‘from every section of the community’. Individuals like himself:

have had the advantage of education and culture for some generations, but we never forget that we are brothers to the dark man who has not had our advantages, of the dark man who is advancing by the same road we have trodden. We never dissociate ourselves from the dark man, whether he be in the primitive condition or in contact with civilisation without being civilised. We are not seeking for any advantage for any class of aboriginal but for the race, and for every member of it, no matter what the stage of his progress. We desire to help in the advance of all the dark people to the culture of the European.

With this as our ideal, we have organised a League, the aim of which is to present our appeal to the white population. We have a programme by which we feel the progress of the race can be facilitated, and this programme is advanced in the confidence that it will receive due attention.

The dark folk are generally, if not invariably, poor. They are little able to finance the organisation necessary to bring their disabilities to the notice of their friends. It is for this reason I am writing. We know the sympathy with and interest in the dark man as we know of the British love of a square deal for all. We must express our case, but we lack the financial ability. We therefore appeal to the lovers of the dark race to help in whatever way is possible.<sup>5</sup>

To quote the now long-defunct Melbourne daily *The Argus* (3 December 1938):

At a meeting of the Australian Aborigines League a resolution was passed voicing on behalf of the aborigines of Australia a strong protest against “the cruel persecution of the Jewish people by the Nazi Government of Germany and asking that this persecution be brought to an end.” A deputation of aborigines who are members of the League will wait on the German Consul on Tuesday at 11.30 am to present the resolution and ask him to convey it to his Government.

And on 7 December, that paper reported:

A deputation from the Australian Aborigines League which visited the German Consulate [in Melbourne] yesterday with the intention of conveying to the Consul (Dr. R. W. Drechsler) a resolution condemning the persecution of Jews and Christians in Germany, was refused admittance.

A letter requesting Dr. Drechsler to forward the resolution to his Government was left at the consulate.

The resolution voiced “on behalf of the aborigines of Australia, a strong protest at the cruel persecution of the Jewish people by the Nazi Government of Germany and asks that this persecution be brought to an end.”

In January 1939 an augmented version of the resolution, the work of Burdeu and Cooper, was sent to minister for the interior John McEwen.<sup>6</sup>

In 2004 Sydney-based Henry Benjamin, at present publisher of the online resource *J-Wire*, reported for the Jewish Telegraphic Agency: ‘[I]n 1999, Jonathan Morris, executive director of the [Melbourne-based] Jewish Holocaust Museum and Research Center, learned about [Cooper’s] protest from Gary Foley, an Aboriginal activist who had studied the Holocaust at Melbourne University. It is believed that the protest was one of the first Australian public protests in support of German Jews.’ On 2

December 2002 a plaque in Cooper's honour had been unveiled at the Jewish Holocaust Centre. It is inscribed: 'The Jewish Holocaust Museum and Research Centre honours the Aboriginal people for their actions protesting against the persecution of Jews by the Nazi Government of Germany in 1938'. No such plaque honours Critchley Parker, the young Melburnian of Anglo-Celtic descent who in the Nazi period strove for a Jewish refugee settlement in Tasmania, and perished in the attempt.<sup>7</sup>

Rabbi James Kennard, principal of Mount Scopus College, has described Cooper as 'one of the few people in the world' to appreciate 'at that early stage' what Kristallnacht implied. So far as I am aware, there is no evidence for that claim. The rabbi has also stated that Cooper's was 'probably the only private protest' made.<sup>8</sup> In her book *William Cooper – Gentle Warrior*, published in 2012, Barbara Miller writes:

Cooper is fondly remembered by the Jewish community of Australia and has been honoured by Yad Vashem Holocaust Memorial Centre in Jerusalem because he led *the only known private protest worldwide against Kristallnacht* [my emphasis], the start of the Holocaust in 1938 [it was not]. He has an Academic Chair of Resistance to the Holocaust named after him. This was touching because he was not a citizen or counted in the census of his own country. He mentored some of the leaders who worked for the 1967 referendum to have Indigenous people counted as people not flora and fauna (plants and animals) in Australia's constitution.<sup>9</sup>

Cooper's gesture is certainly touching, for the reasons Barbara Miller cites. But in claiming that it was 'the only known private protest worldwide' she errs. Abetting the myth that it was, Dan Goldberg, a former editor of the *Australian Jewish News*, wrote in the Israeli newspaper *Haaretz* (10 December 2012) of 'Cooper's *unique protest* [my emphasis] against the Nazis', which 'has only gained traction here in the last decade or so after a small newspaper report about the 1938 protest was unearthed.' Thus,



Labor state politician Tom Watts, in pushing for the federal seat of Gellibrand to be named after Cooper, explained: ‘He [Cooper] is also famous for leading a protest of the German consulate in Melbourne against Nazi persecution of the Jews during the Kristallnacht – recognised by Yad Vashem as the only protest of its kind to take place anywhere in the world.’<sup>10</sup> Welcoming the Australian Electoral Commission’s unanimous decision to change the name of the federal seat of Batman to Cooper, Executive Council of Australian Jewry president Anton Block said: ‘William Cooper holds an esteemed place in the hearts and minds of our community. We will never forget his singular act of bravery and humanity in standing with the Jewish people as our darkest hour approached, and when others remained silent.’<sup>11</sup>

What Gary Foley had actually written in his article, ‘Australia and the Holocaust: a Koori perspective’,<sup>12</sup> was that Cooper’s League was ‘the first group in Australia *to attempt to lodge a formal protest with the German government representative*’ [my emphasis]. But that is equally mistaken.

Echoing what has become a sort of received wisdom, the kind that brings to mind the old adage ‘a little knowledge is a dangerous thing’, the claim that Cooper’s was ‘unique’, the sole ‘private protest’ anywhere in the world against Nazi antisemitism following Kristallnacht, has been repeated so regularly that it is almost set in stone. What, precisely, is meant by ‘private’ anyway? Presumably that it was not a government initiative. Adam Manovic, an Aboriginal writer and podcaster justifiably proud of William Cooper, has remarked: ‘Despite no country breaking off diplomatic relations with Berlin after Kristallnacht, many in the global community were shocked. However, there was only one “private” protest (by citizens) that we know of against Kristallnacht and the German Nazi regime led by Adolf Hitler – this was instigated by William Cooper.’ In Perth a few months ago, as featured conspicuously in the *Australian Jewish News* (3 August 2018), prominent Melbourne communal identity Mark Leibler seemed to echo Manovic, similarly noting that no country broke

off diplomatic relations with Germany as a result of Kristallnacht, and similarly asserting that 'there was only one citizens' protest that we know of against Kristallnacht – the protest organised many thousands of miles away by William Cooper'.<sup>13</sup> Cooper's call upon the German Consul in Melbourne was unique? Or the first protest of its kind following Kristallnacht? Decidedly not. As the Australian Associated Press reported from London on 14 November 1938, over the weekend of 12-13 November 'Protests against the treatment of Jews by the Germans were made by political and church leaders throughout England ... Several thousand Communists, after a demonstration in Hyde Park, delivered to the German Embassy a resolution of protest.'<sup>14</sup> And in Melbourne itself two comparable protests occurred 19 days before Cooper's. Reported *The Argus* (18 November 1938):

Two deputations visited the German Consulate yesterday to protest against the treatment of Jews in Germany, but found that there was nobody in attendance. The deputations, representing the Australian League for Peace and Democracy [formerly the Australian Movement Against War and Fascism], and the Spanish Relief Committee, arrived punctually at 11.30 a.m. The Consul (Dr. R.W. Drechsler) had been informed previously of the proposed visit.

At a meeting on Tuesday the Spanish Relief Committee pledged itself to do all in its power to assist the German people in restoring harmony in their national life. It decided to call upon the German people to take a strong action to end the persecution of a defenceless people.

The deputations left messages for the Consul, with the request that he should forward them to the German Government.

The League's communication protested against "the frightful atrocities being perpetrated by the Nazis against the Jews," and expressed the opinion that the "barbarous crimes" were a menace to civilisation.

The Committee, “as an organisation for the relief of suffering,” called on all Germans “in the name of humanity to bring pressure to bear on their Government in order that moderation and justice may prevail.”

Egregiously, in evident ignorance of many incidences in Australian history of solidarity with Jews, publicity material for an event scheduled for Broken Hill, New South Wales in March 2018 claimed that:

Twice in Australia’s short Jewish history an act has occurred of *ahavath hinam* – altruistic love, that crossed the lines of faith and race.’ The better known of these occurred in Melbourne, when William Cooper led his Aborigines Advancement League [sic: this body was not yet in existence] in protest against the atrocity that was Kristallnacht ... Less well known and equally inspiring were the actions of members of the tiny Jewish community of Broken Hill during the historic Barrier Strikes when greedy mine owners tried to starve their workers into surrender. Jewish shopkeepers – formerly refugees from persecution in Lithuania and the Ukraine – saw the suffering of striking mine workers and responded by extending them credit ... In return Christian ministers urged their parishioners to donate to the synagogue building appeal, an event unheard of in Christian-Jewish relations.<sup>15</sup>

(Actually, contributions by Christians to synagogue building funds were by no means unknown in the English-speaking world.)

The assertion that William Cooper and his League’s protest concerning Kristallnacht was one of only two occurrences of *ahavath hinam* in Australian Jewish history is, as *The Argus* report of 18 November 1938 clearly shows, nonsense. All praise to Cooper and his League for their noble gesture. But the seemingly boundless mythologising of that event has distorted the record

of Jewish-gentile relations in this country, and eclipsed other initiatives in Australia on behalf of persecuted Jewry. It is time other sympathisers with Jewry achieved their deserved niches in the communal memory. Their efforts have not been obscured from the public record – many have, indeed, been mentioned in past issues of this *Journal*. Dr I.N. Steinberg wrote of Critchley Parker in *Australia – The Unpromised Land* (London, 1947) that ‘this unknown man of another people’ died a martyr for the cause of human dignity and for the Jewish people ... [his] name is closely linked for all time, with the Jewish people.’ Yet how many Australian Jews publicise or praise Parker today? Surely the reason for his lack of recognition by our community is not that he happened to be white?

In the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, during major instances overseas of antisemitic persecution, Australian non-Jews demonstrated their outrage. Their solidarity with oppressed Jewry took various forms, including newspaper editorials and letters to the press, donations to funds opened on behalf of the distressed, and protest meetings in capital cities and country towns, attended and addressed by public figures from across the political and religious spectrum. Manifested were several typologies of philosemitism that for reasons of space cannot be described here. It must be stressed that many political conservatives were among these sympathisers, and it may interest readers to know that among the Australians protesting the Kishinev pogrom in 1903 was a group of Chinese Victorians. They collected ten guineas (about \$2200 in today’s money), as, in the words of their spokesman, W. Shi Geen, a businessman and Chinese community leader and activist, ‘a small contribution for the persecuted Jewish people in Russia, in order to show their sympathy with these unfortunate down-trodden people’. Theirs, in all likelihood, was another example of an ‘act of loving kindness by an oppressed minority who saw themselves in the faces of the Jewish other’, which is how the Broken Hill publicity material cited above characterised the Aborigines’ protest regarding Kristallnacht.<sup>16</sup>

To put William Cooper's protest into its proper perspective, it should be borne in mind that as soon as Australians became aware of the antisemitic practices of Hitler's regime non-Jews joined Jews in condemning it. For example, on 30 March 1933, the Labour Council of New South Wales passed a resolution protesting German antisemitism, and resolved to forward the resolution to Germany's Consul-General in Australia, Sydney-based Dr Rudolf Asmis. As *The Argus* reported the day afterwards, Asmis was claiming that reports alleging persecution of Germany's Jews were 'untrue and grossly exaggerated'. But:

Although the boycott of Jews is not due to begin until Saturday [1 April], already Jewish stores and shops in many places have been forcibly closed. Some have afterwards been permitted to reopen following instructions from Nazi headquarters, where premature local measures are deprecated. It has officially been announced that the slaughter of animals according to Jewish rites has been prohibited throughout Germany.

At Darmstadt a tear gas bomb thrown into a store caused a brief panic, some women fainting. Nazis picketed many Jewish shops in that city and prevented customers from entering ... At Munster Jewish professors were prevented from entering the University, and at Gottingen 24 shop windows in the main streets and the windows of the Synagogue were smashed. At Goerlitz 1,000 people demonstrated in front of the County Court, demanding the expulsion of Jewish judges and lawyers, several of whom have been taken into "protective custody."

That same month in Sydney, 300 waterside workers, having heard a representative, 'Comrade' Sharkey, speak on the situation in Germany, passed a motion denouncing, and demanding the immediate cessation of, 'the murder and torture' of workers, including Jews, 'by the Nazi murder bands', and sent it to the German Consul, Dr Asmis.<sup>17</sup> On 16 April 1933, the annual conference of

the Church of Christ, convening in Hobart, unanimously passed the following motion: 'That this conference desires to express its utter abhorrence of the treatment meted out to the Jewish people in Germany; and protests against any boycott because of racial and religious distinctions; also that a copy of this protest be forwarded to the Chief Rabbi of Australia [by this they seem to have meant Rabbi Francis Lyon Cohen of Sydney's Great Synagogue]. Around the same time the Melbourne division of the Textile Workers' Union 'protests against the pogroms and mass murders by the Nazis against the German trade unionist workers and Jews, and calls upon all workers of Australia to pledge full support to the German workers in whatever action they may take to protect their class against attacks by the German fascists'. On the union's instructions, its secretary, J.R. Revill, forwarded the resolution to the local German consul. And at its April 1933 meeting the Newcastle branch of the International League for Peace and Freedom 'indignantly' protested 'against the brutal and inhuman treatment of the Jews in Germany, as such is fraught with so great menace to the peace and freedom of the world'.<sup>18</sup>

At Melbourne Town Hall on 27 April, a protest meeting presided over by Colonel (later Brigadier) Harold Cohen MLC was attended by some 2000 people, Jews and non-Jews. In a heartfelt apology, for absence, future prime minister Robert Menzies QC praised the contribution of Jews to Australia in many fields, lauded their 'intellect', and ended: 'I hope that I may be associated with the protest of the meeting tonight against the barbaric and medieval persecution to which their fellow Jews in Europe are apparently being subjected.' To quote *The Age* of the following day: 'Remarkable manifestations of sympathy with the Jewish community and protests against the treatment of their fellow Jews in Germany were voiced.' Former state premier William Alexander Watt, once widely assumed to be a prime minister in waiting, and himself an agnostic Presbyterian of Scots-Irish parentage, moved: 'That this meeting, representative of the citizens of Melbourne, expresses its earnest condemnation of the persecution of Jews in

Germany, and expresses its sympathy with the victims. It deplores the revival of a reactionary spirit of religious intolerance and discrimination, which is opposed to the principles of civilisation, and is provocative of international friction.'

'Britain had led this movement of protest against these outrages, and it was appropriate that her young daughter nation should give it articulate support'. Watt, immortalised on canvas by the Jewish Australian portraitist E. Phillips Fox, maintained: 'For many generations Britain had given sanctuary to the Jews – (applause) – and now numbered on the roll of her famous men are many Jewish names, eminent in all walks of life.' Seconding the motion, Labor MLC for East Melbourne John Percy Jones paid tribute to the 'notable contributions' made by German Jews in many fields, observing that 100 years after Heine was compelled to leave Dusseldorf Einstein was obliged to leave his homeland. Messages of sympathy were read from Roman Catholic Archbishop Mannix as well as from leaders of the Anglican, Presbyterian and Baptist churches, from the National Council of Women, and many other organisations. A relief fund opened at the meeting added over £2000 (about \$A200,000 in today's money) to the £5000 subscribed by wealthy Jewish businessman Sidney Keith.<sup>19</sup>

The following month a meeting of prominent citizens, Jewish and non-Jewish, protesting Nazi persecution of Jews, was held in Sydney under the presidency of that city's Lord Mayor, Alderman Richard Hagon, managing director of Hagon Brothers, tailors, to protest the Nazi regime's persecution of Jews. Among those seated on the platform were E.M. Mitchell K.C., G.E. Ardill (vice-president of the Hebrew Christian Alliance), conservative MLA Sir Thomas Henley and Labor MLC Simon Hickey. Letters apologising for absence 'generally deplored the ill-treatment of Jews in Germany, and expressed full support for any action decided upon' and in his opening remarks Alderman Hagon stressed that contrary to one press report he had not attended a function in honour of the officers of the *Köln* (which had left Germany



on a goodwill cruise before Hitler's regime gained power). New South Wales's conservative (United Australia Party) premier (Sir) Bertram Stevens declared that:

the economic existence of 10,000 Jews in professional positions were affected by the fulfilment of the Nazi threat of ousting that race from Germany. He was constrained by the character of representations made to him, and by the standing of those in the community who had supported them, to accept the invitation to take his stand on the platform in support of the protest that was to be entered. He had been furnished with abundant evidence of the character of the atrocities committed in Germany, and for that reason, as chief citizen of the State, he would voice his protest. He need hardly say that nothing was calculated more speedily or more effectually to destroy all possibility of the objective of world peace being realised than the encouragement of racial bitterness. Members of the Jewish fraternity were as entitled to free citizenship of the world as any other race – (applause) – provided that they observed the laws of the countries in which they resided; and to deny them that freedom, the right to full citizenship, and the right to observe the laws of the country was tantamount to saying that they had no right to live. “That idea is repugnant to our sense of fair play,” Mr. Stevens added. “It is definitely opposed to the ideals of the British people everywhere. If this be allowed to go unchallenged it may destroy for all time all hope of the world ever enjoying peace, and all hope of international goodwill and co-operation. The Jewish people, as we know them in this country, are excellent citizens, worthy in every way to all rights and privileges that we enjoy under the British flag. The whole world has had enough of the horrors and economic burdens of war. It is safe to say that, with one or two exceptions, the people of all civilised

countries are heartily sick of the petty prejudices and racial hatreds that often lead to war. We, in Australia, desire peaceful relationship with every country, and to join in a co-operative spirit to re-establish the world on a sane and progressive basis.”

[Applause.]

Stevens then moved the motion: ‘That this meeting, representative of the citizens of Sydney of every race and creed, earnestly condemns the persecution of Jewish and other citizens in Germany and, whilst expressing deep sympathy with the victims, still more deploras the revival of a reactionary spirit of intolerance and racial discrimination which is opposed to the principles of civilised freedom.’ It was seconded by Sir John Peden, president of the Legislative Council, who said: ‘I trust that the Jewish community in this State will permit me to offer a sincere expression of deep sympathy with them in the intense fear and anxiety they feel on account of the treatment suffered by members of their faith and blood in Germany since the recent revolution.’ He continued:

It was ... a matter for profound regret that the embers of religious persecution should again be stirred, and a ban placed upon some members of a race, dispersed over the earth’s surface for many centuries, without a national home, yet great in mind and national spirit and in the service they had rendered to the world. [Applause.] It was something of which they might be proud, that at a time when there was such obvious need of peace on earth, British people were uniting with Jews in their midst to protest against religious intolerance and racial hatred. [Applause.]

They could not help remembering what had been said by men like Lord Reading, Lord Hugh Cecil and Sir Austen Chamberlain. Nor was it without significance that the *Manchester Guardian* had been forbidden in Germany for exhibiting what it believed to be facts concerning Jews there.

‘We who are not German nationals, or sons of Jewry, cannot help asking,’ he concluded, to applause, ‘whether Germany of to-day has not forgotten its true inheritance, the spiritual ideals of its poets and philosophers, and whether fanaticism is not laying its heavy hand on the land of Luther and Erasmus.’

Speaking in support of the resolution on behalf of the National Council of Women, of which she was president, Mildred (Mrs Bernard) Muscio pointed out that in 1930, at the League of Nations’ Assembly, two Weimar Republic delegates raised the issue of the treatment of minorities, for whom they tried to get the League to act as protectors. It was unanimously agreed, she observed, that the faith and culture of minorities should be sacred. That must apply to Germany’s Jews.

Dr S.J. Kirkby, bishop coadjutor of Sydney, moved that the resolution should be forwarded to the Lyons government for transmission to the United Kingdom, which of course controlled Australian foreign policy at the time. ‘I am here because I want it to be known that, as head for the time being of the Anglican Church, I stand right behind the purpose of this great gathering,’ Bishop Kirkby explained, garnering tumultuous applause. He had, he revealed, received two politely-worded letters that very afternoon from Dr Asmis, the German consul-general in Sydney, who attempted to downplay reports of German brutality against Jews, claiming they were much exaggerated by the press. Kirkby paid tribute to ‘the debt which Christians owed to God’s ancient people’. Nobody had tried to persuade him to attend the present meeting. He did so of his own conviction:

This ugly nationalism of the ascendant section of Germany to-day is opposed to the ideals of peace and liberty. We have no right to interfere with anything domestic in Germany; but this is bigger. It affects the whole circle of humanity. Freedom is at stake. In 1833 the liberation of slaves in the British Empire was brought to a fruitful conclusion. Here I see what Great Britain fought against being raised

again, and I want 1933 to have a similar significance as regards freedom as 1833.

