

Australian Jewish Historical Society

JOURNAL OF PROCEEDINGS

VOL. VIII

1979

PART 6

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THE INITIATIVES AND INFLUENCES IN THE DEVELOPMENT OF AUSTRALIAN ZIONISM, 1850-1948

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The Zionist movement had complex origins, occasioned internecine arguments with the Jewish communities of the world and met with a mixed reception in the outside world. Tracing the motives, causes and influences which shaped the movement in Europe and in America is no simple matter. There are complexities introduced by the size of communities, the rapidity with which ideas diffused, and the sheer volume of literature, documents and papers that have to be sifted to provide accurate information. Australian Zionism is to some degree a microcosm of European Zionism. The influences which shaped it are more readily understood because of the small size of the community and the paucity of the literature, though that is also something of a handicap.¹ For this reason its history, the native initiatives and the foreign influences which moved it, is an interesting subject for investigation, and a useful adjunct to the study of European Zionism. It is a worthwhile study in its own right, especially since it is largely unrecorded. An examination of the article on Zionism in Australia and New Zealand in the new *Encyclopaedia Judaica* indicates that the article is based largely on the inadequate data in the Central Zionist Archives, Jerusalem, which reflect, but do not describe, the cross-currents within Australian Jewish society.

The Zionist movement in Australia has antecedents which reach toward the start of Jewish settlement there. Its progress and development not only parallel the situation in Europe – stirrings of Zionism in the decades before Herzl, to cite but one example – but also reflect the numerical strength of the Jewish settlers in Australia and their progress towards emancipation. The movement was influenced by the backgrounds of the immigrants who came to the colony, while there are good reasons to believe that Zionism itself became a critical factor in moulding the Australian Jewish environment. Thus Australian Zionism has to be considered in direct relationship to Australian Jewish demography.

After 1850, Australian Jews began to assume some sort of respon-

sibility for supporting their brothers in Palestine. Doubtless, the first efforts were of the nature of *Halukah*, funds collected to support the needy and pious. Sometimes these funds were substantial. Australian Jews, because of their ties with British Jews, participated in every stage of the birth of the Zionist movement in which British Jewry was involved. The early date of this identification with Palestine may well depend upon the very emancipation in the colony. Whereas European Jewish nationalism was hindered by the prior need for emancipation, there was no such bar to a wider identification on the part of Australian Jewry.²

The first traceable act of *Halukah* was the decision by the Board of the York Street Synagogue, Sydney, to vote an annual contribution to a Jerusalem fund.³ Barely four years later, Australian Jewry, not quite totalling two thousand in number, contributed munificently to the fund organized by Moses Montefiore in support of his various projects in Palestine.⁴ To the extent that Montefiore's works involved not merely the collection and disbursement of funds, but also the establishment of industrial and agricultural projects,⁵ support of Montefiore might well be regarded as the first Zionist fund raising campaign in Australia.⁶ Australian Jewry raised some eight thousand pounds — more than one third of the subscribed twenty thousand pounds. It is notable that the campaign was extensively supported by non-Jews, especially by leading churchmen. The subscription took place in the very year, 1854, that the Jewish battle for complete religious freedom was finally won in the legislative councils of New South Wales and Victoria. Many influential non-Jews supported the Jewish demand for equality. Their friendly relationships were marked in the public nature of the collection for Montefiore's fund. In a subsequent appeal by Montefiore, in 1874, when funds were sought for the relief of famine and the establishment of agricultural settlements, the Sunday collection of St. Paul's Church, Melbourne, yielded some twenty-two pounds for the special appeal.⁷

Fund raising for Palestine became a feature of communal life after this first, successful campaign. A series of *shlihim* from Palestine made the long voyage to the Antipodes in search of resources for causes ranging from the support of the Jerusalem poor to the construction of houses on Mt. Zion. Appeals were also received from other quarters. In 1860, the Chief Rabbi of Great Britain, Dr. Adler, appealed for relief of the Jews in Syria. As before, the non-Jewish community was urged to help. Letters were sent to the Governor General of the Colony, the Mayors and the newspapers.⁸ The result of the appeal to the civic authorities is unknown but the appeal itself testifies to the relationship between the Jewish community and the rest of the citizenry. Perhaps the most celebrated *shaliah* of the era was Jacob Levi Saphir who was sent abroad by the Ashkenazi community of Jerusalem to collect for the relief of the poor in the city. Saphir published a travelogue, *Even Sappir*,⁹ in which he made some shrewd observations about the nature of the community. He wrote, "In this land . . . they have learned that

the Jew also possesses good qualities and hatred towards him has entirely disappeared there . . . There is no discrimination made between nation and nation. The Jews live in safety and take their share in all the good things of the country. They also occupy Government positions and administrative posts.¹⁰ In this comment about Australian Jewry in 1861, Saphir described a situation that was to colour the development of Zionist activities in Australia and later in the 1940s, was to lead to public hostilities between the Zionist and anti-Zionist forces.