Benevolent Sydney financier and ex-solicitor T.E. Rofo, president of the Council of Churches, whose portrait by the Jewish artist Joseph Wolinski had been entered for the Archibald Prize in 1926, seconded the motion, which was carried amid acclaim. Free Church minister and theologian Professor R.G. Macintyre, attributing Nazi persecution to jealousy of Jews' intellectual ability and success, then successfully proposed the meeting pledge itself to support the fund already opened for the relief of Jewish refugees from Germany. In seconding that motion Rabbi Francis Lyon Cohen of the Great Synagogue referred to correspondence that he, like Kirkby, had received from Asmis. After that, Louis Burkard, president of the German-Australian Chamber of Commerce, rose, introduced himself, and requested from Alderman Hagon permission to speak. 'He met with a cold reception from the audience. A hostile demonstration drowned anything he uttered, and, realising the futility of making himself heard, he returned to his seat.'<sup>20</sup>

On 2 May 1933 the Victorian Manufacturing Grocers' Union unanimously passed the following resolution: 'That a strong protest be made to the German Consul against the cruel treatment of the Jewish nation in Germany. Also that we protest against the barbarously oppressive treatment of the working-class organisations and the brutal treatment of working-class leaders'. On 12 May 1933 the union's secretary, F.J. Riley, wrote to Dr Asmis bringing to his attention this resolution, explaining in the covering letter:

We are compelled to believe that atrocities are being committed against leaders of the Jewish race, that working class leaders are being murdered, others brutally treated, that working-class organisations are broken up and others are so muzzled that they cease to function, that working-class newspapers are closed by order of the Government, and that

freedom of speech, thought, and action have been superseded by a brutal political organisation that has taken upon itself a dictatorship that burns books to prevent the spread of knowledge ...

The members of the union are staggered that a nation to which we owe so much in science, literature and culture should be guilty of such action. We assure you we have no national feeling in this matter. We are actuated on the grounds that nothing can justify a nation resorting to such practices as those reported in the daily press.<sup>21</sup>

On 5 May representatives of various bodies including churches assembled inside Newcastle Town Hall to vehemently protest Germany's persecution of Jews and to appeal to Hitler's regime, via the British government, for its cessation. Among the speakers was the president of the local branch of the Returned Soldiers' League, whose members that same day denounced the placing of a wreath on the Sydney Cenotaph by officers of the visiting German cruiser *Köln*, which had already called in at Fremantle, Adelaide, Melbourne and Hobart.<sup>22</sup>

'The protest movement against Nazi terrorism is developing,' it was observed in late June 1933. Asmis, at 4 Bridge Street, Sydney, 'is being deluged with protest resolutions.' Thus the South Coast branch of the Blacksmiths' Society of Australasia addressed the following statement to him: 'We ... enter our emphatic protest against the terrorist campaign and the brutal atrocities being carried out by the Hitler government against the working-class Jews and religious bodies in Germany, and in the name of the working class of N.S.W. we demand that this cease immediately.' Similar resolutions were carried by the Bulli Miners' Lodge, the Southern District Miners, the Kembla Heights Unemployed Unity Committee, the Central Illawarra sub-branch of the Federated Engine Drivers' and Firemen's Association, and the Workers' International Relief branches of Wollongong, Fairymeadow and Fern, Corrimal, and Scarborough.<sup>23</sup> Dr Asmis, reported at

year's end to his masters in Berlin: 'the attitude of the Australian press has since the middle of March been extremely hostile to Germany; and the agitation rose until August.'<sup>24</sup>

Nor was William Cooper's deputation unique in being rebuffed. The German consulate staff's normal behaviour was to cold-shoulder awkward visitors. The following example from 1936 occurred at the entrance to 4 Bridge Street:

An attempt by members of the Movement Against War and Fascism to interview the Consul-General for Germany was abandoned soon after the arrival of two policemen today. After having spent half an hour in a passageway of premises at Bridge Street looking at the closed doors of the consulate, the deputation broke up shouting "Down with Hitler's war plan."

The deputation was a large one and included many women. It was stated that several trades unions were represented. Two clergymen were members of the party as it entered the building, but they left abruptly when they discovered that the deputation had no appointment.

The spokesman of the deputation (Mr. S.R. Smith), who is the secretary of the Movement Against War and Fascism, knocked on one of the consulate doors. It was opened about six inches. "We wish to see the German Consul-General to protest," Mr. Smith began.

A voice said – "I can assure you the Consul-General is not here," and the door was closed abruptly.

The deputation settled down to wait in the corridor, and subsequently a sergeant and a constable of police arrived and were admitted to the consulate. In a few minutes they emerged and took up a position at the end of the corridor, apparently wholly indifferent to the future proceedings, and did not move or speak. The patience of the deputation soon evaporated, and after shouting, "Down with Hitler,

down with Fascism,” and “The time will come when you will open the door,” the deputation trooped into the street.<sup>25</sup>

In June 1938, when the German First World War naval hero Count Felix von Luckner arrived in Sydney aboard his yacht *Seeteufel*, a deputation went aboard ostensibly to greet him. But to his embarrassment the ‘address of welcome’ (signed H. Collingwood) read to him ran: ‘In the name of tens of thousands of political prisoners incarcerated in German concentration camps; in the name of tens of thousands of victims who have been treated with unspeakable barbarity in brown houses; in the name of tens of thousands of prisoners victimised by German police; in the name of the flower of German literature, science, and arts, who have been driven from their fatherland into exile; in the name of the true German nobility who had been denationalised by the Nazi policy; in the name of tens of thousands of pacifists, socialists, liberals and Jews, who have been condemned to slow economic strangulation in Germany; in the name of the stricken soul of Germany which is now prostrate; in the name of true Germany which will ultimately sweep away the gang which misgoverns the First Reich, the school of modern writers welcomes you to our free and democratic Australia. For and on behalf of the school of modern writers, in the year of our civilisation, 1938.’<sup>26</sup> And not long before Kristallnacht, the Joint Spanish Aid Committee sent to Prime Minister Joseph Lyons a petition it had organised that called upon his government to play its part in any scheme devised for alleviating the plight of Jews in the Reich. ‘We are convinced’, the petition ran *inter alia*, ‘that the persecution is not supported by the majority of the German people. We feel that it is important that among the many voices raised in protest the voice of the Australian people should be heard, and we urge the Commonwealth Government to register as strong a protest as possible.’ Victorian signatories included Melbourne’s Anglican Archbishop Frederick Waldegrave Head,



Bendigo's Bishop Donald Baker (who became principal of Ridley College, Melbourne that year), stalwart philosemite William ('the little doctor') Maloney, who was Labor MHR for Melbourne, radical lawyer Maurice Blackburn, Labor MHR for Bourke, Ivy Weber, Independent MLA for Nunawading and president of the League of Women Electors, Labor MLA for Wonthaggi William McKenzie, and the secretaries of the trades unions representing railway, waterside, iron, and building workers.<sup>27</sup>

An Australian Associated Press report, dateline 'Berlin, Thursday [10 November]', opened:

Attacks on Jews and destruction of Jewish property are being continued throughout Germany with a ferocity unparalleled in recent years. Tonight mobs of Germans in Berlin itself carried on a campaign of shop wrecking, looting and assaults. The entire police force and hundreds of Black Guards were called out. but they were powerless to enforce order. It was not until nearly midnight that some semblance of control was secured.<sup>28</sup>

The harrowing facts made headlines the following day, and for days afterwards. Soon newspapers around Australia, in remote rural centres as well as capital cities, were reporting what very many of them termed a 'pogrom', preceded by such adjectives as 'ferocious' and 'frightful', or supplemented by such phrases as 'of exceptional ferocity' or 'of unparalleled ferocity'. Fairly representative was the *Sydney Morning Herald's* editorial of 12 November 1938 headed 'The Martyrdom of a Minority'. Calling Herschel Grynszpan's assassination of Paris-based diplomat Ernst vom Rath (the pretext for Kristallnacht) 'as senseless as it was cowardly' and 'bound to be made the pretext for a new campaign of terrorism and spoliation' against Jews, it continued:

But a powerful and presumably civilised nation whose rulers countenance an orgy of violence against helpless thousands of the innocent, in reprisal for the guilt of a single individual, forfeits sympathy for

the slaying of its representative and earns the execration of the non-German world. This week's pogrom would have been disgraceful enough had it been a spontaneous outburst of popular indignation and fury. The outrages, however, bear all the marks, not of sporadic mob violence, but of organised destruction planned while von [sic] Rath was dying ...

Racial ferocity, industriously whetted during five years of anti-Semitism, has no doubt proved a willing accessory to looting and incendiarism, but in a country so rigidly regimented as Germany violence, unless it is revolutionary, does not break loose without official sanction, and it is impossible to avoid the impression that the opportunity offered by the Paris murder has been avidly seized by the Nazi Government to begin a new and revolting chapter in the martyrdom of the German Jews ...

It may be said that what Germany does or allows to be done to a section of her own people is her own business, but, though the regimented Nazi Press may rant and scold the insolence of foreigners who dare to protest, it cannot prevent neighbours of the Reich from drawing their own lessons from the brutal treatment of the Jews. It cannot prevent them wondering with what validity Germany claims to rescue minorities abroad when she so cruelly oppresses a minority of her own, nor whether it would not be contrary to natural justice to return to her charge the millions of natives in the mandated territories. When the German picture darkens, as it is darkening now, the hopes of European appeasement and pacification grow faint indeed.<sup>29</sup>

'Sympathy is being expressed in the resolutions of various organisations throughout the English-speaking world', observed an editorial in *The Argus* on 17 November:

... Just as it mattered nothing that Lenin and Trotsky were infidels and outside the pale of Jewry, so it

matters nothing that Herr von [sic] Rath was anti-Nazi and that the Jews of Germany were neither guilty nor cognisant of the murder. The occasion is being seized, almost as if it had been sought and welcomed, for a German pogrom marked by cruelty and robbery. The property of Jews has been stolen from them, and many thousands have been driven to the frontiers, only to find them closed against them. In many places they have been driven back into the clutches of their persecutors. They have no redress at law ...

A dreadful crime has been committed, is still being committed.

There is no method of taking punitive or deterrent action, and the only hope of the Jews remaining in Germany is that the obloquy of the most powerful nations in the world may yet have a restraining influence upon a policy which it would be charity to call a form of insanity.

'Gentile' of Camberwell observed in a letter to *The Argus* published that day: 'The inhuman treatment meted out to the Jews in Germany has roused the anger and sympathy of the whole world of decent-minded people, and one would rejoice if a joint protest were presented to Herr Hitler expressing in the plainest terms the abhorrence of all self-respecting nations.'<sup>30</sup> The *Cessnock Eagle* (15 November) urged international punitive action against Germany in the form of sanctions spearheaded by a refusal to export food-stuffs and raw materials to that country so long as the anti-Jewish policy lasted. 'Numbers of people whom I hardly know have stopped me in the street and have expressed sympathy at the way the Jewish people are being attacked and tortured in Germany', an unidentified Sydney Jewish woman was quoted as saying. 'They say what they think of Hitler in no meek terms.'<sup>31</sup> Such sympathy was widely replicated, from all sides of the political and Christian denominational divides.

Beneath the heading 'Pity is Not Enough', an editorial in the

Brisbane *Courier-Mail* of 17 November declared:

Thousands of people in Australia, as in all other lands where humanitarianism is free to speak, are deploring the new persecution of the Jews in Germany. But pity and protests are mere self-indulgence in sentiment if no help accompanies them. A German Government, which now extends over what was Austria and part of Czechoslovakia, is determined to make the life of Jews and non-Aryans remaining in the Reich intolerable.

Events in the last few days show that it is not prepared even to protect them against criminal violence. Few people can believe in the possibility of changing the policy of the present rulers of Germany towards the Jews by international pressure. Meanwhile the most practical help that other nations can render to the pitiable victims of Nazi hatred is to assist them to leave the land that has become a hell upon earth for them and to aid them in making new homes elsewhere. Upon the democracies of the British Commonwealth of Nations, the United States, France, and Holland rests the chief responsibility for providing this help. Their aid is indispensable to a humane solution of the Jewish refugee problem, because among them they possess and rule half the earth's surface ...

Palestine, a parcel of land less than half the size of Tasmania, has received more than 150,000 Jewish immigrants since 1933, and the Arab revolt is a warning that Jewish settlement there cannot be continued on such a scale. But the distribution of 500,000 or 600,000 Jewish and other refugees from Germany among the great Dominions of the British Commonwealth, in the United States, and in the extensive colonial empires controlled by Britain, France, and Holland could be planned and carefully guided over a number of years so as not to produce

economic or social disturbance in any single country receiving them.

... Co-operation would be expected from Australia, and if Australia has no contribution to make all our present pity for the German Jews and the protests we are voicing against their treatment will be worth little more than they cost us, which is nothing.<sup>32</sup>

Councillors of the Adelaide suburb of Thebarton unanimously passed a motion on 16 November deploring the persecution of German Jewry and requesting that local federal parliamentarians convey their sentiments to the federal government. The possibility of inviting persecuted Jews to occupy some of Australia's uncultivated land was also raised.<sup>33</sup> Speaking that same day in reaction to Kristallnacht, officials of the New South Wales Labor Council and its constituents wholeheartedly condemned what Council president J.R. Hughes termed the Nazis' 'bestial actions'. W. Ferguson, organiser of the Australian Railways Union, observed that 'The treatment being handed out to the Jews in Germany clearly indicates the correctness of those who opposed and still oppose the Chamberlain policy of appeasement'. Lloyd Ross, secretary of that same union, remarked that 'Chamberlain – and Lyons here – must take their share of responsibility. Whoever is friend to Hitler has the blood of his innocent victims to answer for!' Mick Martin, that union's president, declared: 'Fascism can't exist without terror and race hatred. It is never a question of Jew against black, Protestant against Catholic, but always and everywhere the unity of the workers against the exploiters.' H.L. Denford, organiser of the Ironworkers' Union, did not mince words:

The Federal Government should deport forthwith every Nazi sympathiser in Australia. We should have a pogrom against Nazis in Australia. This is the only effective retaliatory measure. Protests are useless.

The following day, on the proposal of Lloyd Ross, the Council passed a motion demanding the deportation of Consul-General

Asmis. Departing from its usual policy of opposition to immigration, the Council also called for Jewish refugees to be admitted to Australia and that the federal authorities should accept financial responsibility.<sup>34</sup> That was the day the two aforementioned protests at the German consulate in Melbourne occurred, nearly three weeks earlier than William Cooper's.

On 16 November, at its annual meeting, the Melbourne Unitarian Church expressed sympathy with the victims of Nazi persecution, pledged itself to help if feasible, and urged the federal government to protest to the German authorities.<sup>35</sup> In the Melbourne suburb of Carlton, home to numerous Jews of mainly East European origin, a special service held (in accordance with a request from British Chief Rabbi J.H. Hertz to all congregations under his jurisdiction) at the synagogue in Palmerston Street to show solidarity with German Jewry in its affliction, was attended by many Christian invitees.<sup>36</sup> Meanwhile, Dr W. Janzow, general president of the Evangelical Lutheran Synod, roundly condemned Nazi brutality. 'Lutheran churches in Australia are working to provide assistance and sustenance for the suffering Jews who are being subjected to such frightful hardships in Germany', he said. 'The scheme is to find homes and employment for refugees in Australia and to assist migrants to come here by providing cash loans to cover the money which must be held by foreign migrants before they can land.'<sup>37</sup> Also in response to Kristallnacht, the Rev. A.R. Ebbs, of St. Matthew's Church, Manly, wrote to prime minister Lyons suggesting that the federal government should bring to Australia 600 German Jewish lads and young men to be trained in agricultural work. Ebbs was confident that if such youths were distributed throughout Australia and properly trained they would succeed on the land.<sup>38</sup>

Pro-Jewish sermons were preached from many pulpits around Australia. 'The soul of every decent body must be stirred and sickened' by 'a machine of organised cruelty ... having for its purpose the elimination of the Jews', declared the Rev. E.A. Davies at St. Stephen's Church, Macquarie Street, Sydney, on 20

November. Yet 'the same almost unbelievable devotion to their laws and customs, which brought them through, and made them superior to Egyptian Pharaoh, Assyrian King, Scandinavian Crusader, Turkish Sultan, Roman Caesar, and unholy inquisitor, will enable them to survive the diabolical terrors of the Nazi regime'. At Chalmers Presbyterian Church, the Rev. D.F. Brandt, a former Moderator of the Presbyterian Assembly, said that:

Not only are we shocked, but we are also indignant at the callousness and brutality meted out to the Jews by Germany. The history of the world proves that no nation can persecute the Jews and live, and if Germany is not wrecked on the foolhardy plan of its Dictator, it will certainly come to grief because of the treatment of the Jews. They are God's own chosen race, and ... God has not and will not allow them to be exterminated. The nations that have offered them a home will reap blessings to themselves.

At the Central Baptist Church the Rev. W.L. Jarvis observed 'that a great tribulation of the Jews as a culmination to their persecution down the ages, was prophesied in Jeremiah 30, as a prelude to their deliverance and restoration to their own land. Nothing in history surpassed the present persecution of the race, and despite the trouble in Palestine, it was possible that the pogroms of to-day were a prelude to the deliverance of the Jew'.<sup>39</sup>

Thoroughly agreeing with the Brisbane *Courier-Mail's* contention that 'Pity is Not Enough', the Rev. Alan T. Gurr of South Brisbane wrote of his belief 'that public sympathy is with the Jews, and that if it were put to the people they would desire to help in a practical way. It seems to me a wonderful opportunity for Australia to gain not only migrants of a good class, but the necessary capital to make them productive citizens and a strength for this Commonwealth'.<sup>40</sup> On 20 November, in Brisbane, Lieutenant-Colonel W. Dalziel, commander of the Salvation Army in New South Wales and Queensland, called upon Australia to find employment in rural industries for persecuted



Jews.<sup>41</sup> A long and splendid pro-Jewish article by a well-known Queensland Anglican clergyman, the Rev. A.E. Saxon, appeared in the Brisbane *Telegraph* (23 November 1938), on the same page as a sensitive drawing (see the figure on p. 110) by young local artist George Wilson Cooper. 'As a civilised Christian nation, we can set the world an example, and, more important, do much to alleviate the misery of this persecuted race. We have vast territories uninhabited, and our politicians are constantly urging us to populate them,' Victor Harbor schoolteacher Jean Crowel Kempson observed in the correspondence columns of the *Adelaide Advertiser* (22 November). 'The Jews are an energetic and progressive race and should do much to develop the country.' 'Germany, rightly or wrongly, is pressing for the return of her colonies,' wrote Queensland grazier Arthur Charles Vassal Bligh of Condamine Plains to the *Courier-Mail* (letter published on 28 November 1938). 'If we have any Christian feeling at all the rest of the world must try to save these refugees from perishing. I think we should advocate the settling of all who are willing to do so in certain of the mandated territories, under the guidance and assistance of the League of Nations. Germany would to some extent be atoning for her injustice to these people, as the areas to which she lays claim would be utilised to settle them.' 'France ... drove away thousands of Huguenots to the immense advantage of England and all other nations that received them, and to her own great loss' reflected Tasmanian [Augustus] Tasman Jessup in a letter published by the *Burnie Advocate* on 29 November. 'Germany will lose materially as well as morally by the brutal persecution and expulsion of the Jews, and they will help to build up and strengthen those nations who welcome them. It is to be hoped that narrow-minded selfishness will not cause us to miss this opportunity.' And so forth.

On 17 November in the federal House of Representatives, two Victorian United Australia Party members, Harold Holt (a future prime minister) and William Hutchinson, pointedly enquired whether the Lyons government would associate itself

with a protest from Britain to the Nazi regime against the attacks on German Jewry.<sup>42</sup> On 19 November 300 people participated in a meeting of protest at Nazi persecution of Jews held under the auspices of the Australian League for Peace and Democracy, addressed by prominent leftwing schoolteacher and feminist Miss Doris McRae, who paid tribute to the Jewish contribution to culture and science, and by Councillor A.E. Pratt of Kew. A resolution urging the Lyons government to protest the persecution, and calling on the Australian people to boycott German goods passed unanimously.<sup>43</sup> Also in Melbourne various public figures signed a petition: 'We the undersigned citizens of Melbourne wish to make a protest against the inhuman treatment of the Jewish people in Germany and to express our conviction that the persecution is not supported by the majority of the German people. We feel that it is important that among the many voices raised in protest the voice of the Australian people should be heard, and we urge the Federal Government to register a protest as soon as possible.' Signatories included the Anglican Archbishop Head, Baptist Union chairman C.H. Book, E. Porter of the Australian Youth Council, Arthur Burdeu, president of the Australian Aborigines' League, Constance Duncan, secretary of the League of Nations Union, Herbert Burton, president of the Council for Civil Liberties, poet, essayist and literary critic Nettie Palmer and her novelist husband Vance Palmer, lawyer and parliamentarian Maurice Blackburn, J.F. Chapple, federal secretary of the Australian Railways Union, and Don Thompson, secretary of the Building Trades Federation.<sup>44</sup>

On 30 November a protest meeting against the treatment of Jews in Germany was held in the Perth Town Hall. Chief speakers were Messrs. Badger (of the Adult Education Board) and Graham (of the Young Labour League), and Mrs May B. Vallance, Western Australia president of the Women's Christian Temperance Union.<sup>45</sup> Meanwhile, at least one Australian newspaper, the Sydney *Daily Telegraph* (24 November 1938) picked up an Independent Cable Service report issued from London the previous day which told

of the policy being advocated by *Das Schwarze Korps*, the official organ of the Schutzstaffel (SS):

“The Jews must be driven out of our dwelling districts, and placed in streets and blocks of houses where they will come in contact with Germans as little as possible.” ... The paper claims that the segregated Jews would soon become criminals. They could then be exterminated.

On 3 December 1938 the Council of Youth passed a resolution protesting against ‘the treatment of Jews in the recent Nazi pogrom and commending the Commonwealth Government for its promise to’ admit 15,000 refugees from the Reich over a three-year period, announced on 1 December. ‘A number of delegates reported that the resolution had been fully discussed by their organisations and heartily endorsed.’<sup>46</sup> On 5 December 1938, reported *The Argus* next day:

Differences of race, creed, and politics were set aside in the [Melbourne] Town Hall ... when a crowded public meeting agreed to form a committee of about 70 citizens to assist the settlement of Jewish refugees. The meeting was convened by the Lord Mayor (Councillor A.W. Coles). Before and during the meeting, which was held under the auspices of all Protestant Churches and the League of Nations Union, donations exceeding £500 [about \$50,000 in today’s money] were received by the president of the League of Nations Union (Professor H. Woodruff). Other large sums were promised. Many letters and telegrams expressing sympathy with the movement were received by the Lord Mayor ... Scores of extra seats were brought in, but many persons were obliged to stand or sit on the floor round the rostrum, and others overflowed into the corridor outside. By resolution the meeting agreed to the formation of the Victorian Refugee Emergency Council, consisting of representative citizens from

all sections of the community and all Churches, and from representative organisations in the State.

Just before Christmas that year came an ecumenical appeal to the Victorian public to contribute generously to the Lord Mayor of Melbourne's appeal for the Victorian Refugee Emergency Council. 'The refugee council must have funds at its disposal to take care of the refugees when they arrive on our shores. It is not proposed to send money out of Australia, as overseas organisations will provide the necessary passage money to bring them here,' explained the signatories, who were the Archbishop of Melbourne, the chairman of the Congregational Union of Victoria (A.C.C. Holtz), the moderator of the Presbyterian Assembly of Victoria (K. Forster), the commissioner of the Salvation Army (Robert Henry), and the presidents respectively of the Baptist Union (A.H. Potter), the Conference of Churches of Christ (T. Rowland Morris) and the Methodist Conference of Victoria (H.G. Secomb). 'The Jewish community in Melbourne recently raised £17,000 for relief work among their own co-religionists. We now appeal to the larger Christian community to show similar generosity.' Those who had already contributed included such figures as Herbert Brookes and his wife (£100), Russell Grimwade and his wife (£100), Councillor A.W. Coles (£60), Ansett Airways chairman Ernest O'Sullivan (£25), and Professor H.A. Woodruff and his wife (£25). The Victorian Housewives' Association, the League of Nations Union, and the Victorian Council of the International Peace Campaign contributed what amounts they had been able to collect.<sup>47</sup>

Melbourne ophthalmologist Sir James Barrett, a staunch philosemite and an advocate of populating Australia's north, was instrumental in the decision of Dr I.N. Steinberg, head of the Freeland League for Jewish Territorial Colonisation, to seek a refuge for some 75,000 displaced European Jews in the Kimberley region of north-west Australia. Barrett was one of the 46 distinguished Victorians who signed a manifesto in support of this, the so-called Kimberley Scheme. Published in *The*

*Argus* (1 December 1939), it followed a similar manifesto of 14 signatures that appeared in *The West Australian* (6 September 1939) and preceded another, consisting of 55 signatures, which was published in the *Sydney Morning Herald* (19 April 1940). The Victorian manifesto was signed by such well-known figures as the Lord Mayor of Melbourne, the president of the Methodist Church of Australia, Maurice Blackburn, Frank Brennan, Herbert Brookes, John Cain, Frederic Eggleston, Sir Charles Merrett, Nettie Palmer, and Professor Sir Ernest Scott. West Australia's signatories included the Anglican Archbishop of Perth, the Lord Mayors of Perth and Fremantle, and Professor Walter Murdoch, who had earlier declared (*West Australian*, 15 July 1939): 'Israel's extremity is Australia's opportunity'. Signatories to the New South Wales manifesto included the Lord Mayor of Sydney, Charles Bean (Australia's official war historian), Bishop E.H. Burgmann, Sir Robert Garran, Bishop C.V. Pilcher, and Jessie Street. In past issues of this *Journal* alone are to be met a range of philosemites, clerical and lay, male and female, who are as equally deserving of posterity's praise as William Cooper. It is probable that Cooper, who emerges from historical sources as an admirably fair-minded man, would be only too happy to see their concern for oppressed Jewry remembered alongside his own.

## Endnotes

1. See especially W.D. Rubinstein and Hilary L. Rubinstein, *Philosemitism: Admiration and Support in the English-Speaking World for Jews, 1840-1939*, London, Macmillan, 1999.
2. <http://www.theage.com.au/national/half-a-world-away-sound-of-breaking-glass-found-an-echo-20121114-29cm1.html>
3. Quoted in *Labor Daily* (Sydney), 26 November 1938.
4. Bain Attwood and Andrew Markus, *Thinking Black: William Cooper and the Australian Aborigines' League*, Canberra, Aboriginal Studies Press, 2004, pp. 5-7; *Advocate*, 12 June 1939; *Melbourne Herald*, 7 August 1937 (interview by Clive Turnbull).
5. *Labor Call*, 24 October 1935; see also Andrew Markus, *Blood from a Stone: William Cooper and the Australian Aborigines' League*,

- Sydney, Allen & Unwin, 1988.
6. Attwood and Markus, *Thinking Black*, p. 133.
7. <http://www.kooriweb.org/foley/resources/politics/jta15dec04.html>; *Australian Jewish News*, 13 December 2002; Hilary L. Rubinstein, 'Critchley Parker (1911-42): Australian Martyr for Jewish Refugees', *Australian Jewish Historical Society Journal*, vol. 11, part 1, 1990. pp. 56-68.
8. See <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=gYn9HVd4Iyk&feature=youtu.be>
9. Barbara Miller, *William Cooper – Gentle Warrior: Standing up for Australian Aborigines and Persecuted Jews*, [Gordon, NSW], Xlibris, 2012.
10. <https://www.timwatts.net.au/campaigns/rename-gellibrand/>
11. *Australian Jewish News*, 29 June 2018.
12. <http://vuir.vu.edu.au/27465/1/AustraliaandtheHolocaustKooriaperspective.pdf>
13. *Australian Jewish News*, 3 August 2018.
14. Quoted in the *Brisbane Courier-Mail*, 15 November 1938; more protests, including one made by hundreds of Dutch intellectuals representing the Unity Through Democracy movement, were reported even in regional newspapers such as the *Kalgoorlie Miner*, 16 November 1938.
15. I owe knowledge of this publicity material to Phil Lipshut, hon. sec. of the Australian Jewish Historical Society in Victoria.
16. *The Argus*, 28 May 1903.
17. *Workers' Weekly*, 24 March 1933.
18. *Burnie Advocate*, 17 April 1933; *The Age*, 22 April 1933; *Newcastle Morning Herald and Miners' Advocate*, 18 April 1933.
19. *The Age*, 28 April 1933; *Burnie Advocate*, 6 May 1933; *Launceston Examiner*, 28 April 1933.
20. *Sydney Morning Herald*, 19 May 1933; *Hobart Mercury*, 20 May 1933. Lars Brundahl, Commissioner of the Leipzig Trade Fair, was also present.
21. *Queensland Daily Standard*, 3 June 1933.
22. *Burnie Advocate*, 6 May 1933.
23. *Worker's Weekly*, 21 June 1933. Sincere thanks to Associate Professor Philip Mendes and to Emeritus Professor Phillip Deery for explaining the abbreviations contained in that report.

24. Asmis to Foreign Office, 30 December 1933, p. 20, File 43515 Jahresberichte der deutschen Auslandsvertretung in Australien, 1929-36, Bundesarchiv Postdam, Foreign Office vol. 16/17, quoted in Christine Winter, "A Good-Will Ship": The Light Cruiser Köln Visits Rabaul (1933)', *Australian Journal of Politics and History*, vol. 54, no. 1, 2008, p. 53.
25. *Adelaide Advertiser*, 19 March 1936.
26. *Burnie Advocate*, 9 June 1938; *Canberra Times*, 9 June 1938.
27. *The Argus*, 6 November 1938.
28. Quoted in *Melbourne Herald*, 11 November 1938.
29. Compare, for instance, *Queensland Times*, 14 November 1938.
30. See also, for example, letters in *Adelaide Advertiser*, 16 November 1938 and *Argus*, 16 November 1938.
31. *Workers' Weekly*, 18 November 1938.
32. *Brisbane Courier-Mail*, 17 November 1938.
33. *Adelaide Advertiser*, 17 November 1938.
34. *Workers' Weekly*, 18, 22 November 1938; *Sydney Morning Herald*, 18 November 1938; *Adelaide Advertiser*, 18 November 1938.
35. *The Argus*, 18 November 1938.
36. *Ibid.*, 21 November 1938.
37. *The News*, Adelaide, 17 November 1938.
38. *Barrier Miner* (Broken Hill), 21 November 1938.
39. *Sydney Morning Herald*, 21 November 1938.
40. *Brisbane Courier-Mail* 18 November 1938.
41. *Tweed Daily*, 21 November 1938.
42. *The Argus*, 18, 19 November 1938; *Warwick Daily News*, 18 November 1938.
43. *Ibid.*, 21 November 1938.
44. *Workers' Weekly*, 2 December 1938.
45. *Workers' Star* (Perth), 2 December 1938.
46. *Brisbane Courier-Mail*, 8 December 1938.
47. *The Age*, 23 December 1938.



## THE AUSTRALIAN UNION OF STUDENTS' 1974-75 ISRAEL-PALESTINE DEBATES REVISITED

*Philip Mendes*

### **ABSTRACT**

In 1974 and 1975, the radical left Australian Union of Students (AUS) presented extreme anti-Israel motions which were soundly defeated by a national student vote. As with the contemporary Boycott, Divestment and Sanctions (BDS) movement, the AUS attempted to cloak their hardline agenda to destroy the existing state of Israel via the disingenuous use of moderate terms such as secular and democratic, falsely implying a commitment to equal rights for both Israelis and Palestinians. But in practice the AUS campaign set in train a systematic hatred for all Jewish supporters of Israel's existence, irrespective of their specific political or ideological views on conflict resolution, which has flowed through to all subsequent Australian debates on Israel and Palestine.

### **Introduction**

In early 1974 and again in 1975, the Australian Union of Students (AUS) passed a series of anti-Israel motions urging support for the Palestine Liberation Organisation, and the abolition of the State of Israel. The 1974 motions stated that AUS would replace recognition of the National Union of Israeli Students (NUIS)

### **KEYWORDS**

Antisemitism, Australian Union of Students, Australian Union of Jewish Students, General Union of Palestinian Students, Australian Security Intelligence Organisation, Zionism and Israel

with recognition of the General Union of Palestinian Students (GUPS); that the Palestinian people have greater rights to the territory of Israel-Palestine than Israeli Jews; and that AUS would support the Palestinian liberation movement as represented by the Palestine Liberation Organisation (PLO).<sup>1</sup> Those motions were defeated by a national student vote of approximately 95 per cent against as opposed to 5 per cent in favour.

The 1975 motions seemed superficially to be more positive and inclusive, but the overall intent was the same. They proposed replacement of the State of Israel with a secular democratic state of Palestine which would guarantee equal citizenship rights to all religious groups. This did not mean support for a bi-national state as AUS did not recognise Jews as a genuine nation deserving of national rights. The motion also recommended recognition of the PLO as the legitimate representative of the Palestinian people, and a media campaign to inform students and the broader community of the Palestinian side of the argument.<sup>2</sup> Those motions attracted support from approximately 25 per cent of students, but were still opposed by a 75 per cent majority.

This article builds on an earlier analysis of the AUS debates<sup>3</sup> using more recently available sources to critically examine the key political and ideological factors involved. In part one, I explain why the AUS adopted extreme one-sided views on the Israel-Palestine conflict. In part two, I analyse the competing Australian Union of Jewish Students (AUJS) view in favour of a two-state solution, and their concerns about potential terrorism emanating from the AUS-sponsored tour of representatives of the General Union of Palestinian Students (GUPS). In part three, I explain why AUS rejected a two-state perspective with some reference to international Palestinian debates and local political alliances plus the strange influence of the marginal Israeli Marxist group Matzpen. In part four, I consider when and how anti-Zionism converged with antisemitism, noting the particular hostility of AUS to left-wing Jews who opposed their extreme abolish Israel position.

### **The Australian Union of Students shifts to the extreme Left**

Prior to 1973, the AUS was largely controlled by students from the moderate Left associated with the Australian Labor Party, and generally adopted a neutral position on the Israeli–Palestinian conflict. However, the 1973 AUS elections resulted in a takeover by the radical Left. The AUS passed a motion calling for the abolition of the capitalist system, which they argued was controlled by a small powerful elite, to be replaced instead by a socialist society in Australia. They also defended the right of oppressed groups and nations to ‘fight for social justice ... and resort to violence where all other peaceful means have been exhausted’.<sup>4</sup>

Not surprisingly, the AUS also adopted the pro-Palestinian and anti-Zionist position which had become hegemonic within radical left groupings.<sup>5</sup> The AUS identified the Palestinians as an oppressed people, and conversely the Israelis Jews as an oppressor nationality.<sup>6</sup> Consequently, AUS sought to ‘reverse’ what they called the ‘domination by Zionist propaganda of all discussion of the Arab-Israeli conflict’. Instead, AUS supported the Palestinians whom they called ‘the real victims. It is they who lost their country. It is they who are forced to live in the miserable conditions of the refugee camps.’<sup>7</sup> One manifestation of this pro-Palestinian bias was the decision of the editor of the AUS newspaper, *National U*, to privilege the Palestinian viewpoint, and deny equal space to the Zionist or pro-Israel perspective.

AUS’s views on Palestine were influenced by three radical Left groupings represented in the Palestine-Australia Solidarity Committee. Firstly, there was the Trotskyist Socialist Workers League/Socialist Youth Alliance (SYA) which later morphed into the Socialist Workers Party and was eventually renamed the Democratic Socialist Party. The SYA was represented by three key pro-Palestinian activists: *National U* editor Frans Timmerman, Israeli-born Jew Sol Salby (aka Sol Salbe) who was the managing editor of the *Direct Action* newspaper and then became the International Research Officer of AUS,<sup>8</sup> and Rod Webb who edited the Macquarie University student paper *Arena*. Secondly, there

were the Maoists affiliated with the Communist Party Marxist-Leninist. Their key representatives were La Trobe University activist Ken White and the 1974 AUS President, Neil McLean. Mclean's successor as AUS president, Ian Macdonald, although formally a member of the Australian Labor Party (ALP), was also close to the Maoists. Thirdly, there were some representatives of the orthodox and relatively moderate Communist Party of Australia (CPA), although the CPA was divided on Middle East policy.<sup>9</sup> Additionally, there was the specific role played by Bill Hartley from the Socialist Left faction of the Victorian branch of the Australian Labor Party who was appointed as the paid Education Research Officer of AUS despite his public endorsement of Palestinian terrorist attacks on Israeli civilians.<sup>10</sup>

Support for the Palestinians came almost exclusively from the generation of younger Australian leftists who viewed the Vietnam War and associated concerns about American and western imperialism as a defining influence. Older pro-Palestinian advocates such as ALP radicals Bill Hartley and George Peterson were an exception to this rule. In contrast, most of the older leftists, whether social democrats or orthodox Communists, retained pro-Jewish sympathies emanating from the earlier common struggle against Nazism, and defended Israel's right to exist.<sup>11</sup>

AUS acknowledged that their pro-Palestinian position was supported by only a small minority of Australian society, mostly Arab community groups, some trade unions and student groups, and left-wing political parties and movements. They conceded that the Australian Labor Party was 'riddled with Zionist elements'.<sup>12</sup> But they identified themselves as a vanguard whose long-term objective was to change public opinion in favour of the Palestinian narrative.

The AUS persistently argued that only the Palestinian Arabs and not Israeli Jews had legitimate national rights. Consequently they rejected solutions in favour of national rights for both Israelis and Palestinians such as the two-state solution which I discuss further below. But they were also concerned to refute arguments

from their critics that the elimination of the State of Israel would result in major harm or violence towards Israeli Jews such as mass expulsion or genocide. For example, Geoff Gordon from AUJS alleged that the AUS motion was implicitly endorsing the 'killing of millions of Jews',<sup>13</sup> whilst another AUJS representative Michael Marx argued that '2.6 million Jews would have to be expelled' to create a democratic secular state.<sup>14</sup> AUJS Political Officer Peter Wise accused the AUS resolutions of 'supporting genocide',<sup>15</sup> and two other Jewish student leaders denounced the AUS resolutions as likely to 'make the three million Israelis refugees', or even worse result in their 'extermination'.<sup>16</sup> Even left-wing union leader and CPA activist John Halfpenny, who was sympathetic to the Palestinians, acknowledged that the 'elimination of Israel as a state ... could well mean the elimination of the Israeli people'.<sup>17</sup>

But Bill Hartley ridiculed fears about the fate of Israeli Jews in an Arab-dominated state, insisting that all Jewish residents would experience 'equality, political and religious pluralism, freedom and democracy'.<sup>18</sup> Similarly, Sol Salby cited the PLO's promise that all Israeli Jews would be guaranteed citizenship rights in a unified Palestine.<sup>19</sup> Frans Timmerman argued that the Palestinians had 'no intention' of perpetrating a 'large scale slaughter and expulsion of the Jewish settlers'. To the contrary, the new state of Palestine would harmoniously combine the returning Palestinians and the existing settlers.<sup>20</sup>

In 1975, AUS published a booklet arguing the case for a secular democratic state of Palestine incorporating the views of prominent Belgian Jewish anti-Zionist Nathan Weinstock, and leading PLO figure Nabil Sha'ath. Both authors denied that the end of Israel would result in the persecution of its Jewish population. To the contrary, the Palestinians were generously offering the Jews an opportunity for peaceful co-existence in a unified state.<sup>21</sup>

AUS's reassurance seemed to ignore the intense national hatred that existed between Israelis and Palestinians as reflected in regular outbreaks of violence. The non-Zionist Jewish academic

Dennis Altman commented at the time that their assessment was 'naively optimistic' in that it 'ignored the unpleasant persistence of nationalist fears, prejudices and aspirations on both sides'. Altman added that it was not reasonable to impose a solution that would seek to fix the injustice experienced by the Palestinian Arabs, but in doing so would create a similar injustice (i.e. denial of national self-determination) for Israeli Jews.<sup>22</sup>

### **The Australian Union of Jewish Students' alternative: Two states for two peoples**

In response to the AUS motions, AUJS presented an alternative position in favour of recognising the national rights of both Israelis and Palestinians, and supporting two states for two peoples.<sup>23</sup> Their principal slogan was 'Israel yes, Palestine yes, terror no'.<sup>24</sup> The AUJS President Joe Gersh specifically defended the right of the Palestinians to national self-determination within a West Bank state alongside Israel.<sup>25</sup> Similarly, the AUJS NSW Political Officer Peter Wise endorsed the concept of a 'Palestinian State living side by side with a Jewish Israel'.<sup>26</sup>

The AUJS position in favour of a two-state solution was relatively radical at the time, given it deviated significantly from the then official Israeli Labor Government point of view (which was vaguely in favour of territorial compromise in partnership with Jordan but not supportive of Palestinian statehood), and the perspective of the Australian Jewish leadership bodies.<sup>27</sup> Nevertheless, the two-state proposal was endorsed by the World Union of Jewish Students,<sup>28</sup> and enjoyed significant support from groups on the international and Australian Left, from the Israeli peace movement, and from a minority within the PLO.