Another *shaliach* was Chaim Zvi Schneersohn whose mission was to raise funds for the building of houses on Mount Zion. Moses Hess, the author of *Rome and Jerusalem*, a classic of Zionist writing, described Schneersohn's visit to Australia in an appendix to his work. He portrayed the co-operation in the colonies between Jew and Christian while raising funds for Zionist purposes. The extract is worth quoting in detail.

Hamagid . . . prints . . . a report of a meeting held in Melbourne, Australia, in December 1861, in which Christian as well as Jewish notables participated. The president, Lyons, opened the meeting and declared its purpose to be, 'to enable the Jews to acquire land on Mount Zion, on which houses for the accommodation of Jewish pilgrims should be built and that this may serve as the first step towards a Jewish settlement in Palestine.' After him, a Jewish scholar spoke in Hebrew . . . Then a Christian Minister addressed the audience on behalf of the restoration of the Jews . . . Finally the Dean of Melbourne University declared that for years he had continually told his countrymen that it would not take long before the Jews regain possession of the land which belongs to them and which was promised to them . . . It was then decided to appoint a committee for the purpose of soliciting contributions throughout Australia to acquire land for the Jews in the Holy Land.¹¹

The scheme for resettling Palestine, which received widespread publicity as a result of Schneersohn's visit, was not without its opponents,¹² but, on the whole, both the Jewish and the non-Jewish members of the community were in favour of the idea. Their support, especially the support of the Church in Australia, brought a grateful letter to the Australian press from Haim David Hassan, the Chief Rabbi of Palestine. Among these funds were contributions for refugees reaching Jerusalem, a fund for the Portuguese community in Jerusalem and a fund for the Ets Haim Yeshivah. This system proved to be more acceptable to Australian Jewry than the emissary system. Such local generosity caused word to spread that money was available in Australia and the number of *shlihim* reaching the colony provoked angry reactions from the community. It was claimed that too much money was spent on the expenses of emissaries and the community began to remit funds directly to the British Consul in Jerusalem.

From 1871 to 1911, the Jewish population of Australia increased nearly fourfold — most of the immigration coming from Russia. By

1890, the Russian Jews totalled about 52 per cent of the Jewish census. The newcomers were mostly involved in the textile industry, general dealing and skilled, independent trades. The wealthier, second generation families were moving into the professions and the more remunerative category to storekeeping. It was not merely the contrast between the vibrant Judaism of the newcomers and the anglicized respectability of the second generation Australian Jews, or the wealth-social distinction which coloured their attitudes to the newly developing European Zionism. Part of their attitude was caused by the reaction of the non-Jewish community to the influx of Russian Jews at a time when the Australian economy was depressed. In short, there was a sudden expression of antisemitism in a country where the Jew had not only been equal, but had also participated in all levels of the governing system. Reports of the persecution of Russian Jewry aroused the protests and sympathies of both the Jewish and non-Jewish press but later, when it was rumoured that Baron Maurice de Hirsch wanted to send 500,000 Russian Jews to Australia, their attitudes changed.¹³

The Melbourne Hebrew Congregation took a stand against Russian Jewish migration. The Premier of Victoria, parliamentarians and churchmen not only spoke against the immigration of impoverished Jews but also expressed doubts in the press about the loyalty of Russian Jews, particularly those of the Hoveve Zion, who wished to live in Palestine. The anti-immigration protests took a marked antisemitic turn.¹⁴ Significantly, the leader and spokesman of the anti-Zionist faction in the 1940s, Isaac Isaacs (later to become the first non-British Governor General of Australia), had been honorary secretary of the Melbourne Jewish Young Men's Russian Relief Fund in the 1880s. He was also involved in the formation of the United Jewish Education Board but resigned because of the pressure of work as attorney-general.¹⁵ In view of his early sensitivity to antisemitism and his known strong reaction to any suggestion of a tension between his religion and British citizenship,¹⁶ it is probable that the antisemitic campaign of the 1890s, with its divisive effect on the Jewish community coloured his attitude to Zionism.