The official Palestinian position was in favour of a secular, democratic state of Palestine, and strongly opposed to a two-state solution. Contrary to the suggestions of some on the Australian Left, this did not imply a socialist bi-national Palestine in which Israeli Jews and Palestinian Arabs would live as equals. Rather, the PLO always clarified that Palestine would be an exclusively

Arab state in which the Jews (or some Jews) would enjoy cultural and religious freedom, but no national rights.<sup>29</sup>

However, a minority of Palestinians cautiously explored the alternative possibility of a two-state solution. As early as November 1973, Said Hammami, the official representative of the PLO in London who worked closely with PLO leader Yasser Arafat, argued in the *Times* of London for the creation of a Palestinian state alongside Israel. A further article by Hammami argued in favour of the mutual recognition of the Israeli and Palestinian peoples. Hammami proceeded to meet and discuss his ideas with leading Israeli peace activists such as Uri Avnery. Avnery, who was involved in the Israeli Council for Israel-Palestine Peace, actively briefed the Israeli government on developments, but there was no official dialogue between PLO representatives and elected Israeli leaders. Hammami was murdered by a Palestinian extremist in 1978.<sup>30</sup>

Internationally, progressive academic Mervyn Jones, writing in the well-known *Socialist Register* annual, criticised the PLO's proposal to replace Israel with a secular democratic state. Jones argued that Israelis would never voluntarily consent to the destruction of their state, and consequently an alternative unified state could only be imposed by force, and would be inherently undemocratic. He defended Israel's right to exist as a nation state irrespective of criticisms of specific Israeli policies, and endorsed two states for two peoples.<sup>31</sup>

Similar views in favour of two states were expressed by emerging Jewish Left groups such as Breira in the USA.<sup>32</sup> Within Australia, a group of long-time Jewish Left activists headed by Norman Rothfield formed the Paths to Peace organisation (and associated journal of that name) to campaign for Israeli-Palestinian mutual recognition leading to a peaceful two-state solution. Rothfield and his colleagues emphasised that Palestinian rights could not be achieved via the destruction of Israel, and strongly opposed the extreme pro-Palestinian views of Bill Hartley and others within the Australian Left.<sup>33</sup>



The Australian Labor government of that time also broadly endorsed two states, noting that Middle East peace required Arab recognition of Israel's right to exist, an Israeli withdrawal from the occupied territories, and a fair settlement for the Palestinian refugees.<sup>34</sup> A similar view in favour of two states and opposing the destruction of Israel was expressed by John Halfpenny, state secretary of the left-wing Amalgamated Metal Workers' Union.<sup>35</sup>

In summary, most of the Australian and international Left broadly supported the two-state solution proposed by AUJS.

### **AUJS and the threat of terrorism**

One particular argument raised by AUJS against the AUS motions generally and the AUS-sponsored tour of two representatives of the GUPS in 1975, Eddie Zananiri and Samir Cheikh, was that these activities could be seen as implying approval of Palestinian terrorism. For example, Joe Gersh alleged that Eddie Zananiri was the Fatah Branch leader at the American University of Beirut, and active in the 'recruiting of students for overseas terrorist operations'.<sup>36</sup> Other Jewish student leaders alleged that Zananiri was an active PLO intelligence officer.<sup>37</sup>

The equation of the Palestinian cause with support for terror infuriated AUS who dismissed this argument as racist and ill-informed.<sup>38</sup> SYA activist Geoff Tanks condemned an AUJS rally for allegedly stereotyping Palestinians as gun-toting extremists.<sup>39</sup> Sol Salby described the reported Black September threat against trade union leader Bob Hawke as a hoax, arguing that the allegation was simply Zionist propaganda designed to undermine the Palestinian cause.<sup>40</sup>

Yet, there is evidence to suggest there were legitimate fears about the possibility of terrorism emanating from organised pro-Palestinian groups such as the Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine (PFLP). The Australian Security Intelligence Organisation (ASIO) reported numerous concerns that the terror attacks undertaken by Palestinian groups at the Munich Olympic Games and other locations could be duplicated in Australia.

Serious threats were identified against the Israeli Ambassador, the union leader and later prime minister Bob Hawke, and Jewish community leaders Isi Leibler and Sam Lipski. More than 30 local Arabs were listed as potential local PFLP sympathisers.<sup>41</sup>

Specific concerns about links between the GUPS, which was a formal arm of Al Fatah, and terrorist activities also held credence. The West German government banned the GUPS and expelled hundreds of its members in late 1972 following evidence that its representative in Bonn, Abdallah Hasan Al-Frangi, had actively collaborated with the perpetrators of the Munich Olympic Games massacre. The West German authorities presented further evidence that the GUPS endorsed violence to achieve political aims, and that its members were actively involved in military training.<sup>42</sup> Given these demonstrated connections between various Palestinian groups including the GUPS and terror activities, it was not unreasonable for AUJS to express fears about the safety implications of the GUPS tour.

### **Why AUS rejected the two-state perspective**

In contrast to AUJS, AUS aggressively dismissed proposals for a two-state solution as involving an Israeli and/or American plot to undermine Palestinian national rights. This approach reflected a number of factors. Firstly as noted above, the Palestinian leadership – despite the initiatives of Hammami and others – also rejected any political solution that involved recognition of the State of Israel. For example, Nabil Sha'ath rebuffed proposals for a Palestinian state in the West Bank and Gaza which he crudely labelled 'Palestinostan' on the grounds that it would require the Palestinians to recognise the Israelis as a legitimate nation. According to Sha'ath, that outcome would 'mean continuation of racist settler-colonialism in Palestine, at the heart of the Arab world. It means the continuation of imperialist domination with all the racist overtones'.<sup>43</sup>

AUS operatives expressed similar sentiments. Peter Connor from Melbourne University claimed that a Palestinian state in the

West Bank and Gaza Strip would be the equivalent of a South African Bantustan. He argued that 'only the complete dismantling of the Israeli state and the establishment of a totally new form of multi-national state is a possible solution'.<sup>44</sup> Neil McLean dismissed a Palestinian state as unsatisfactory given it would be reliant on the Israeli economy and surrounded by the Israeli army. Moreover, it would not allow the Palestinians to return as they demanded to their original homes and towns inside Israel.<sup>45</sup> Elsewhere, he objected that a two-state solution would require the Palestinians to 'cede most of their homeland to the Israeli settlers'.<sup>46</sup>

La Trobe University activist Ken White opined that two separate states for Jews and Arabs would introduce 'a system of apartheid into the Middle East'.<sup>47</sup> Similarly, Frans Timmerman identified a Palestinian state as an Israeli ploy to subjugate the large Palestinian population within a small geographical area whilst stealing the best land to establish new Jewish settlements.<sup>48</sup> On another occasion, he argued that the Palestinians did not want a 'separate mini-state' controlled by the Israeli military. Rather, they wished 'to return to their places of origin'.<sup>49</sup> Simon Marginson described two states as a 'Zionist concept' which would not allow the Palestinian refugees to return to their homes in Israel.<sup>50</sup> Rod Webb argued that two states would leave 'a racist, capitalist satellite in a most critical part of the world'.<sup>51</sup>

The visiting GUPS representative, Eddie Zananiri, rejected two states on the basis that any recognition of Israel would undermine Palestinian rights to self-determination. He also suggested that the Israel would never be willing to withdraw from sufficient territory to permit the creation of a Palestinian state.<sup>52</sup>

A second factor was that the AUS campaign relied heavily on political and financial support from sections of the Australian Arab community. It was alleged by AUJS that much of the funding for pro-Palestinian activities came from members of the local Arab community and probably Arab diplomatic sources.<sup>53</sup> ASIO reports suggested that the Sydney businessman Reuben Scarf was

a key figure in funding publications such as the *Palestine Forum* journal, pro-Palestinian advertisements in newspapers, and proposed visits by PLO representatives. A number of other Arab businessmen also contributed funds.<sup>54</sup>

It is also evident from ASIO reports that a close political partnership existed between leading AUS figures such as Frans Timmerman and Bill Hartley, and key Arab community activists such as Edmond Melki, Tony Maron, Reuben Scarf, and Rudolph Aboukater.<sup>55</sup> Notably there were no Arab community leaders at this time who rejected the PLO's call for the elimination of Israel and supported consideration of a two-state solution.

A third factor was that AUS closely aligned itself with the views of Matzpen/Compass (the Israeli Socialist Organisation), a marginal Trotskyist sect with about 100 members based in Jerusalem.<sup>56</sup> Matzpen was also the PLO's favoured political partner inside Israel.<sup>57</sup> Some of Matzpen's key members such as Akiva Orr, Haim Hanegbi and Moshe Machover had left Israel to live in Britain, and attained significant status within the international new Left. Matzpen argued that self-determination was not an absolute right, but rather that it was to be granted or denied in accordance with the interests of the struggle for socialism. Thus, the Israelis who were an oppressor nation would only be entitled to self-determination after the victorious Arab socialist revolution had transformed them into an oppressed nation.<sup>58</sup> Matzpen's anti-Zionist blueprint appealed to AUS because it reinforced their own ideological position against compromise involving a two-state solution. It also seemed superficially to provide some evidence in support of their view (which was also the view of the GUPS)<sup>59</sup> that increasing numbers of Jews were assisting the Palestinian struggle,<sup>60</sup> even though Matzpen were totally unrepresentative of the views of Israelis or Jews more broadly.

### **The convergence of anti-Zionism and antisemitism**

AUS persistently denied that there was any antisemitic motives involved in their anti-Israel agenda. For example, *National*

U editor Frans Timmerman referred to the 'red herring of the charges of the antisemitism which are already being thrown at us'.<sup>61</sup> AUS President Neil McLean accused 'Zionist public relations men' of exploiting false charges of antisemitism 'in a kind of emotional blackmail'.<sup>62</sup> AUS activist Diana Auburn later denied that there was any 'trace of antisemitism in any of the pro-Palestinian articles and leaflets available from that period'.<sup>63</sup>

But there were in fact three manifestations of antisemitism involved in the AUS campaign. One was the regular use of the racist stereotype associating Jews with disproportionate wealth, power and influence including control of the media.<sup>64</sup> For example, Rod Webb referred to the 'power and wealth of the Zionist propaganda machine' which he suggested ensured a 'strong media bias' in favour of Israel.<sup>65</sup> Ken White insisted that 'the Zionists have the use of all the media available to the capitalist press in Australia'.<sup>66</sup> Frans Timmerman claimed 'Zionists wield a lot of influence in the ruling circles of this society and hence are in a good position to control what Australians are allowed to read about the Middle East'.<sup>67</sup>

Another AUS activist, Simon Marginson, referred to the 'enormous resources and political influence' of the Jewish population,<sup>68</sup> and further to AUJS receiving 'large amounts of money from Jewish Boards of Deputies and the like'.<sup>69</sup> Additionally, AUJS officials visiting the Gippsland Institute for the AUS debates were greeted with prejudiced comments such as 'Jews have too much money, support the PLO'.<sup>70</sup>

Bill Hartley was the worst offender. He accused 'pro-Israeli communities ... of extending their loyalty more to Israel than to the nation of their residence'.<sup>71</sup> He argued that the Jewish community held 'political, economic and media influence disproportionate to its numbers'.<sup>72</sup> These statements were criticised by Communist Party activist Dave Davies as the equivalent of traditional far-Right stereotypes of Jews as a traitorous group.<sup>73</sup> Hartley later attacked Jews for opposing a visit by PLO officials to Australia, stating: 'It is easy to see how the cause of antisemitism

is furthered when a group of this type [the Jewish community] exerts political, social and especially economic pressure in a way which is far in excess of their numerical position in the community'.<sup>74</sup> Similarly, Sol Salby argued that 'a powerful Zionist lobby' in the Labor government had blocked the visit, naming three members of the cabinet including the [Jewish and non-Zionist] Minister for the Environment, Dr Moss Cass.<sup>75</sup> A further editorial in the *Scope* newspaper, edited by Hartley and published by the Victorian ALP Socialist Left trade unions, denounced Zionists as an 'alien influence' within the labour movement.<sup>76</sup>

AUS officials frequently asserted that the Jewish community provided huge funds to support the AUJS campaign against the motions. The former editor of the University of NSW student paper *Tharunka*, Jefferson Lee, has recently claimed that 'the Jewish business lobby bankrolled' the AUJS activities.<sup>77</sup> But in fact, whilst some funding was provided by Jewish community groups and individual donors, this funding was not even sufficient to fund the anti-AUS campaign, and AUJS was left with significant debts.<sup>78</sup> Conversely, Altman argues to the contrary that AUS and their *National U* newspaper had access to larger resources based on the compulsory membership fee collected from all students.<sup>79</sup>

A second example of overt antisemitism was the equation of Jews or Zionists with Nazism, in an attempt to diminish and trivialise the extent of Jewish suffering in the Holocaust.<sup>80</sup> For example, SYA activist Geoff Tanks openly compared a pro-Israel rally by Jewish students at the University of NSW with the anti-Jewish rallies held by Nazi Germany in the 1930s. Tanks compared Jewish claims to the land of Israel with Nazi demands for 'Lebensraum'.<sup>81</sup> The Radical Student Movement at La Trobe University accused Zionism of being 'part of the growing Fascist movement in Australia.' They argued that Zionism was 'based on a religious myth, i.e. a chosen people – in the same way that Hitler based Nazism on a genetic myth, i.e. master race'.<sup>82</sup>

An associated slur was the allegation that Zionists had collaborated with the Nazis to facilitate the Holocaust which was

intended to shift the blame or responsibility for the Holocaust from the Nazi perpetrators to the Jewish victims.<sup>83</sup> The Zionist-Nazi collaboration thesis was actively espoused by Bill Hartley and Ian MacDonald,<sup>84</sup> and also Ken White from La Trobe University who directly accused Zionist leaders of opposing Jewish resistance to the Nazis in the Warsaw Ghetto<sup>85</sup> despite the fact that the Jewish Fighting Organisation in the Ghetto was led by Mordechai Anielewicz from Hashomer Hatzair. The AUS also sponsored showings of a 1973 California Newsreel film called *We are the Palestinians: Revolution until victory* which alleged Zionist cooperation with Hitler.<sup>86</sup>

The third and arguably most significant manifestation of antisemitism was the branding of all Jewish supporters of Israel's existence, whatever their views on conflict resolution, as the ideological enemy. As noted by Altman, the term Zionist became a form of abuse not dissimilar to that of Nazi or fascist.<sup>87</sup>

In practice, AUS directed particular venom at left-wing Jews, despite their almost universal support for both Israeli and Palestinian national rights, alleging they were progressive on all issues other than Palestine.<sup>88</sup> For example, John Bechara accused Jewish radicals of allowing their 'clannish loyalty' to outweigh their 'socialist principles'.<sup>89</sup> CPA activist David McKnight asserted that 'Zionist students, although many have in the past supported moratoriums and anti-apartheid campaigns, find themselves in alliance with the rightwing students in attacking AUS'.<sup>90</sup> Simon Marginson argued that Jews who supported revolutionary positions on Vietnam and other international conflicts suddenly turned into 'reactionary liberals' when confronted with an issue that 'touched them personally'.<sup>91</sup> Elsewhere, he accused radical Jews of failing to make 'a rational choice' when confronted with the dilemma between supporting the oppressed Palestinians, or alternatively maintaining 'their sense of identity with the concept of a Jewish state in Israel'.<sup>92</sup>

At Monash University, an anonymous letter writer accused leftist Jewish candidates for the Public Affairs Committee, Stan



Rosenthal and Michael Frankel, of hiding their pro-Zionist leanings which were alleged to be incompatible with left-wing politics.<sup>93</sup> Rosenthal noted in response that 'many people with impeccable left-wing credentials, both locally and internationally, have supported or do support, Israel's right to exist as a Jewish homeland. I refer to Mark Taft (CPA) locally, and Allende and Dubcek internationally'.<sup>94</sup>

Additionally, Norman Rothfield, a long-time left-wing anti-war activist and supporter of both Israeli and Palestinian national rights, was booed and jeered when he spoke at a forum on Palestine held at La Trobe University. According to an ASIO report that referred to Rothfield and another Jewish participant, 'some younger males in the crowd wanted to fight them and fix them up'.<sup>95</sup> These attacks greatly angered progressive Jews who felt betrayed by their former comrades. Michael Danby expressed 'sadness that a word describing the national liberation movement of the Jews is uttered in the same breath as fascist and Nazi'.<sup>96</sup>

The potential for AUS's extremist rhetoric to provoke anti-Jewish violence was reflected in the violence perpetrated against a group of young Jewish demonstrators outside the AUS headquarters in Carlton on 4 May 1975 by a group of Maoists and local Arabs from the May Day march. According to a student reporter, 'No provocation (and there was none in this case) could have excused this disgusting piece of thuggery, which hospitalised three people. The attempts by some people within AUS to brush the incident off do them no credit'.<sup>97</sup>

## Conclusion

The extreme viewpoint and strategies adopted by AUS allowed no room for common ground with even the most progressive supporters of Israel. Their unconditional endorsement of Palestinian Arab nationalism, whilst completely rejecting the legitimacy of Israeli Jewish nationalism, placed AUS well outside the broader Australian Left consensus in favour of national rights for both peoples. In contrast, AUJS, despite overtly favouring the Israeli

narrative over the Palestinian narrative, which was not well understood in western countries at that time, proposed a form of conflict resolution that could in principle facilitate national self-determination for both sides.

The AUS campaign set the tone for pro-Palestinian advocacy for future decades culminating in the activities of the Boycott, Divestment and Sanctions (BDS) movement. The AUS campaign and the contemporary BDS movement arguably share the same core beliefs. They affirm national rights for the Palestinians, but withhold the same national rights to Israelis. They hate all Zionists, but reserve particular distaste for left-wing Jews/Zionists who insist on a solution that affirms the national rights of both peoples. They vigorously deny any anti-Jewish motivations, but in practice use a range of racist stereotypes to attack their mostly Jewish critics. They disingenuously claim that they enjoy significant Jewish support when in fact their few Jewish members are completely unrepresentative of mainstream Jewish opinion. And they deny any hostility towards individual Israelis even though the implementation of their agenda would inevitably lead to the ethnic cleansing if not genocide of the Israeli Jewish population.<sup>98</sup>

## Endnotes

- 1 For the full motion, see *National U*, 4 March (1974).
- 2 For the full motion, see *National U*, 21 April (1975).
- 3 Philip Mendes, 'The Australian Union of Students Middle East Debates, 1974-75', *Australian Jewish Historical Society Journal*, vol. 12, part 3 (1993), pp. 188-210.
- 4 Australian Union of Students, *Our Union: An introduction to the Australian Union of Students*, Melbourne, AUS, 1974, p. 12. For further discussion of the radical Left's capture of AUS, see Dennis Altman, 'A secular democratic Palestine: A new litmus test for the left', *Politics*, vol. 10, 2 (1975), pp. 169-77; Peter Costello, *The Costello Memoirs*, Melbourne, Melbourne University Press, 2008, p. 26; Martin Shanahan, 'The AUS – Model of next year's ALP', in Les Shaw (ed.), *The Shape of the Labor Regime*, Canberra, Harp Books, p. 167; Stephen Morris, 'Terrorism, the Jews and the Australian Union

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- 5 On the development of pro-Palestinian advocacy in Australia from the 1967 Six Day War onwards, see Philip Mendes, *The New Left, the Jews and the Vietnam War 1965-72*, Melbourne, Lazare Press, 1993, pp. 111-22.
  - 6 Frans Timmerman, 'Who are the real terrorists?', *National U*, 4 March (1974).
  - 7 Idem, 'National U', in Australian Union of Students Media department (ed.), *Report to August Council 1974*, Melbourne, Australian Union of Students, 1974, p. 2
  - 8 On Salby's long-term involvement in the Trotskyist movement, see John Percy, *A History of the Democratic Socialist Party and Resistance*, vol. 1: 1965-72, Sydney, Resistance Books, 2005, pp. 127-8, 168, 183, 246.
  - 9 On the divisions within the Australian Left concerning Israel/Palestine, see Philip Mendes, 'The Australian Union of Students Middle East Debates', pp. 198-9. The 1974 resolution passed by the CPA ambiguously endorsed both a two-state solution and a unified bi-national state. See 'CPA 24th Congress resolution on the Middle East', *Tribune*, 27 May (1975).
  - 10 Peter Samuel, 'Hartley faces a political divorce', *The Bulletin*, 29 March (1975); Anonymous, 'Hartley censure', *Australian Jewish News*, 21 March (1975).
  - 11 Altman, 'A secular democratic Palestine', pp. 173-4; Graham Hastings, *It Can't Happen Here: A political history of Australian student activism*, Adelaide, Students Association of Flinders University, 2002, p. 156. For discussion of similar generational divides on the British Left, see June Edmunds, *The Left and Israel*, London, Macmillan, 2000, p. 96.
  - 12 Rod Webb, 'Document 2', in Australian Union of Students (ed.), *Documents and resolutions relating to the withdrawal of the Australian Union of Students from the membership of the International Union of Students*, Australian Union of Students, Melbourne, 1976, p. 4.
  - 13 Geoff Gordon, 'Democratic secular what?', *National U*, 21 April (1975).
  - 14 Michael Marx, 'Against: The great AUS farce', *Arena*, 21 May (1975).
  - 15 Peter Wise, 'The case for Israel', *Tharunka*, 13 March (1974).

- 16 B. Sommer and A. Zycher, 'Israel defended', *Empire Times*, vol. 6, 1 (1974).
- 17 Anonymous, 'Halfpenny – Middle East & Africa', *Tribune*, 20 August (1974).
- 18 Bill Hartley, 'This Arab voice must be heard', In Bob Hawke (ed.), *Hawke on Israel*, Melbourne, Labour Friends of Israel, 1977, p. 32.
- 19 Sol Salby, 'The case against Zionism', *Tharunka*, 13 March (1974).
- 20 Frans Timmerman, 'Towards a solution: A progressive, democratic & non sectarian state', *National U*, 21 April (1975).
- 21 Solomon Salby, *The Democratic State of Palestine: A Middle East Solution*, Annandale, AUS, 1975. I understand Frans Timmerman played a key role in editing the material for publication. The printing of the booklet was funded by the Australian-Arab businessman, Reuben Scarf.
- 22 Altman, 'A secular democratic Palestine', p. 170.
- 23 For example, see the pamphlet by AUJS Political Officer Michael Danby, *Justice for the Palestinians, Peace for the Israelis*, Melbourne, 1975. See also Geoffrey Tofler, 'Back to the future: Lessons from anti-Israel debates on campus', *Australian Jewish Historical Society Journal*, vol. 19, 3 (2009), pp. 413-14. To be sure, AUJS had a diverse membership, and some of its statements reflected conservative preconceptions that seemed to contradict their official position in favour of two states. See Mendes, 'The Australian Union of Students', pp. 201-2.
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- 25 Idem, 'Interview with Joe Gersh', *National U*, 26 May (1975).
- 26 Peter Wise, *Monday Conference*, 145, Australian Broadcasting Commission, 26 May (1975), p. 8.
- 27 See the discussion in Mendes, 'Australian Union of Students', pp. 200-1.
- 28 See the statements by the then WUJS political organiser Perla Cohen, who visited Australia at the invitation of AUJS, in favour of two states in Peter Weiniger, 'An interview with Perla Cohen', *Paths to Peace*, August (1974), pp. 14-15.
- 29 Mendes, *Jews and the Left: The rise and fall of a political alliance*, Houndmills, Palgrave Macmillan, 2014, p. 119.
- 30 Uri Avnery, *My Friend, the Enemy*, London, Zed Books, 1986, pp. 34-6, 40-5, 53-5, 68-73; Alain Gresh, *The PLO, the struggle within*,

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  - 33 Evelyn Rothfield and Norman Rothfield, 'Letter to Bill Hartley', *Scope*, 14 February (1974); Norman Rothfield, 'Open letter to Bill Hartley', *Paths to Peace*, August (1974), pp. 10-13; idem., 'How to work for peace and come out smiling: Reminiscences', *Australian Jewish Historical Society Journal*, Vol.12, 1 (1993), pp. 215-16; Norman Rothfield, *Many Paths to Peace*, Melbourne, Yarraford Publications, 1997, pp. 72-4; Henry Zimmerman, Norman Rothfield and 35 others, 'Editorial deplored', *Tribune*, 4 March (1975).
  - 34 Gough Whitlam, 'Statement to House of Representatives', *Hansard*, 12 March (1974), p. 530.
  - 35 Anon, 'Meeting – John Halfpenny', *Paths to Peace*, November (1974), p. 22. See also similar views expressed by leading Communist Party of Australia figures, Anon, 'Mid East and the Left', *Paths to Peace*, August (1975), pp. 4-7.
  - 36 Gersh, 'President's Report', p. 20.
  - 37 Fred Gomo and Michael Danby, 'AUS-Fischer-Hartley: From the student view', Melbourne, 1976.
  - 38 Timmerman, 'Who are the real terrorists?'
  - 39 Geoff Tanks, 'Torch rally at UNSW', *National U*, 11 March 1974.
  - 40 National Archives of Australia, CRS A6119, Frans William Timmerman T/32/109 Volume 2, Item 66, Socialist Workers League, 10 December 1973.
  - 41 John Blaxland, *The Protest Years: The official history of ASIO 1963-1975*, Volume 2, Sydney, Allen & Unwin, 2015, pp. 384-7; John Blaxland and Rhys Crawley, *The Secret Cold War: The official history of ASIO 1975-1989*, Volume 3, Sydney, Allen & Unwin, 2016, pp. 125-6. 42 Jeffrey Herf, *Undeclared wars with Israel: East Germany and the West German far left 1967-1989*, New York, Cambridge

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- 43 Nabil Sha'ath, 'The Palestine of tomorrow', in Solomon Salby (ed.), *The Democratic State of Palestine: A Middle East solution*, Annandale, AUS, 1975, p. 15.
  - 44 Peter Connor, 'What the Palestinians want', *Farrago*, 15 March (1974).
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  - 46 Idem., 'The democratic secular concept', *Farrago*, 2 May (1975). 47 Ken White, 'AUS: The Palestine question', *Rabellais*, vol. 8, 1 (1974).
  - 48 Frans Timmerman, 'Untitled', *National U*, 11 March (1974).
  - 49 Idem, 'Land rights for the Palestinians', *National U*, 21 April (1975).
  - 50 Simon Marginson, 'The Palestine debate', *National U*, 5 May (1975).
  - 51 Rod Webb, 'Document 1', in Australian Union of Students (ed.), *Documents and resolutions relating to the withdrawal of the Australian Union of Students from the membership of the International Union of Students*, Australian Union of Students, Melbourne, 1976, p. 3.
  - 52 Eddie Zananiri, *Monday Conference*, 145, Australian Broadcasting Commission, 26 May (1975), pp. 8-9. See also Jim Lloyd, 'Palestine students tour counters Zionists', *Direct Action*, 29 May (1975).
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## INSIDE THE AUSTRALIA-ISRAEL RELATIONSHIP: JOHN MONASH TO THE PRESENT DAY – AN INTELLIGENCE PERSPECTIVE<sup>1</sup>

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### **ABSTRACT**

Based on her 2018 Leo Baeck Centre Lecture in Melbourne, the author, a retired intelligence officer with considerable experience of the intelligence dynamics of the Middle East, discusses the Australia/Israel relationship from the time of John Monash to the present. This span of time was chosen to reference the important work of Monash in establishing an Australian Intelligence Unit within the General Staff structure of the Army in the pre-World War One era. Drawing on source documents from the CIA, a relationship with Mossad that had an unlikely beginning, Australian Parliamentary Papers and her own notes, some alternate points of view regarding theatres of conflict such as Gallipoli, Vietnam, the 1967 Arab-Israeli War and the 1973 Yom Kippur War are examined.

### **KEYWORDS**

Military History,  
Arab-Israeli War 1967,  
Australian Intelligence  
Corps, Mossad, Sir John  
Monash, Yom Kippur  
War 1973

Intelligence in the context under discussion refers to my former profession. I don't like the term spy or secret agent. Leave that to the movies. Intelligence officers are engaged in the gathering of knowledge. There are various ways this knowledge may be

acquired – behind a desk poring over raw documents or computer screens, in the field, talking to other operatives from around the world, sharing one's knowledge or even trading it. Some agencies are easier to talk to than others. I always found the CIA, particularly the extensive library and archives, most helpful. My other favourite agency was Mossad.

The United States Central Intelligence Agency (CIA) was established in 1951, Mossad in 1949 and British Military Intelligence 6 (MI6) in 1909. In 1906, pre-dating these organisations, the newly established Commonwealth of Australia voted to establish an Australian Intelligence Corps headquartered at Army HQ, Victoria Barracks, Melbourne. Members of the Corps were distributed throughout the six states. The first commanding officer of the Army Intelligence Corps in the Military District of Victoria was Lieutenant-Colonel John Monash, appointed in 1908.

The Australian Intelligence Corps was the forerunner of the Australian General Staff – the organisational and logistical brains of the Army. The experience of working within Intelligence and the nascent General Staff honed Monash's considerable logistical skills in the immediate pre-war period and brought him to the attention of the directors of Intelligence and Defence.

The first task of Monash's Intelligence Corps was to survey and provide accurate maps of Victoria. Civilian land selection and military engagements both rely on accurate mapping. Germany had colonial aspirations in our area. The Germans had established a protectorate over parts of New Guinea as early as 1884. By 1906 anti-German sentiment was widespread in Great Britain. The first job of MI6 was to gather knowledge about Germany's intentions. The government of Australia was equally concerned about Germany.

Accurate mapping of Victoria was urgent. The Parliament of Australia met in Melbourne, most of the major banks were headquartered here, the defence of the nation was determined in Melbourne and settlers were spreading out from the capital to outer suburbs and rising regional centres. And yet, by the end

of the nineteenth century Intelligence gathering had a tainted reputation. It was associated with Jews.

I'm Dutch born, Jewish through my mother's family who were descended from Portuguese Sephardim. My father's family were proud Calvinists. His ancestors fought against the Spanish occupiers of the Netherlands and founded the Dutch East India Company (Verenigde Oost-Indische Compagnie or VOC); instrumental in offering the Jews escaping the Spanish and Portuguese Inquisitions a safe and prosperous haven.

The VOC and the company's Calvinist backers did not invite the Jews from the Iberian Peninsula to the Netherlands for purely altruistic reasons. The Dutch were after spices, and the Jews with their contacts over the world could act as intermediaries. The warlord princes of Orange-Nassau<sup>2</sup> were habitually short of money. During the seventeenth century, the Dutch Golden Age, the Netherlands fought wars with France, England and Spain while establishing an overseas empire of her own. The Jews supplied money and another commodity – maps. A people who existed as a diaspora and yet maintained close connections across the earth did so by means of rolled up sheets of vellum, parchment, paper and globes.<sup>3</sup>

By the end of the nineteenth century, the gathering of intelligence, spying, had become synonymous with Jews. In France, recovering from a bruising war with the Prussians and the subsequent creation of an Imperial Germany, this became a pathological obsession culminating in the Dreyfus Affair. The anti-Jewish sentiment unleashed by the *cause célèbre* was widespread and hysterical. A diligent 'intelligence officer' on the General Staff finally unearthed evidence that Dreyfus had been framed by his fellow officers.

Dreyfus was guilty of being curious about Intelligence on an almost childish level. He was guilty of being a wealthy Jew in a rising tide of antisemitism. He was innocent of selling secret information to the Germans.

By the time Alfred Dreyfus was acquitted in 1906 he was one of

the most famous people in the world. Newspapers had expended miles of paper first to condemn him and then to defend him. The early film industry on both sides of the Atlantic made features about his imprisonment on Devil's Island and his suffering wife at home. The staunchest supporters of Dreyfus – the writer Emil Zola, Colonel Georges Picquart, the Intelligence Officer who unearthed the evidence of the conspiracy and Georges Clemenceau who became prime minister in 1908 – were not Jewish. Zola and Picquart didn't like Jews and disliked Dreyfus in particular. Clemenceau, on the other hand, was that rare creature, a man who hated injustice.

John Monash and Alfred Dreyfus had both pursued military careers as a way of social advancement. In the case of Monash, experience in a militia was a long-held and cherished tradition in Australia dating to the earliest years of colonial settlement.<sup>4</sup>

Publicly, Monash ignored any jibes relating to his Jewishness. He was always most pleasant to his ardent detractors, the future newspaper mogul Keith Murdoch and the vitriolic war correspondent C.E.W. Bean. Before leaving with the 4th Infantry Brigade AIF for Gallipoli, Monash declared: 'I am, and always shall be, fully conscious of my responsibilities as an Australian soldier, citizen and Jew.'<sup>5</sup> This pride in country and Jewishness is most poignantly described in his letters home to his wife and daughter.<sup>6</sup>

Much is made of Monash's lack of war experience. He did not, for instance, go to the Boer War, citing business reasons. However, Monash had phenomenal engineering experience. He knew how to move men and heavy equipment around efficiently. His experience of Intelligence within the General Staff structure, mapping, surveying, and importantly an encyclopaedic knowledge of history I suggest makes for a formidable military leader.

During the Gallipoli campaign Monash was given a field promotion to brigadier. The British and the Anzacs held their positions with great loss of life until the order was given to evacuate. The evacuation could have been a slaughter. It was Monash who

suggested withdrawing during the night using the diversionary tactic of blowing up Russell's Top, the knoll at the head of Monash Valley which 'We had succeeded in tunnelling under.' Using an explosion offshore to divert the Turks attention, one of Monash's engineering officers 'joined the terminals of an electric battery and thereby fired three enormous gun-cotton mines ... [blowing] up Russell's Top.' Monash wrote:

... a couple of hundred Turks must have gone up in the air, but nothing could be seen except a volcano of dust. Instantly a most terrific tornado of rifle fire and machine-gun fire burst forth ... showing that the Turks, far from suspecting our real manoeuvre, had been expecting an attack of which they took the firing of the mine to be the first signal. Thus, dramatically, with the bullets – aimed at our trenches, high up on the slopes and spurs of the range – whistling overhead, we drew off in the light of the full moon, mercifully screened by a thin mist, and so ended the story of the Anzacs on Gallipoli.

We had succeeded in withdrawing 45,000 men, also mules, guns, stores, provisions and transport valued at several million pounds, without a single casualty, and without allowing the enemy to entertain the slightest suspicion. It was a most brilliant conception, and brilliantly executed, and will, I am sure, rank as the greatest joke – and the greatest feat of arms – in the whole range of military history.<sup>7</sup>

The Gallipoli campaign has come down to us as an unmitigated disaster. The Allies sustained 266,000 casualties of which 46,000 were fatalities, killed in battle or dead from disease. The Allied withdrawal from Gallipoli was a magnificent Intelligence and Logistics success rarely mentioned. Turkish losses are estimated to have been between 250,000 and 400,000. Turkey's military strength never recovered. Gallipoli was the beginning of the end for the Ottomans. Their weakened state had a direct effect on their hold of Palestine. Beersheba fell in November 1917, Jerusalem

in December that year. A Jewish New Zealander, Louis Salek, who served with the AIF, hoisted the Zionist flag from the David Tower the day General Allenby assumed control of Jerusalem.<sup>8</sup>

As for Monash's claim that the Gallipoli withdrawal would go on to rank as the greatest feat of arms in the whole range of military history, that hasn't happened. I recall how difficult it was to withdraw some 5000 soldiers and their associated equipment when we left Vietnam in the period 1969-71. We had the advantage of technology, an air force, a navy, a telephone system and an early computer system. Monash's 45,000 men withdrew under fire, poor communications, with animals and equipment in the space of one night with not a single loss of life.

I began working in Military Intelligence in 1966, at the age of 18. This was not a deliberate career choice. There is a sort of wisdom amongst the people I associated with for nearly 40 years that Intelligence officers are born and then they are made.

My parents and I arrived in Australia in 1959 with enough money to buy a house and a comfortable life in Malvern. My father was the director of a wool export business. Within two years he was dead; the money and house had disappeared. My mother descended into bouts of madness. In her lucid moments mother made a precarious living as a dressmaker and gambler. I supported myself through school by working as a skivvy in the diet kitchen of Prince Henry's Hospital at weekends and holidays. After matriculation I was offered places at both Melbourne and Monash universities, but I needed to make a living. I chose the Australian Public Service.

With about 500 others I sat the competitive Public Service selection test on a scorching Saturday in January 1966. From 9 am to 6 pm we answered exam after exam. At each stage candidates were weeded out, either selected for the Fourth Division of the APS, or told to come back and try another time. About ten of us were left at 6 o'clock. I was the only woman and the first to be interviewed. The chairman of the board offered me a job at the Department of Army. He said: 'You've got the sort of brain we



can use.' I didn't dare ask what sort of brain he meant in case he withdrew the job offer.

I learnt later that the sort of brain these men were after was one that could concentrate for hours at a stretch. One that could memorise easily: indeed, a photographic memory. The sort of brain that is inquisitive, able to search for connections that might not be obvious. Who could learn other languages without difficulty. I was told years later that the 'gentlemen' were impressed that I spoke English without a Dutch accent.

I signed some papers promising to abide by the Public Service Act and went home. Someone was to get in touch with me about when and where I was to report for work. I decided to wait out the summons by returning to Prince Henry's. Early the following Monday, while at work, my mother rang the hospital to say that I had to report to Victoria Barracks in St Kilda Road immediately.

After a short interview with a civilian, forms to sign and the swearing of an oath of fealty, I was told: 'Go down the back. Knock on Log Branch door.' Down the back and around several corners I finally found a door with the legend: LOG BRANCH. SURVEY. DIR RAEME. INTEL.

I picked out the one item I thought I understood – Intel – obviously that referred to intellectuals. I was going to be an Army Intellectual. On another door I noticed a plaque with the motto 'The difficult we do immediately. The impossible may take a little time.' I found that credo most appealing and have followed it ever since.

I knocked on the door of Log Branch (et al) and introduced myself to the person acting as receptionist. A corporal, 'Call me "Corp"', told me he'd received a signal, but that the boss was in Yankee land. 'The 2IC wants you to start work ASAP – there's a flap on. You'll be working with the Maj.' The Corp opened the door to a larger office where there appeared to be hundreds of men in uniform. Legs. Male smells. Cigarette smoke. Noise. Paper. Maps. No women. The Corp said, 'Listen up yous. This is Liz something – something. Dunno how to pronounce it.'

I said, 'I'm never called Liz. And someone said: 'Well you are now, love.'

The 'Maj' was a major who worked in an office across the hall from the main room. He told me to sit opposite him as he read out strings of numbers. I had to check that my copy was correct. On the next page I read out numbers while he checked his copy. After about an hour of this he said, 'I'm going to the heads. If you want to go, yours are around the corner, down the stairs. Key under a brick.'

I followed his directions to what turned out to be the ladies' toilets. Back at the office the Corp screamed at me that I'd left the f... door open. 'You and the Maj are working on a top-secret document – you, stupid bitch.'

I had worked in the Department of Army for an hour and a half. Time to draw a line in the sand, I thought.

'Look here, Corporal,' I said. 'I'm a civilian, but I have rank equivalence to a second lieutenant. Don't you dare speak to me like that. My name is Elisabeth, but I'm willing to compromise on Libby.' The corporal saluted. 'Yes ma'am. Just testing you, ma'am. Welcome to Army Intelligence, ma'am. Keep the door to your office locked, please ma'am. Don't mind the Maj smoking, he goes through three packs a day.'

In the smoke-filled office I shared with the Maj there was a studio photograph of Lieutenant-Colonel John Monash, Army Intelligence Corps, dated 1908. I was struck by the eyes. Wanting to connect with the Major, I asked him if this John Monash was Jewish. 'We don't have kikes in the man's army,' said the Maj.

The Maj was notorious for his two- or three-hour liquid lunches and his long visits to 'the heads'. When he returned from lunch on that first day I told him I was deeply offended by his terminology, and that for the record, I happened to be a Jew. 'Thank God for that,' he said. 'We were afraid you might be a Mick.'

\* \* \*

In that first week I was left to my own devices during the Major's long absences. I discovered the Regimental Library and read

Neville Shute's *A Town Like Alice* (about the fall of Singapore) and anything relating to John Monash.<sup>9</sup> There wasn't much. A booklet about Gallipoli and some stuff about the necessity for accurate surveying. Army Survey Corps had offices in the same wing and they were busy working on maps for Vietnam. By about the third day I began proofreading by myself during the Major's long absences. I looked for disruptions in the 13-digit number sets using hands and eyes. The number set 5305-66-010-5000 occurred over and over.

In the Major's unlocked desk I found a leaflet titled: 'NATO Cataloguing System. INSCALE of ANZAC Brigade Phuoc Thuy Province Vietnam 1965. Classification Secret.' Using the 13-digit North Atlantic Treaty Organisation's cataloguing system we were working with the Royal Australian Electrical and Mechanical Engineers (RAEME) and Survey Corps on the supply of every piece of equipment that was sent to Vietnam. 5305-66-010-5000 is a screw. 5305 tells you it's a screw, 66 the country where it's made – the US, 010-5000 is the identifier of the manufacturer. The NATO project called the Intranet, forerunner of the Internet, adopted those same numbers to identify countries: 66 US, 61 Australia, 31 Netherlands and so on. When you pay your bills online, the payee identifier has been adopted from the method developed by the NATO cataloguing system in the 1950s.

Some days later the regimental sergeant-major, a gentleman covered in magnificent gold braid with a stick under his arm, knocked on the office door. 'I understand you haven't met GOD yet, Miss. GOD wants to see you ASAP.' I followed the RSM to GOD's office. G O D was an acronym for General Officer (commanding) Department.

This god was a brigadier. Tall, dark, handsome, brilliant and lethal if you crossed him. 'Have you heard about Robert Ardrey's *The Territorial Imperative*?' he barked at me. No. 'Here it is. Hot off the press. Drop everything. Read the bloody book. Present a paper (2000 words) to the senior officers of Log Branch end of the week. There will be questions. Dismissed.'

I was beginning to think that choosing not to go to university wasn't such a good idea after all.

The senior officers of Logistics and Supply Branch were half-colonels and above. They were in their forties and fifties. World War Two and Korea veterans. Some had been part of the Occupation Forces of Japan. These senior men listened attentively to the young girl just out of school who told them about Robert Ardrey's *The Territorial Imperative: A Personal Inquiry into the Animal Origins of Property and Nations*.<sup>10</sup> Ardrey's book went on to have a profound influence on Intelligence professionals around the world, particularly the conflicts in Vietnam and Israel, and flow-on to anthropology and the social sciences.

Ardrey shook the prevailing notion that human beings had originated in Asia. Africa was the place. He had observed in the great apes and elephants, a primary instinct to identify a territory and defend it. Indeed, both these species fashion weapons such as sticks and logs to attack and defend. The problem arises when animals or humans claim the same piece of territory and are prepared to fight for it. The value ascribed to a claim over territory may be as primary resource for strategic advantage or it may be emotional or a combination of all those factors.