The first traceable, direct reaction to the European Zionism of the 1890s is an editorial note in the *Melbourne Jewish Herald*, 1893, where the editor, although sympathetic to the ideals of the Hoveve Zion movement, described those objectives as visionary and claimed that the misguided pioneers were attempting the impossible. He stressed that the Jews should pray for the restoration of the Israelite nation but this lay with God alone.¹⁷

The first organized Zionist movement in Australia would seem to have been born in Sydney when, in October 1894, the goals of the Hoveve Zion movement were expounded during a drawing-room meeting.¹⁸ Those aims, reported in the Jewish press, were the colonization of Palestine and the preservation of Hebrew.¹⁹ The founders of the movement here were eastern European Jews; the chairman of the first meeting was an immigrant from Russia. However, the

initial impetus may well have come from an English Jew named Aaron Vecht who had been on the Home Committee of the Hoveve Zion movement in London.²⁰ Vecht left London sometime in 1893 and subsequently immigrated to Sydney. The Hoveve Zion society of Sydney was short-lived. One payment of fifteen pounds in 1895 is recorded in the balance sheets of the movement.²¹

When the news of Herzl's scheme for a Jewish State in Palestine reached Australia, the local Jewish press was mainly opposed to the idea,²² although not unanimously so.²³ There was substantial hostility among some elements in the community to the calling of the first Zionist Congress. It was clear that the opposition was coming from the Anglicized Jewry, who saw in Zionism a challenge to the place of Jews in Australia.

Herzlian Zionism began in Western Australia in 1900 when Rabbi D. I. Freedman, the Rabbi in Perth, appealed for support of Herzl. Subsequently, on 15 February 1900, a Zionist society was formed of which he was President. Freedman, although educated in England, was Hungarian-born and very few members of his community were second generation Australians. Most had been attracted to Western Australia by the Gold Rush and a surprising number were of Palestinian origin.²⁴

Thus few of the inhibiting factors that were found in the older communities of the eastern States existed in Perth. Zionist activities began in the eastern States of Australia a few years later, after an abortive attempt by an Adelaide Jew, Leon Jona, to establish a Zionist society shortly after the first Congress. In 1900, a Sydney solicitor, P. J. Marks, began recruiting shareholders in the Jewish Colonial Trust, having announced in the Jewish press on 9 February 1900 that he had received the articles of association of the "Zionist Bank"²⁵ from England. In January 1901, the New South Wales Zionist League was formed. Ironically it was convened by Henry Harris, the printer of the *Hebrew Standard* and father of Alfred Harris, the editor of the paper, who was to become one of the moving forces in the anti-Zionist ranks. Herzl sent the new society a special address which was published in the *Hebrew Standard* on 19 April 1901. A year later the Victorian Zionist League was established and again, in contrast to subsequent events, the leaders of the movement were supported by scions of the older Australian Jewish families.²⁶

By 1903, the fledgling movement in New South Wales had presented its first balance sheet²⁷ showing the remission to London of five pounds eighteen shillings and four pence, probably the first sum sent out of the colony by the Herzlian movement. We are not fully informed on the first decade of the Australian movement but there are indications of steady progress in all States of the colony for the World Zionist Organisation/Central Zionist League and, in 1909, for the Jewish National Fund. Within this decade Ladies Branches and Juvenile Leagues were established, affiliated with the Eastern States' Zionist organizations.²⁸

Early Australian Zionism was hampered by the territorialist move-

ment in European Zionism. At the Sixth Zionist Congress there were two Australian delegates, Reuben Beards²⁹ and Aaron Vecht, both from Sydney.³⁰ Beards supported Herzl's Uganda plan. When the Seventh Congress in 1905 rejected all plans for settlement outside Palestine and when Israel Zangwill founded the Jewish Territorial Organization, a number of Australian Zionists, especially in New South Wales, espoused Zangwill's plan and split the Australian movement.³¹ Unfortunately, as it turned out, Alfred Harris, never a convinced Zionist, though involved at this point in Zionist activity, and Rabbi Francis Cohen, the new (June 1905) Rabbi of the Great Synagogue, also espoused Zangwill's scheme.³² The reaction to the territorialist movement in Australia, similar to that in Europe, eventually forced both of these influential men to take public stances hostile to Zionism. Rabbi Cohen influenced many members of his congregation, the principal congregation in New South Wales, to uphold his anti-Zionist position.³³ Alfred Harris, after his initial support, turned the *Hebrew Standard*, one of New South Wales' two Jewish papers, into an anti-Zionist paper, in direct contrast to the *Jewish Herald* which at least remained, "neutral on this question" while giving prominence to Zionist news.³⁴