Robert Ardrey had spent time on a kibbutz and had witnessed the unearthing of an ancient artefact with Hebrew writing. The emotional force that this find had on the kibbutzim whom he had previously observed as hard-bitten and unemotional was profound. My paper on the *The Territorial Imperative* was well received. I had passed a test with flying colours. I came to the attention of senior rankers. I had useful skills even if I couldn't articulate these talents to myself. My mother warned me not to let this attention go to my head.

There were five of us at second lieutenant level. The others were soldiers who wanted to get out to Vietnam. I was the only civilian. The Brig gave us an assignment. Choose an intelligence service and find out all you can about how they do business. MI6, the KGB, CIA were all popular choices. I chose Israeli Intelligence. I

remember the guys ribbing me. 'Waste of time. One of these days the Arabs will wipe 'em out. Who cares anyway. It's all happening in Vietnam.'

When I chose 'Israeli Intelligence' I didn't know there were at least three major services. I had heard of Mossad but not Aman, the directorate of Military Intelligence or Shin Bet, the national/internal Intelligence Arm. The Brig told me to forget about Shin Bet. All I needed to know about them I could learn by studying Isser Harel who had founded Shin Bet and later took over Mossad. He gave me a phone number for a liaison officer in Mossad.

The Brig told me to prepare a cheat sheet before I made the call. With all the hubris of an eighteen-year-old who's allowed a minor success to go to her head and who had not prepared a cheat sheet the call went something like this: 'Good day. I'm ringing from Australian Army Intelligence. I'd like some information about Mossad please. My name's Elisabeth. Oh, I'm Jewish. Sort of. Shalom.' Long pause. 'What would you like to know, Miss Elisabeth?' 'Um. Everything.' Long pause. 'Um. Almost everything.' 'We'll see what we can do.'

As I was putting the phone down I noticed the brigadier at the office door. Still holding the phone, I muttered to myself: 'Oh F..., GOD's watching me.' The guffaws from Israel were very loud. Five minutes later the RSM walked into my office and told me to follow him to the Brig's office. The Brig was laughing, talking to somebody in competent Hebrew, feet on the desk. This will be all right, I thought. He put the phone down slowly. Then the yelling. 'When you make a phone call from this department you represent not only the Australian Army Intelligence unit but the Commonwealth Government of Australia. You're going to Staff College. Don't return unless you top every exam. F... dismissed.'

Staff College was in Queenscliff. I loved it. Loved learning about military law. One of the lecturers was an officer in the Survey Corps, who related how in Vietnam his men were working on maps to give to Infantry and Artillery with a lead time of about 24 hours, if they were lucky.<sup>11</sup> I complained to this captain

that I had probably made the wrong choice in selecting Israel as a country to be interested in. He said, 'You've done the right thing. It's going to blow up there soon. Make sure you know more than anyone else.'

When I returned to Victoria Barracks there was a parcel from Israel waiting for me – sent via diplomatic bag with a lot of useful information and some touristy stuff. A few days later there was another bag, with some more useful stuff and a little note asking if in return I could tell my new friends how the NATO cataloguing system worked. The NATO cataloguing system is the management interface between the Defence Services of each country and industry. You can buy as many jeeps, tanks, missiles as you want. If one of these things breaks down and you haven't got the spare parts to fix them, you're cooked. Israel was tooling up.

In the Australian Army repair parts were the responsibility of RAEME, the Royal Australian Electrical and Mechanical Engineers. Until the 1960s the Israelis had spent a lot of money buying defence equipment but very little maintaining it. For the next twelve months part of my job was to liaise between RAEME and similar units in the IDF. I also used this time to find out more about Sir John Monash and his influence on the way Australia conducts her Intelligence business.

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John Monash was promoted to major-general and commander-in-chief of the Australian Army Corps on the Western Front. He achieved the impossible in military terms by successfully integrating infantry, armour, artillery and airpower. Forces that had traditionally fought in separate ways. To put this in context, he offered an engineer's answer to a problem that had been bedeviling war craft for centuries.

At war's end in 1918, the now Lieutenant-General Sir John Monash was fêted by Anglo-Jewish families such as the Rothschilds and the Montefiores. There were speculations in the British press that if the 1917 Balfour Declaration were to result in a homeland for the Jews, then Monash would be appointed

governor-general or perhaps military governor of Palestine.

Monash would have none of it. The League of Nations ratified the Balfour Declaration in 1923 and declared Palestine a British protectorate. Australia was a founding member of the League. An important achievement for this young country and a recognition of the part we had played in winning the Great War.

In 1927 Monash became national president of the Australian Zionist Federation. He did so 'on the understanding that he could give no time at all and would be a figure-head'. He refused 'to be associated with any action of any body of British citizens which seeks to express publicly any sentiments critical of, or hostile to, the British authorities'.<sup>12</sup> Monash chose to give more time and effort to the veterans who came home in 1918, physically and mentally damaged. By 1937, six years after his death, there were still 170,000 veterans who were considered permanent invalids.

In 1939 Australia had a permanent Army of 3000 and 80,000 militiamen – reservists. A worse position than we had been in at the beginning of World War One. Once more we exited a war with a generation lost. Once more our troops served in Palestine and all the theatres of the Middle East.

The Australian Parliament didn't move from Melbourne to Canberra until 1927. The World War Two generation of politicians such as Chifley, Doc Evatt and Menzies had all known Monash. Lieutenant-General Sir Thomas Blamey had served on Monash's staff from Gallipoli onwards. Lieutenant-Colonel Maurice Ashkanasy, who led a daring escape as Singapore fell, had also served on Monash's staff. There was a Monash way of doing things. Make your small army as efficient as possible. Deploy to advantage. Respect Intelligence and those who gather it. And if all fails, have a laugh.

Herbert Vere Evatt, known affectionately and sometimes disparagingly as 'Doc' Evatt, like Monash was a polymath and distinguished in many fields. He was Minister for External Affairs from 1941 to 1949 and sat on all the peace conferences at war's end. During the war Evatt had travelled to London and Washington



begging for arms for Australians in the Pacific theatre. Doc Evatt was a man the international community respected and trusted. He headed the first Australian United Nations delegation and became president of the UN in 1948.

In 1947 the UN General Assembly voted to create the United Nations Special Committee on Palestine (UNSCOP). Australia was one of 11 members on that committee. The others were Canada, Czechoslovakia, Guatemala, India, Iran, Netherlands, Peru, Sweden, Uruguay and Yugoslavia.

In August 1947 UNSCOP released its report. A unanimous recommendation was that the British Mandate be terminated forthwith. A majority report recommending the partition of Palestine between Arab and Jewish states, functioning under an economic union with Jerusalem as an international city (*corpus separatum*) under UN administration. A minority report recommending a federal state on the territory of Palestine. Australia abstained from voting on both positions.

In November 1947 Australia reconsidered and supported the partition plan. Prime Minister Chifley stated to Parliament: 'Having considered all the reasons for and against partition [we] decided that [this] was the best course to follow. It was not a matter of choosing between the bad and the good, but of choosing the least of a number of evils.'<sup>13</sup>

Israel declared independence on 14 May 1948 and was soon embroiled in the first Arab-Israeli war. Australia was one of the first countries formally to recognise the State of Israel.

For Australia there were two core issues. First, the fate of the persons displaced by the fighting; second, recognition of the State of Israel and that country's application to the membership of the UN.<sup>14</sup>

On 11 May 1949 the UNGA passed Resolution 273 admitting Israel into the UN. Doc Evatt, serving as President of the General Assembly, welcomed the Israeli delegation as follows: 'I look forward to the time when the wounds of the people of the Middle East will be healed, when we shall find friendships and,

indeed comradeship among these peoples.<sup>15</sup>

\* \* \*

During the night of 5 June 1967 the Brigadier rang me at home. 'I've sent a car for you. It's on.' We had radio, short-wave and traditional. Some television coverage. For the next week we followed the Six Day War with maps, making notes, preparing military situation reports (SitReps) as news came in. MI6 had people on the ground; we received some info from them. Owing to Australia's support of the United States in Vietnam, we were briefed by the CIA.

I know that for some people any mention of the CIA is anathema. However, the CIA library, the archives, the index of declassified documents, and the access to presidential libraries is the best in the world. The Centre for the Study for the Study of Intelligence accepts submissions of articles from anyone and will publish subject to peer review. The CIA's continual self-scrutiny is unique among Intelligence Communities. The CIA had employed top Israeli and Arabist experts since the agency's inception in 1951. Within the last ten years many of the documents relating to the 1967 Six Day War and the 1973 Arab-Israeli (Yom Kippur) War have been made available. In preparation for this essay and the 2018 Leo Baeck lecture that preceded it I was granted access to some 3000 pages and an exhaustive list of further references.

Below are some of the CIA's running notes relating to the Six Day War that readers might find interesting.

\* June 1966. LBJ appointment of Richard Helms as DCI (director of central intelligence). Agency assessment: LBJ not yet convinced that intelligence can advance his policies. LBJ annoyed at the agency's negativism about Vietnam.

\* 23 May 1967 – the day after Egypt closed the Gulf of Aqaba LBJ summons Helms. Tasks him with providing an assessment of the volatile ME situation. Four hours later, to LBJ's surprise, Helms delivered a SITREP US knowledge of Egyptian alert and an Assessment: 'Overall Arab and Israeli Military Capabilities'.

Note: Helms had established a (DI) Arab-Israeli task force

months earlier which produced two SitReps every day. The OCI (Office of Current Intelligence) had kept a running log of the two sides state of readiness.

\* Helms's Assessment: Israel could 'defend successfully against simultaneous Arab attacks on all fronts ... or hold on any three fronts while mounting successfully a major offensive on the fourth.'

\* 25 May. Tel Aviv muddles clear intelligence by submitting to Washington a Mossad estimate claiming that the Israeli military was badly outgunned by a Soviet-backed Arab war machine.

\* Helms orders an Estimate of the Mossad assessment. 'We do not believe that the Israeli appreciation was a serious estimate of the sort they would submit to their own high officials. It is probably a gambit intended to influence the US to provide military supplies ... Moscow probably could not openly help the Arabs because of lack of capability and probably would not because for fear of confrontation with the US.'

Observation (EH): Helms put his career on the line with that assessment. President Johnson declined to airlift military supplies to Israel or even publicly support it.

\* 1 June. Helms meets with an Israeli official (my emphasis) and the Israeli ambassador. The official hinted that Israel could no longer avoid a decision (a pre-emptive strike).

\* 2 June. The Israeli official and the ambassador abruptly leave the US. Helms writes an EYES-ONLY letter to LBJ: The war will begin within a few days.

The name of the Israeli official is not redacted. It simply is not given. To me, this suggests somebody within the Israeli government. The Foreign Minister, Abba Eban, is mentioned by name in the previous para. Thus, not him. Levi Eshkol, the Prime Minister and Minister of Defence didn't leave the country. Ditto Moshe Dayan. Golda Meir had retired in 1966 due to ill health, but she returned to public life after a break. I believe the official was Meir.

\* 10 June. As Israeli victory appeared imminent the White House received a message over the 'hot line' from Soviet premier

Alexei Kosygin. The Kremlin foresaw a 'grave catastrophe' and threatened to take military actions ... if the Israelis did not halt their advance across the Golan Heights. Robert McNamara, Secretary of Defense (sic), endorsed by Helms, recommends dispatching the US Sixth Fleet to the Eastern Mediterranean. 'A move intended to convey American resolve without backing the Soviets into a corner.' DCI Helms predicted that 'Russian submarines monitoring the fleet's movement would immediately change course.' (They did.)

\* 10 June. Uneasy peace restored to the region.<sup>16</sup>

On 29 June Sir Laurence McIntyre, Australia's permanent representative to the UN, stated: 'Israel should adopt a reasonable approach to any question of boundaries; and equally that on the part of the Arab States there should be a reasonable attitude on existence of Israel's existence as a State and of its right to exist in security.'<sup>17</sup>

Later that year, the UN passed United Nations Security Council Resolution 242. Generally referred to among Intelligence Officers as 'Everybody be Nice'.

I remember thinking at the end of the 1967 Six Day War, 'I feel adult now'. Things were hotting up in Vietnam and I turned my attention away from Israel. I didn't swing back until 1973. To me, the 1967 Six Day War, 1968 in Vietnam and the 1973 Arab-Israeli War are related. They are the last of the old wars and the beginning of a new era where you can win a war but lose the peace.

1968 was an *annus horribilis*. In late 1967, the Americans, their important allies the Philippines and South Korea, noticed big North Vietnamese Army (NVA) troop build-ups. The Australian mission was to establish and maintain control over Phuoc Thuy Province. We were at one brigade strength. The second brigade was not due to arrive until the middle of 1968.

On 30 January the North Vietnamese and the southern-based Viet Cong launched the Tet Offensive. On 31 January the Viet Cong entered Hue, the imperial capital. Over the next four weeks some 6000 residents, mostly public servants and their families,

were rounded up, tortured and executed. Women and children suffered terribly.

Every day I received reports from Command Headquarters in Saigon. There were written reports, photographs, recordings of the incidents. It was my job to write a daily SitRep and condense into a page or so suitable words that were distributed to the senior staff and up the chain to the politicians.

I reserve a special cold place in my heart for the Viet Cong. Criminals, some of them, recruited from the Triads, who thought nothing of blowing up buses filled with women and children to make a point. The VC had no central organisation, no command structure. They were nominally under the control of North Vietnam. In fact, the North couldn't control the VC at all.

The North and South had signed a treaty declaring Hue, the imperial city, off-limits. It was sacred to both sides. Not to the VC. Their killing spree was ended by US Infantry and Marines. The VC were routed and decimated. Some of their survivors joined the Khmer Rouge in Laos and Cambodia. The VC were subsequently disowned by the North.

The following observations are from my own notes of that time.

\* 21st January to 9th July at the Khe Sanh Combat Base, two regiments of US Marines held off three Divisions of the North Vietnamese Army. Unable to gain the position the NVA melted away.

\* February 3rd to 9th Australian soldiers of C Company Seventh Battalion, Royal Australian Regiment (7RAR) fought a battle against Northern Regulars and VC that came to be known as Operation Coburg. Despite being seriously outmanned and outgunned C Company Seventh Battalion prevailed.

\* March 16th My Lai massacre. Lt William Calley and his platoon were halted in their killing spree by Pilot/Warrant Officer Hugh Thompson and his gunner Lawrence Colburn. These young helicopter pilots came across the 'incident' and turned their guns on their own men. Technically an act of treason. Thompson and

Colburn were finally recognised as heroes during the Obama Administration.

\* April 4th Dr Martin Luther King Jr assassinated. American Reform Jews had supported Dr King throughout the Civil Rights Movement. Rabbi Joshua Abraham Heschel, although not Reform, was one of those often seen in the front lines with Doctor King. Washington ordered the Negro Troops (sic) in Vietnam to stand down. Hand in their arms. The order was countermanded by General Westmoreland who personally attended Negro mourning parades for Martin Luther King.

\* On 5 June, one year to day since the beginning of the Six Day War, Robert Kennedy was assassinated by Sirhan Sirhan. At his trial, the Palestinian, who had Jordanian citizenship, said he was opposed to Kennedy and his support for Israel. Sirhan Sirhan is still in prison.

At the end of July 1968, it was clear that the allied forces in Vietnam had won the war. The North had been pushed back beyond the DMZ, the VC had been eliminated. The Australian mission – to maintain control of Phuoc Thuy – had been successful. Accordingly, Australia set in place procedure for the gradual withdrawal from Vietnam. As part of that operation military assets, the hardware, was given to Singapore. I was involved in that project from 1969 to its completion in 1972.

By the time Richard Nixon was elected President on the first Tuesday in November of 1968 it was obvious that despite winning every engagement with the NVA and VC, despite pushing the NVA back beyond the DMZ, despite the North disowning the VC; public perception in the US and around the world was that the Allies had lost the war. In some quarters the VC were hailed as heroes. Battles such as Khe Sanh, a clear victory, became defeats. In Australia, until recently, operations Coburg and Balmoral were hardly mentioned. My Lai has become synonymous with atrocity but not Hue.

We had won the war and lost the peace. To this day I believe opponents of Israel took careful note.

From 1970 onwards the McMahon and then Whitlam governments decided to amalgamate the three services of Army, Navy and Air Force into an Australian Defence Force under an umbrella organisation called Department of Defence. One of the decisions made at this time was to ditch our ancient Centurion tanks and look for new ones. You wouldn't think buying a new tank would have any relationship to Israel. But it did. It also affected my career.

The three tanks in contention were British, American and the German Leopard. The Leopard was considered too light as it was only 42 tons. The Leopard was fast and suited to European conditions such as snow and cross-country terrain. Army considered the Leopard unsuitable for the jungle or desert theatres that we seemed to get ourselves involved in. The documentation for repair parts was in German and would need a huge translating effort. The Leopard was the cheapest of the three tanks in contention but hideously expensive to maintain. To the dismay of Army, the incoming Whitlam Government decided that what we needed was 101 German Leopard tanks.

Early 1973 it was decided to send an Army team comprising RAEME, Intelligence and Ordnance to Germany. I spoke German. I assumed I would be going to Deutschland. Nope. The only German speaker in Logistics Branch was not invited to the party.

I held the rank equivalence of a major at that time. The Brigadier nominated me to sit in his chair. 'Nothing's going to happen, my dear.' The team expected to be away for eight weeks. They left late August 1973.

With the skeleton staff remaining, a captain and three green lieutenants, I decided to clean up the department. Archive all our Vietnam stuff and the Singapore project. As I was sitting in the brigadier's chair I received briefings/SitReps/Estimates from all over the world. You read, you sign, pass it on to someone else who might be interested, eventually it's filed for posterity. I had the right to ask for confirmation. Ask for more details.



An eyes-only minute came to us from the Department of Foreign Affairs via the CIA. Three Syrian Infantry Divisions in position on the Golan Heights. Israel confirms as training exercises. Large Egyptian troop movements, possibly 2nd and 3rd Army Egypt reported in vicinity of the canal. Israel confirms training exercise. DCI (CIA) not concerned.

I tend to get interested when 300,000 troops are sitting on my borders. I knew that Sadat's forces had played possum earlier in the year, but that had been with Divisions, not armies. There is a chain of command. I took the eyes-only minute and a couple of maps to the officer above my brigadier, GOC Southern Command. I rang the brigadier in Germany, who said he was having a lovely time. The advice all round was: Don't worry. Write a little note to Canberra. Tell Barnard (Minister for Defence) you've got a little bit of expertise in this area. They won't listen to you, but what the ... you'll have covered your backside in case anything goes down. Anyway, Israel will win.

I rang my 'mates' in Israel who also said – don't worry. A female agent at the CIA raised an all points alarm based on Intel she was receiving from agents 'in country'. Unfortunately, the excellent Richard Helms had left the CIA. He'd been replaced by James Schlesinger and then William Colby who was up to his eyeballs in the Watergate Affair.

The Honourable Lance Barnard was our Minister for Defence, deputy PM, Minister for the Army, Navy and Air. And Supply. I wrote to him. I received acknowledgment that my minute had been received. Other than that, nothing. America was in the grip of the Watergate scandal. Secretary of State Henry Kissinger was reported to be handling a lot of US intelligence all by himself – sidelining the CIA. Our Whitlam Government was all over the place.

On 5 October 1973 King Hussein of Jordan visited Israeli PM Golda Meir and warned her of an imminent attack from Syria. A lieutenant in the IDF gave his brigadier photographs and front-line evidence of the massing of troops around the Canal.

Mossad had an agent in Cairo, the son-in-law of former Egyptian leader Nasser. He supplied mixed Intel but finally gave notice of an imminent attack. He was ten hours out. Opinion is still divided as to whether code name Angel was a double agent. I note that Angel died in unusual circumstances in London some years ago.

On 6 October, Yom Kippur, the armies of Egypt and Syria attacked Israel. Unfortunately for the Jordanians, who wanted no part of another war, they had no choice but to join with their allies.

Lance Barnard rang me and invited me to come to Canberra 'in the next few days' to brief him and the PM. The brigadier and one half-colonel arrived home from Germany just in time to collect all my briefing notes and files so that they could brief the Minister of Defence and PM Whitlam. A concrete ceiling had descended over my career. It was time to move on to other areas of the Defence Department. I became a psychologist and used those skills in other Intelligence spheres.

1973 was an Intelligence failure on Israel's part. Not that the intelligence wasn't available. It was. The intelligence was ignored by a cocksure Israeli military machine at war with its external agency – Mossad, a below average DCI in William Colby at the CIA and a world-wide intelligence shortage. Vietnam left us with a long legacy where young people didn't want anything to do with intelligence or military careers.

The 1973 Yom Kippur War was a decisive victory for Israel, but it was hard-won. Jordan suffered the loss of her air force and territory in a war it wanted no part of. To Israel and Jordan's credit both countries have managed to forge a long-lasting fruitful relationship. Israel won the war but lost the peace. Worldwide, sympathy has been for the Palestinians. This seems to be gathering an unhealthy pace in recent times.

Successive Australian governments, beginning with the Whitlam government, have watered down the original statements of support for Israel uttered by Chifley and Evatt in the 1940s.

Sir Laurence McIntyre, our representative at the UN, said in 1974:

‘We have listened to the chairman of the of the Palestinian Liberation Organisation, Mr Arafat, and have heard that the PLO, as supported by the heads of State, of all Arab Governments, represents Palestinians and all their aspirations. Whatever reservation we have about methods employed in asserting these rights to self-determination and a recognised place in their original homeland – there is clearly ... a new confidence in their rights to self determination and independence within a Palestinian state of their own.’<sup>18</sup>

Many times, since 1973, the Middle East has been on the cusp of what could have been peace. Camp David under President Jimmy Carter, the Oslo Accords I and II all failed. Yitzhak Rabin’s assassination in 1995 by a Jewish extremist destroyed another chance. The collapse of the Camp David Summit in 2000 where Arafat was promised everything he could possibly have wanted by Ehud Barak is inexplicable and tragic. Shortly thereafter the events of 11 September 2001, resulted in a further destabilisation of the Middle East that continues to accelerate rather than deflate.

And then I remember Northern Ireland in the 1990s. The IRA were never going to give up. The Protestant/Ulster factions were never going to come to the table. By the late 1990s the leaders of both sides were ageing and war weary. At this opportune moment outside forces managed to bring the parties together. After nearly a century peace did break out and continues to hold.

These days I pore over maps of the Middle East from the mountaintop where I live in grumpy retirement. I remain an ardent admirer of John Monash. A proud Australian Jew.

Robert Ardrey’s book *The Territorial Imperative* has been rediscovered. Richard Dawkins for one hails it as a masterpiece, an insight into international relations that everyone should read.

## Endnotes

1. This paper is adapted from the Leo Baeck Lecture presented by the author in March 2018 at the Leo Baeck Centre, Kew East, Melbourne.
2. Disclosure: the author is a Nassauer.
3. Simon Schama is excellent on this period. See his *Belonging: The Story of the Jews 1492-1900*, London, Penguin Random House, 2017.
4. See for instance, Mark Dapin's *Jewish Anzacs: Jews in the Australian Military*, Sydney, New South Publishing, 2017.
5. *Ibid.*, p. 59.
6. F.M. Cutlack, *John Monash: War Letters of General Monash*, Sydney, Angus and Robertson, 1934, repr. Black Inc, Melbourne 2015.
7. *Ibid.*, pp. 102-3.
8. Dapin, *Jewish Anzacs*, p. 117.
9. E.W.O. Perry, 'The Military Life of General Sir John Monash', *Victorian Historical Magazine*, December 1957, pp. 25-42.
10. Robert Ardrey, *The Territorial Imperative: A Personal Inquiry into the Animal Origins of Property and Nations*, New York, Athenaeum, 1966.
11. John Bullen and Paul Ham, *Captain Bullen's War, The Vietnam War Diary of Captain John Bullen*, Sydney, Harper Collins, 2009.
12. Geoffrey Serle, *John Monash A Biography*, Melbourne, MUP, 1982, p. 489.
13. Parliamentary Library/Pubs, Foreign Affairs and Security Section, Australia and the Middle East Conflict (1947-2007), p. 2.
14. *Ibid.*
15. *Ibid.*, p. 3.
16. CIA Library, Center for the Study of Intelligence, CSI files, Arab/Israeli War. (No page numbers given for this section. These docs in the author's possession may be inspected.)
17. Parliamentary Library/Pubs, Foreign Affairs and Security Section, Australia and the Middle East Conflict (1947-2007), p. 5
18. *Ibid.*, p. 32.

## BOOK REVIEWS

### ACROSS THE BLACK SEA IN PURSUIT OF SOCIAL JUSTICE: A MEMOIR

*By Malvina Malinek*

*Edited by Karen Klein*

*n.p., The Author, 2018, xi, 192 pp., illus.*

*ISBN: 978-0-64827400-0-1 (paperback)*

Malvina Malinek (née Schwartz) has for many decades been a prominent figure on the Australian Jewish communal stage and beyond it. Although, oddly for a memoir, the author's precise date of birth is not given in this book, we deduce that it was early in 1937. An only child, she was born in Botosani, Romania to middle-class parents who brought her to Melbourne in 1949. She became a research scientist, and a leader of the National Council of Jewish Women (NCJW). She takes us through the NCJW's achievements – its sterling efforts to alleviate the plight of *agunot* must attract the praise of all – and points to the work that remains to be done in the interests of gender equality in the Jewish world.

It is satisfying to note, in Mrs Malinek's interesting reflections, that she does not, as do many feminists, allow political correctness to muzzle her. She thus candidly mentions (pages 168-69) the problem of domestic violence in the Aboriginal and some immigrant communities, as well as (page 160) the menace of Islamic antisemitism in this country. At a time when some sections of the women's movement insist that anti-Zionism must be the default feminist stance (go figure!), her continuing devotion to Israel is explicitly stated.

Attractively produced and lavishly illustrated, the book is let down by lapses in editing that has left stylistic idiosyncrasies and anomalies in the spelling of certain personal names uncaught, and resulted in the inexplicable device of suddenly indenting random passages and putting them in bold font (they are not quotations).

It is typical of the author that proceeds from the book's sale will benefit various organisations with which she has been associated. Mrs Malinek's prose is workmanlike rather than elegant. But she writes to be read, and this book is a welcome addition to Australian Jewish historiography. She is to be congratulated for telling her story. Hopefully, other active participants in Australian-Jewish communal affairs will follow her example.

Hilary L. Rubinstein

#### DUNERA LIVES

#### VOLUME ONE: A VISUAL HISTORY

*By Ken Inglis, Seumas Spark and Jay Winter, with Carol Bunyan Clayton, Vic.: Monash University Publishing, 2018, xxvi, 550 pp., appendices, plates (many col.)*

ISBN: 978-1-925495-49-2 (paperback), 978-1-925495-50-8 (PDF)  
978-1-925495-52-9 (ebook)

In July 1940, fearing an imminent invasion by Nazi Germany, the British government deported thousands of 'enemy aliens', former residents of Germany, Austria and Italy, overseas. These 'enemy aliens' were mainly German and Austrian Jews, who would, of course, have been the last people in Britain to have welcomed a Nazi invasion. On 10 July 1940, 2542 such detainees, among them 2036 Jewish and non-Jewish anti-Nazi refugees (as well as 100 Italians and 251 German prisoners of war), were sent to Australia on board the HMT *Dunera*, a former passenger liner, manned by a British crew that included 309 poorly trained guards. The voyage, which took nearly two months, was notoriously horrible, the ship holding twice as many people as it was meant to, and the

internees repeatedly subject to illegal and degrading behaviour and to the theft of their belongings. Then sent to Hay, Tatura or Orange in New South Wales, they received markedly better treatment from their Australian guards.

The *Dunera* saga has, of course, become famous and indeed iconic in Australia. The voyage brought dozens of future cultural and communal luminaries here, while the positive treatment they received here has been repeatedly contrasted with their brutal treatment by the British. *Dunera Lives*, written by several eminent historians, among them the late Professor Ken Inglis, is the latest among many books, as well as a television series, to focus on the voyage. Extremely well-produced, it contains useful essays on the affair, but also hundreds of high quality paintings and photographs by and about the internees and the voyage, few of which have been published before. It should be required reading for anyone interested in Australian Jewish history or in the history of Britain or Australia during the Second World War.

Although obviously an idiotic blunder – it was later described by Winston Churchill as a ‘deplorable and regrettable mistake’ – several things might be said in mitigation of this matter. Had Britain indeed been invaded and occupied by the Nazis, in the absence of deportation every Jew and anti-Nazi on the *Dunera* would have been killed. In Australia, they were also spared the Blitz, in which 67,000 British civilians, among them hundreds of Jews in the East End, were killed. While Churchill is repeatedly blamed for the debacle, it was actually carried out by Home Secretary Sir John Anderson, a career civil servant and colonial governor. The British government, realising surprisingly quickly that it had tragically blundered, apologised, paid compensation to the internees, and court-martialled many of the worst offenders among the crew.

Moreover, the *Dunera* internees consisted of non-naturalised male former citizens of Germany, Austria and Italy aged between 16 and 60; women were exempted, as was any Jewish refugee who had already been naturalised as a British subject, among



them thousands of Jewish refugees who had arrived in the UK after 1933 and had become citizens. Virtually every democracy interned large numbers of 'enemy aliens' during World War Two, a point too often overlooked. Australia interned about 7000 residents, among them about 3000 Italians, few of whom had any links to Mussolini, and 1500 British nationals deemed to be security risks. After Pearl Harbor, the United States notoriously interned more than 110,000 persons of Japanese descent living on the Pacific coast in primitive camps in remote areas, their captivity lasting until January 1945. This was ordered by President Franklin Roosevelt and carried out in California by that state's attorney-general, Earl Warren, later known as the ultra-liberal Chief Justice of the US. Supreme Court. Democracies react like this in wartime.

William D. Rubinstein

DRIFTWOOD: ESCAPE AND SURVIVAL THROUGH ART

*By Eva de Jong-Duldig*

*North Melbourne: Arcadia, 2017. 417pp., illus., genealogical tables, index.*

ISBN: 978-1-925588-04-0

Eva de Jong-Duldig is probably the greatest Australian Jewish tennis player, having successfully competed at Wimbledon for three years, reaching the quarter-finals of the ladies' doubles three times. She won the Dutch National Championship in 1962 (her husband is Dutch), and was awarded the title of Australian Jewish Sportswoman of the Year three times. Her life story is thus of considerable interest in itself, but is also of great interest as the daughter of refugees from Nazism.

She was born in Vienna, where her father, the eminent sculptor Karl Duldig (1902-86), was a sportsman of great ability, excelling in soccer, tennis, and table tennis (of which he was Austrian national champion in 1923). Her mother Slawa, née Horowitz

(1901-75), was equally remarkable, a painter and designer who invented and patented – of all things – the folding umbrella, the royalties from which were stolen by the Nazis. Both before and after their arrival in Australia, Karl Duldig's gifts as a sculptor were internationally recognised. He served as president of the Association of Sculptors of Victoria.

Their daughter's extremely well-written, well-produced, well-illustrated autobiography *Driftwood* is, however, primarily a story of her family's enforced migration from Vienna to Switzerland to Singapore and then, in 1940, their deportation to the Tatura camp in Victoria as 'enemy aliens', followed by their integration, adaptation, and success in post-war Melbourne. I have read many similar autobiographies of Holocaust-era migrants to Australia, and this is certainly one of the best, gripping, cogent and lucid, and produced with many informative documents and photographs. As was so often the case, their migration to Australia may be seen in retrospect as a stroke of good fortune, and as a tribute to Australian society as well as to the migrants themselves.

William D. Rubinstein

## BEYOND SURVIVAL: A HOLOCAUST MEMOIR

*By Kenneth Arkwright*

*Melbourne: Hybrid Publishers, 2018. 194 pp., illus.*

*ISBN 9781925272949; 9781925283457 (ebook)*

Kenneth Arkwright was born Klaus Aufrichtig in Breslau, Germany in 1929. His father was a successful shoe retailer, and his family was well off. All this changed with the rise of the Nazi regime in 1933; for the next 12 years his life, and the lives of his family and most of his family's friends and associates, became hellish. Many perished in the Holocaust.

An only child, Kenneth Arkwright – he changed his name after emigrating to Western Australia – managed to survive, as well, most remarkably, as his mother and father. He was less than

five years old when Hitler came to power, and only 16 when Nazi Germany surrendered.

Although hundreds of autobiographies of Holocaust survivors have been written, *Beyond Survival* stands out as exceptional, and it ought to be read by anyone with an interest in this nadir of the human experience. Arkwright is a very intelligent man and observer, writes extremely well, and manages to remain a cogent narrator about experiences which many would shrink from describing, or be unable to.

Arkwright's book was originally published in German in Germany, and made a strong impression there, in part because, despite all that he went through, he remains generally optimistic about the human capability for good as well as for evil. Hybrid Publishers deserves praise for making his work available in English.

From the standpoint of our *Journal*, the last part of Arkwright's book describes his emigration to Perth, Western Australia, in 1950, and clearly and intelligently describes both the deficiencies of emigrating to Australia at that time, and especially to Perth, then comprised almost exclusively of Australians of British descent, as well as the advantages of his new life in an English-speaking democracy. He says little or nothing about his life in Perth since arriving, and it is worth noting that he became a successful retailer there, was one of the founders and mainstays of Temple David, Perth's progressive synagogue, married and had a family. He received an OAM for his services to retailing and to the Jewish community. Today aged nearly 90, his life has been an inspirational lesson in the triumph of good over evil.

William D. Rubinstein

## BELLA AND CHAIM

*By Sara Vidal**Melbourne: Hybrid Publishers, 2018. 194 pp., illus.**ISBN 9781925272659; 9781925281453 (ebook)*

The subtitle of this fine memoir is 'The story of beauty and life'. It is a remarkably affirmative title for a Holocaust and post-Holocaust narrative whose sometimes lyrical descriptions of pre-war life in Warsaw and post-war life in Australia are interspersed with the horrors of the Warsaw Ghetto and genocide, including the death of most of the author's parents' relatives.

Consider this lyrical description of pre-war Warsaw, seen through the eyes of Sarah Vidal's mother, Basia (referred to as Bella in the book's title), as a girl:

Untouched by accounts of pogroms in the countryside, Basia enjoys boundless love for her city. She takes sustenance and pleasure in the felicity of all manner of outings. A walk along the boulevards, visits to shops, cafés, the Yiddish theatres, crammed in a tram zipping across the city to visit a friend or an excursion to the zoo. Everywhere one mingles with people of many nations and walks of life while immersing one's senses in aromas and colours. Closer to home, it is a delight to park oneself on a sunny park bench in the Jewish sector of the Krasiński Gardens [page 20]

The passage modulates skillfully between the author's point of view ('she') and that of the mother ('one'), and that blurring of boundaries between the two perspectives reflects the way Holocaust experience crosses generations.

There are perhaps two principal forms of affirmation in the face of great human tragedy: blinkered affirmation, where the person who affirms life refuses to acknowledge its dark side, and wise affirmation, where someone does indeed acknowledge the dark side but makes a profound moral, spiritual, emotional and intellectual commitment to affirm the value of life despite

the undeniable presence in the world of evil, waste and atrocious suffering. *Bella and Chaim*, a book in which the word 'gratitude' occurs on many occasions, is affirmative in just this wise way.

In the spirit of the German philosopher Friedrich Nietzsche, one of Vidal's intellectual heroes, she enjoins the reader in these words: 'Love it or not – choose life' (page 159). The very writing of a book like this, however painful and confronting it must at times be, is itself a way of choosing life: choosing to put the facts – dark, light, and all shades in between – on record for the family and for posterity. It also involves choosing to use the power of the pen to summon a vanished world and relatives and others who vanished with it. Writers like Sara Vidal are among other things shamans who speak to and call up the dead, rescuing them from oblivion, restoring to them the dignity of existence. Vidal often uses the word 'yearning' to describe the overwhelming need she feels for connection with murdered relatives she never met, and some of the most moving passages in the book are those in which her prose of yearning and summoning frame photographs of these murdered souls, taking us into their presence as she knows of it from the stories of others, or simply as she imagines it.

Writers who embark on narratives such as this have to perform a sort of emotional balancing act, weighing their own needs to tell it as it was, shed some of their burden of trauma, and express outrage against the needs of their intended readers, often above all their children, grandchildren, and generations to come. Many of these writers feel a moral imperative to pen pages that can sustain faith, not just ones that report horrors that could destroy the optimism of younger and coming generations. Vidal tells us that she began this project in 1992 – 26 years ago! – and its long gestation presumably reflects a determination to get things into the most livable balance wise reflection will allow, to sift through the vast complexities of the world as she has found it, and to refrain from dogmatic and unthinkingly conventional statements that might compound the intolerance, the regimented and unbalanced thinking, that lie at the root of the Holocaust and

other catastrophes. She writes that:

Only man seeks to create identical, inflexible, indelible entities and concepts: Rows of Barracks, Banks of Ovens, Synchronised Goosesteps, Rules and Rituals ... containers of toxic waste – our gift to the future [pages 189-90]

Vidal's response to this kind of toxic thinking is to write in a way that refuses to obey conventional grids of thought and feeling and thus tries to bequeath a different kind of 'gift to the future'. The book looks very unusual on the page: it employs of a variety of fonts and different degrees of spacing between lines; some informational passages appear in boxes, other material in conventional paragraphs; the typeface is sometimes in bold, sometimes not, sometimes in italics; on occasion very short chapters are interleaved between much longer ones; the reader encounters quotations from myriad sources, prefacing or threading their way through various parts of the text; and particularly in some chapter titles, qualifiers appear within parentheses to highlight ambiguity, as in *Sapere Aude* and *(Un)reason* (page 59). To read this book is to feel that things are coming at you from all directions, that there is a tremendous onrush of life on the page.

The feeling of life-force on the page reflects the sorts of qualities that the book celebrates qualities such as resilience and indomitability. In *Bella and Chaim* what you see is what you get, and what you get is what you see. Writing of this kind is not without precedent, but it's clear that Sara Vidal is familiar with certain avant-garde literary and philosophical modes. It is not therefore surprising to find among her Acknowledgments reference to three courses she took at the University of Melbourne in what is called Critical Theory, a tradition in which Nietzsche is a major figure. Like him, Vidal writes with transgressive gusto; and some of the writing techniques she employs, for instance the already-noted use of qualifiers within parentheses, have been used by 'postmodernists', writers and thinkers deeply influenced by Nietzsche. It is no accident that Vidal makes reference to a book about the French philosopher Jacques Derrida, one of the doyens of postmodernism.

However, here as in so many other respects, Vidal seeks balance. She refers not only to philosophers in this tradition but also to major thinkers in rationalist-Enlightenment traditions. A good example here is her allusion to a famous passage in the writings of Emmanuel Kant in which the philosopher poses the question whether it is acceptable to lie about the whereabouts of someone if telling the truth about them would result in their murder. What an incredibly apt moral problem to pose with respect to the Holocaust! Vidal's search for balance leads her to confront one of the most contentious issues arising out of post-modernism. She is attracted to postmodernism's claim that we should think not so much in terms of cold hard 'facts' but rather in terms of the innumerable interpretations that can be offered of any given 'fact' or set of 'facts'. On the other hand, she herself presents much 'factual' information about for instance the scale of Nazi genocide and does not wish to leave us in any doubt as to the moral character of such events. So she lays out the problem and tries as always to navigate the difficulties with an open mind and a questing spirit:

Can we find the space between?  
 The space between your truth and mine,  
                                   between rules and anarchy,  
 the space wherein resides common sense,  
                                   humanity. (page 128)

Of course not many Holocaust memoirs are intellectual to this degree. Indeed it is useful to draw a distinction between Australian Holocaust memoirs by authors who were youths or adults during the war and the generation that followed. The older generation often had their educations disrupted, suffered very direct forms of trauma, had to acquire a new language when they came to Australia, and to work tirelessly to feed and clothe their families. When they eventually got around to writing memoirs later in life, their narrative methods were, with exceptions like the remarkable Jacob Rosenberg, often quite straightforward. By contrast, the next generation had received a full education here, had grown up



with English, were somewhat more removed from massive direct Holocaust trauma, and had a greater degree of reflective leisure to produce intellectually speculative and aesthetically innovative forms of Holocaust narrative. I do not know whether Sara Vidal, who was born in Florence on 4 November 1945, would consider herself a child survivor or the child of survivors, but her book resembles other so-called 'second generation' Holocaust memoirs by writers like Doris Brett, Mark Baker and Susan Varga in its high aesthetic, intellectual, and reflective aspiration.

To say that authors born after the war missed the 'full brunt' of the Holocaust is not of course to say that trauma passed them by. Far from it. A great deal of research and therapeutic energy has been devoted to 'trans-generational' trauma, to trauma passed on, often in subtle and unwitting ways, from those who 'were there' to their children, grandchildren and even beyond. Vidal makes clear that this is something she has had to confront throughout her life. Indeed it may well be that one of the purposes of the book is to work through such referred trauma, as in fine passages in which she explores her relationships with her elderly parents. Relationships at these stages of life are often complex anyway, but they can be vastly more so under the shadow of Holocaust trauma. An added complexity in all of this is that Vidal, having 'married out', must grapple with identity issues even as she tries to come to terms with the family Holocaust history.

Like many Holocaust memoirs *Bella and Chaim* is also an immigrant narrative in which Holocaust trauma plays out in the context of the effort to make a new life in a new place and a new language. Each individual will react differently to the challenges involved. Sara's father, Heniek (the Chaim of the title) 'relegates the things he has seen to silence – banished even from his own thoughts – and with total allegiance in his heart to the new land so green and gold and blue, he tells himself he is no longer a wandering Jew; he has found a home.' (page 187). But for Basia it is different. She carries with her an unassuageable feeling of homelessness. For her 'Australia is not home. Everything is a lack

– a reminder of how home was and is now not.’ (page 187). And the complexities have a way of compounding.

When the parents travel to what had been home for the commemoration of 50th anniversary of the destruction of the Warsaw Ghetto Heniek is so deeply affected that he returns to Australia depressed and haunted. But here Sara’s narrative project has salvaging power not only for her but also for her wounded father who finds in it a renewed sense of consolation and connection.

The book resembles Susan Varga’s memoir *Heddy and Me* in its dual exploration of personal identity issues and relations between survivor mother and child survivor daughter. Despite Basia’s emotional difficulties there is a charming passage in a car in which we see mother and daughter in a moment of warm, healing mutuality. Basia says:

‘I believe everyone is just the same. I mean all people.’ She pauses again. ‘There are good ones and bad ones.’

My hands on the wheel, glancing at her, I catch the affirming nod of her head as she agrees with herself. I give her a reassuring smile. She smiles back, her eyes sparkling, pleased with herself. I am pleased with her too. (page 202)

Memoir often comes about not simply because someone wants to look back but because they want to do so in order to learn from the past so that they can imagine and help shape a better future. Vidal’s book is driven by an anguish expressed in phrases like: ‘What happened to “Never Again?”’ (page 74), and ‘Why, after all we know, is there so much hate?’ (page 101). This memoir is a fine example of a genre of narrative that refuses to defer to hate and yearns to inspire a more humane future. One of the book’s late lyrical descriptions is of Sara’s garden, a treasured patch of her Australian home and a symbol of her belief in the necessity and possibility of rich and various human co-habitations:

My garden – comprising a kaleidoscope of plants that have taken my fancy, jostle against their neighbors; evolving rather than pre-planned – the garden could give the impression of untidiness – but magic has entered to interweave the parts into a sanctuary of dappled delight: intricate, fragrant, vibrant, peaceful [page 189]

Richard Freadman

## SERGE LIBERMAN, 1942–2017: A TRIBUTE

Two descriptive terms automatically come to mind when recalling the life and career of Dr Serge Liberman, who passed away in December 2017: *mensch* and ‘Renaissance man’. This remarkable man exemplified both, a man of honour and integrity, and one who truly excelled in a variety of very different fields.

Serge Israel Liberman was born in November 1942 in Fergana, Uzbekistan, an otherwise totally implausible birthplace but the site where many Polish Jews, escaping by the skin of their teeth from the invading Nazi army and its death machine, were allowed to settle for the duration of the Second World War. As Polish citizens, they were also permitted by Stalin to leave the Soviet Union and emigrate after the war to the West. Serge’s family lived in a Displaced Persons’ camp in Germany (1946–47) and then in Paris (1947–51) before migrating to Melbourne in 1951. Serge became a much-respected general practitioner from 1974 until his retirement in 2013.

To most people who take an interest in literary matters, Serge was best known as the author of six much-admired collections of short stories, of which *On Firmer Shores* (1981), *A Universe of Clowns* (1983), and *The Battered and the Redeemed* (1990) are probably the best known. To those with an interest in Australian Jewish history, he was best known as the editor of the *Bibliography of Australasian Judaica 1788–2008*, which has gone through three editions, the most recent in 2011. Its aim was to record *every* publication by or about the Jews of Australia and New Zealand, a herculean task and a landmark in the historiography of our community. He also served as editor of the *Melbourne Chronicle*, as literary editor of the *Australian Jewish News*, and as treasurer of the Australian Jewish Historical Society (Victoria) Inc., a valued member of our Committee.

I was personally delighted to act as seconder of the proposal to award him a much deserved Australian honour, and was very happy when he received the OAM in 2015. A person like Serge Liberman appears but rarely in the annals of any community, and ought to be gratefully acknowledged. In the nineteenth century he would have been known as a *maskil*, although there is no contemporary term for his role.

William D. Rubinstein

## MALCOLM JOHN TURNBULL, 1952–2018: A TRIBUTE

As this issue was going to press we, along with Professor Suzanne Rutland, were profoundly saddened to learn of the passing, on 10 October 2018, of Dr Malcolm John Turnbull, who for several years from 1995 was editor of the *Victorian Journal* in succession to inaugural editor Professor William Rubinstein. Malcolm was, deservedly, an honorary life member of our Society in Victoria. Born in Tasmania on 5 September 1952, Malcolm was a model editor, deeply meticulous and knowledgeable as well as unfailingly reliable, helpful and kind. He was also a multifaceted scholar of rare ability. His intellectual pursuits covered such a variety of interesting yet unrelated fields that people who knew of his activities in one area were not necessarily aware of his achievements in the others.

Educated at the Universities of Tasmania, New England, Ballarat and Melbourne, Malcolm was a qualified teacher and librarian. Much-admired as an educationist, he taught for many years in the State Special Education Sector, subsequently coordinated a literacy program for adults with disabilities at the Onemda Centre, Doncaster, and later became a research fellow at the Youth Research Centre, within the Melbourne Graduate School of Education.

Not Jewish himself, he completed a PhD under Professor Rubinstein at Deakin University on the history of Judaism in Melbourne. It was awarded the university's 1995 Isi Leibler Prize. His expertise in the area was put to good use in *A Time to Keep* (2005), consisting of material by him, Werner Graff and Eliot Baskin regarding the foundation and development of Temple Beth Israel, collated and edited by the present editors of the

*Victorian Journal*. His other writings on aspects of the Australian Jewish experience include valuable articles in past issues of our *Journal*, as well as his contributions to *A View from Afar: Jewish Lives in Tasmania from 1804* (2003; edited by Peter and Ann Elias), and, with Pam Maclean, of ‘The Jews’ to *Carlton: A History* (2004; edited by Peter Yule).

Malcolm was an important and well-known historian of classical British detective fiction, circa 1920–60. His *Elusion Aforethought: The Life and Writing of Anthony Berkeley Cox* (1996) was nominated for an Edgar Award by the Mystery Writers of America. He also wrote *Victims or Villains: Jewish Images in Classic English Detective Fiction* (1998).

In his native Tasmania Malcolm had been active in folk singing circles, having been attracted to the genre in his adolescence. In his teens he performed quite regularly at a Friday night coffee shop run by the Methodist Church in Ulverstone in the state’s north-west, and graduated to being a soloist with various ensembles, before moving to Melbourne in the early 1970s. Gradually, these activities waned as work dominated, but having rediscovered his interest in performing he emphasised neglected pieces by Tasmanian songwriters and wrote widely about the Australian folk revival. His studies in the field have been largely collected online by the Australian Folklore Unit, and writings of his that were serialised in *Drumbeat: Newsletter of the Folk Federation of Tasmania* during 2003–04 were in 2015 anthologised in book form as *Time for Kings and Heroes: the beginnings of the folk-music revival in Tasmania, 1964* – yet another testimony to the impact made by this warm and worthy man of many parts. He will be hugely missed.

The Victorian Editorial Committee

# 100 YEARS AGO: VICTORIA 1918

*Compiled by Lorraine Freeman*

*From the pages of **The Australian Jewish Herald***

## KEYWORDS

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1918, World War One,  
Zionism

During 1918 World War One came to an effective end. The disrupting effect of the war was to become the main influence on people's lives. Strikes became more common as workers realised that they could exercise real muscle. In Australia, communism came to be viewed as a real threat to democratic government. Publication of casualty lists led to a decline in enlistments, and conscription for military service became a major issue. Families suffered as the economy tightened to support the war.

As can be expected of a community newspaper, written largely for readers with a British Jewish origin, *The Australian Jewish Herald* reported in depth on British Jewish affairs. The edition of 11 January had a front page taken from the *Jewish Chronicle*, reporting on mainly Zionist interests, with the news that Judge Louis Brandeis, leader of the American Zionist movement, had been appointed as advisor to President Wilson on 'Eastern Questions' at the upcoming Paris Peace Conference. At the same time moves were underway in England to depose Lord Swaythling (Louis Samuel Montagu) as a leader of the Jewish community because of his ant-Zionist stance and his opposition to the Balfour Declaration.

The same issue included a summary of a report from Harold Boas of his welfare work in London, assisting with the spiritual



and material needs of Australian and New Zealand soldiers fighting in Europe. There was a report on the careers of Major-General John Monash and lieutenant-colonel Harold Cohen, commander of the 6<sup>th</sup> Army Brigade, Australian Field Artillery Regiment, AIF. Also included was local news concerning two of the children of the Reverend Benzion Lenzer of Ballarat. They had been recognised as having outstanding musical talents by the Royal College of Music in London.

The 25 January issue proudly carried a report of the visit to Australia of Lord Reading (Sir Rufus Isaacs), the Lord Chief Justice of England.

The issue of 8 February reported the golden wedding of two early settlers, Mr and Mrs Henry Cohen. Sadly, the next month's edition carried the news that Mr Cohen had passed away. Mrs Cohen was the daughter of Michael Cashmore, and she was the sister of the first Jewish girl born in Victoria.

The 8 March edition reported on the new Jewish Battalion, which was training in England, and which was largely composed of Gallipoli veterans and former members of the Zion Mule Corps.

The 18 March edition announced the death of the philanthropist Barnet Glass, whose company made rubber tyres for cars and which subsequently merged with the Dunlop Rubber Company. Also in March a meeting of the Broken Hill Zionist Society pledged support for a national home for the Jews.

The 5 April edition carried a long article in praise of the Jewish Battalion, stating that they were the successors to the Maccabees, and that their senior officer, Colonel Patterson, was 'a modern day Judah Maccabee'.

In May, in Western France, John Monash became commander-in-chief of the Australian Army Corps. The 17 May edition voiced speculation about who would be a suitable head for the proposed new Jewish State in Palestine. The name of Judge Louis Brandeis of the US Supreme Court was put forward as 'the Jewish Lincoln'. The *New York Times* was copied on 23 June, calling attention to the

remarkable record of Australian Jewish servicemen. It singled out the achievements of John Monash and Harold Cohen. Monash himself affirmed: 'Australian Jewry has behaved splendidly during the war ... I found the Australian Jewish soldier as alert, active, brave, and patient as any of his non-Jewish comrades'. The 28 June edition saw a full page devoted to the careers and promotions of John Monash and Major-General Charles Rosenthal (later to be Sir Charles).

On 3 July the paper reported that Allied forces on the Western Front had launched an all-arms battle against the Germans south of the River Somme. On 4 July the Battle of Le Hamel became the turning point for the Allied victory and yet no mention of it is to be found in the *Jewish Herald*. Monash and his staff had planned every aspect of the attack and Monash predicted it would take 90 minutes to defeat the enemy – it took 93 minutes!

Reports in the edition of 12 August brought the news that in recognition of the outstanding contribution that Monash had made to the Allied war effort, King George V had knighted him in the field.

Later in August a list appeared of some 93 Australian Jews who had died in service. It was also noted that Brigadier-General Rosenthal had been promoted to the rank of Major General, aged just 43.

Also in August, some of Melbourne's spiritual leaders began to speak publically of their sympathies for Zionism. On the initiative of Councillor H.F. Barnet and Barney Altson, several members of the St Kilda Hebrew Congregation formed a Victorian Zionist Organisation, as an offshoot of the parent body in London.

The 6 September edition contained an article on the formation of the Zionist Preparation Fund, the purpose of which was to discuss the Balfour Declaration, and the action that would be necessary in Melbourne to support the Zionist ideal. The editorial of that issue warned readers that they should not trust the Turkish and German motives in 'promoting the alleviation of the terrible conditions of the Jews in Palestine', as their only concern

was fear of 'the benign British rule of Palestine that would bring prosperity instead of corruption.' The editorial warned the Germans and Turks to 'take your blood-stained hands off the fair land of Palestine.'

The 4 October issue reported on the momentous ceremony at which General Allenby and Dr Weitzman laid the cornerstone of the New Hebrew University in Jerusalem. The issue went on to describe the Holy Days as conducted at home in Australian synagogues and also had a report that Lieutenant Leonard Keysor VC had returned to Sydney after taking part in a recruitment campaign.

The 18 October issue had an article from the *New York Times* calling attention to the remarkable and disproportionately large concentration of Australian Jewish soldiers who had fought in the World War. It said that the Australian Jewish community provided three times as many soldiers as the general population, disproving the lie that Jews have a dislike for military service.

On 11 November, with the signing of a general armistice in France, the First World War drew to a close. Contemporary estimates of total war deaths were quite unreliable, but recent estimates are that almost nine and a half million service men and women had died, including 60,000 Australians (Jay Winter, *The First World War*, vol. 3, Cambridge 2014, p. 588). Compounding the global tragedy, there was now a disastrous pandemic of the highly virulent Spanish influenza, which claimed a further 50 million lives worldwide: 13,000 were Australians (Anne Rasmussen, *The First World War*, vol. 3, Cambridge 2014, p. 355).

The 15 November issue had a prominent headline stating 'Israel a Nation Again,' over a report of a meeting of Sydney Zionists at which a presentation was made to Lieut. Keysor VC. In that issue the paper mentioned for the first time the surrender of the German forces and the signing of the Armistice. It also mentioned that complaints had been received by the editor that synagogues in Victoria had not immediately held services to commemorate the armistice, and that a number of Melbourne Jews

had instead attended prayers at St Paul's Cathedral. But the next edition described how the synagogues in Victoria had now held services of thanks to mark the signing of the Armistice, and that many of them also celebrated 'Declaration Day', which marked the first anniversary of the Balfour Declaration.

In the 13 December edition it was noted that the Carlton Hebrew Congregation had purchased a block of land in Palmerston Street, and Nahum Barnet had prepared plans for a synagogue in the hope that sufficient funds could be raised to build it.

The last edition of the year, on 27 December, suggested that the Jewish communities of Melbourne and Sydney should raise money for war memorials to venerate our brave heroes, and suggested they could take the form of memorial halls. But the same article, in contrast, pointed out that the American Jewish communities were raising funds to support incapacitated Jewish service men and women and their families.

## REPORT TO MEMBERS, 2018

I am pleased to provide this report in my capacity as hon. secretary of the Australian Jewish Historical Society – Victoria Inc. The Society has had another successful year with well-attended activities and a well-received annual *Journal*.

On 12 November 2017 we held a cruise on the Maribyrnong River aboard the historic vessel *Blackbird*, and the guide was Dr Howard Freeman, our co-president. The theme was ‘The River of Jewish Dreams’, as historically many of the original Jewish settlers and business entrepreneurs of the District of Port Philip had a close association with that river.

On 30 November 2017 Dr Michael Cohen spoke about the contribution of South African Jews to the Australian community, with the theme ‘South African Jews Down Under’.

At our Annual General Meeting on 15 February 2018 ANU academic Dr Elena Govor spoke about ‘Jewish Anzacs from Russia: Breaking Stereotypes’. All members of the committee were re-elected for a further one-year term of office.

On 7 June 2018 Sydney-based academic Professor Tim Bonyhady gave an entertaining talk about his family, who had escaped from Vienna, with the theme ‘Good Living Street: The Fortunes of My Viennese Family’.

A well-attended meeting of 2 August 2018 presented an affectionate tribute to the memory of the much-loved Nehama Patkin OAM, music teacher, instrumentalist, composer, writer and dancer. There were four speakers, led by Nehama’s son Anton Grodeck, and each spoke on a different aspect of the life of the late Nehama, illustrated with photographs and a video presentation.

Our last meeting for the year will be on 29 November when we are to welcome Associate Professor Phillip Mendes, who will speak on the ‘Sam Cohen Affair’.

During the year in review, the Society resumed its Melbourne Jewish Walks program, with a successful guided walk in the CBD, organised and guided by committee member Shelley Cohny.

It was with regret that the committee has accepted Russell Stern's resignation from it. Russell's special expertise has been his knowledge of the records of Australian Jewish ex-service men and women.

For some time, the Society has been engaged in a collaborative project with our New South Wales counterpart to develop a joint website. The committee has also been considering its future directions and plans, and has met a number of times as part of a process to keep our membership active and refreshed. These projects will hopefully come to fruition in the New Year.

Phil Lipshut  
Honorary Secretary, AJHS – Vic Inc.

## CONTRIBUTORS

**Joy Damousi** is Professor of History and Australian Research Council Laureate Fellow at the University of Melbourne. She has published widely on aspects of the history of psychoanalysis, the aftermaths of the two World Wars, and the history of migration and refugees. Her current research is on a history of child refugees and Australian internationalism during the twentieth century. She is currently the president of the Australian Academy of the Humanities and president of the Australian Historical Association.

**Richard Freadman** is Emeritus Professor of English, and was founding director of the Unit for Studies in Biography and Autobiography, at La Trobe University. Educated at Brandeis University and the University of Oxford, he is a Fellow of the Australian Academy of the Humanities. His books include a study of Australian Jewish autobiography, *This Crazy Thing a Life: Australian Jewish Autobiography* (University of Western Australia Press, 2007), and two volumes of memoir, *Shadow of Doubt: My Father and Myself* (Bystander Press, 2003), and *Stepladder to Hindsight: An Almost Memoir* (Hybrid Publishers, 2016).

**Howard Freeman OAM** is co-editor of the Victorian issues of the *Journal* and a long-standing president and co-president of the Victorian AJHS.

**Lorraine Freeman BA, Dip Crim, Grad Dip App Social Psych**, is the compiler of '100 Years Ago', an annual review of a series of abstracts from the pages of the Melbourne Jewish press.

**Elena Govor** is an Australian writer and historian born in Minsk, Belarus. Having fled to Australia in 1990 with her husband

Vladimir Kabo, a Moscow Jew, who fought in the Second World War and was later sentenced to ten years in a labour camp for 'anti-Soviet activities', Elena received her doctorate in history in 1996 and now acts as adjunct academic at the Australian National University. Dr Govor has been widely published in Australia and Russia in the field of Russian-Australian early contacts. Among her books are *Russian Anzacs in Australian History* (Sydney, UNSW Press, 2005) and *Falling Stars: The Story of Anzacs from Ukraine* (Canberra, Alcheringa Press, 2017).

**Elisabeth Holdsworth** is an award-winning essayist, novelist and critic. She won the inaugural *Australian Book Review* Calibre Prize in 2007. Her first novel, *Those Who Come After* (Picador, 2011), was published in the Netherlands and Poland. Her essays, commentaries, reviews and short stories have been widely published and anthologised. In 2017 Elisabeth was awarded an ABR RAFT Fellowship. The fellowship paper – 'If This Is a Jew: Progressive Judaism around the world' – was published in the *Australian Book Review*, November 2017. Her book-length examination of Progressive Judaism will be published in 2019.

**Phil Lipshut** BEc, Grad Dip Educ Mgmt, is the Honorary Secretary of AJHS Vic Inc and has had a long interest in Australian Jewish history. He is proud of both convict and free settler ancestors, and of family members who fought in Australia's wars up to World War Two.

**Peter R. MacIver** is a teacher of English Literature and History. Arriving in Australia in 1997 from Scotland, he eventually settled in Bendigo where he now lives with his wife and two children. Research into diggers on the goldfields led him to three early Australian cricketers with Bendigo connections and a lasting passion for the history of the early Australian Elevens. He is very keen to see the players of this era, including Louis Goldsmith, receive the recognition they fully deserve.



**Philip Mendes** is acting head of the Department of Social Work, Faculty of Medicine, Monash University, Australia. Associate Professor Mendes has published over 100 articles in local and international academic journals, and is the author or co-author of 12 books including *Australia's Welfare Wars*, (three editions: 2003, 2008 and 2017), *Jews and the Left* (2014), *Young People Transitioning from Out-of-home Care: International Research, Policy and Practice* (2016), and *Empowerment and control in the Australian welfare state: A critical analysis of Australian social policy since 1972* (2018).

**Hilary L. Rubinstein** studied Economics, History and Politics at the University of Keele and, on an exchange scholarship, at Swarthmore College, Pennsylvania. She has a PhD in History from the ANU and has written widely on the Australian Jewish experience. She is co-author of *Philosemitism: Admiration and Support in the English-speaking World for Jews, 1840-1939* (1999), *The Jews in the Modern World: A history since 1750* (2002) and *The Palgrave Dictionary of Anglo-Jewish History* (2011). A former council member of the UK-based Navy Records Society, she has also written and published on British naval history in the age of sail.

**William D. (Bill) Rubinstein** was editor of this *Journal* in Victoria from its foundation in 1988 until 1995 and president of the Jewish Historical Society of England, 2002-04. Emeritus Professor Rubinstein held chairs at Deakin University and at the University of Wales and is currently an adjunct professor at Monash University. A well-known historian of modern Britain, he has published widely on modern Jewish history. He is a Fellow of the Australian Academy of the Humanities, the Australian Academy of the Social Sciences, and the Royal Historical Society.

**Angus Trumble** was born and raised in Melbourne. He is currently director of the National Portrait Gallery of Australia, and

a noted researcher and former Fulbright scholar. Angus studied Fine Arts and History at the University of Melbourne, graduating in 1986. In the summer of 1987, he was an intern at the Peggy Guggenheim Collection in Venice. He studied for a year at the Bibliotheca Hertziana in Rome, and graduated MA (University of Melbourne) in 1993. He served as Senior Curator of Paintings and Sculpture at the Yale Center for British Art until taking up his Canberra post in 2014. In 2015 Angus was elected a Fellow of the Australian Academy of the Humanities.

**Tanya Warms** holds a PhD in Behavioural Sciences (University of Melbourne) and a MA (Hons) in English and Linguistics (Macquarie University). She was a founding member of Friends of Boroondara (Kew) Cemetery, and is a member of Kew Historical Society. She was Chair of the City of Boroondara's *Gallipoli and Beyond 2015* committee.