In 1906, Dr. Richard A. Arthur, M.L.A., President of the Immigration League of Australia, suggested that a Jewish colony might be founded in the Northern Territory of Australia, or Queensland.³⁵ He wrote to Zangwill advocating his plan and Rabbi Cohen added his influential voice to the plea. The *Hebrew Standard* gave the project considerable publicity. Zangwill's interest was aroused and he gave serious consideration to Australia as the site of the new Jewish home because he felt that Australia would have to make a choice between a white Jewish population or Asiatics.³⁶ Plans were made to buy one million acres of land in the Northern Territory for the settlement of five hundred to one thousand families.³⁷ In the end, the scheme came to nought when the Australian Prime Minister, Alfred Deakin, met Zangwill in London and advised him that although Australia welcomed Jewish immigrants, it would never tolerate the establishment of an enclave under separate laws. It was, moreover, suggested that tropical Australia was not suitable for white settlement and that it would be dangerous to introduce a substantial body of Jewish unskilled labourers who would eventually migrate to the eastern States.³⁸ In 1920, after Zangwill's other ideas had failed, he again turned his attention to Western Australia.³⁹ When the Premier of Western Australia, Sir Newton Moore, was in London during that year, Zangwill proposed to him that one million Jews should be allowed to settle in that region. Zangwill wanted a self-contained colony where the Jewish religion, including the complete suspension of work on the sabbath, could be the basis of life for the settlers. The Premier of Western Australia rejected this proposal on the same grounds as Deakin. The failure of these plans marked the schism between the Australian Zionist movement and an influential section of the Jewish press. Henceforth,

the Anglo-Jewish Australian Press consistently opposed the Zionist movement until the very foundation of the State.

In 1907, an attempt was made to establish a Zionist Federation of Australia and New Zealand under the auspices of the Zionistische Zentral Bureau so that the two Australian delegates might join the central executive of the Zionist movement.⁴⁰ However, since opinion in Australia was divided on the issue,⁴¹ and the English Zionist Federation claimed to represent Australia, their opposition to the move caused its failure. The "Basel Programme" was accepted, however, despite the efforts of the Territorialists; but the struggle between the Territorialists and their opponents, the antipathy of the Great Synagogue in Sydney and the hostility of the *Hebrew Standard* shattered Australian Zionism. A letter from Aaron Vecht in 1908, from his new home in Belgium to the Zentral Bureau in Berlin, claimed that there were twenty different Zionist societies in Australia with a preponderance of English-speaking workers.⁴² Yet it was clear, despite Vecht's optimism which was coloured, perhaps, by his absence from the country, that there was a solid antipathy, if not opposition, to Zionism in the community. A report on Zionist activity in New South Wales in 1911 indicated that there were four Zionist societies in Melbourne, one in Ballarat, four in New South Wales, and a defunct Ladies' League which had lapsed from lack of support. In fact, the true position was not expressed by the number of societies:

"The general attitude of the Jewish community is one of apathy and there are comparatively few enthusiastic Zionists. The majority of the Jews here are, if anything, non-Zionists. There is no hostility, and we have even received contributions to the different funds from gentlemen who candidly say they are not Zionists. The non-Jewish press gives hardly any prominence to the movement, but, so far as one can judge, they are not unfavourably disposed towards us . . ."⁴³

Despite Vecht's note of 1908, the new members entering the Zionist ranks were Yiddish-speaking immigrants from Poland and Russia who formed the Sydney Lovers of Zion Society which merged with the Sydney Zionist Society in 1911.⁴⁴ Indicative of the situation is that the greater part of a pamphlet, *The Aims and Practical Objects of Zionism*, issued by the Sydney Zionist Society in 1908, was devoted to answering objections raised about Zionism.⁴⁵ Significantly enough, those disagreements seemed to have been given a religious rather than a political expression,⁴⁶ and it is probable that the antisemitic feeling of the 1890s no longer coloured attitudes to Zionism.⁴⁷

World War I saw the temporary cessation of Jewish migration but, immediately after the war, there was another influx of European Jews, especially Polish Jews, who had been displaced by the war and were seeking to escape the rising tide of antisemitism. After the introduction of restrictive immigration quotas by the United States in 1922, the number of Polish immigrants to Australia increased rapidly. In 1924 restrictive visas were also introduced in Australia and by 1930 the financial restrictions on immigrants were tightened even further in

response to a changed economic situation. Nevertheless, the Australian government remained anxious to receive Jewish immigrants from Britain and Dr. Arthur, speaking to the Federal Congress of Australian Zionists in 1930 for the New South Wales government said:

"Whilst I am prepared to wish success to this great national and historic movement, I would still put in a plea, which I urged in London, twenty years ago, that if there are people of your race and my race [because they were all British in Great Britain] who are not prepared to go to Palestine, well let them come to Australia. When I was in London I went down and met the Jewish Board of Guardians in Whitechapel and I arranged that they should send out a number of lads to go on the land in Australia and that was done."⁴⁸

The pre-war Russo-Jewish immigrants had been, by this time, thoroughly assimilated into the Jewish community and had given it a flavour of its own. The Balfour Declaration had, to some extent, allayed the apprehensions of the Anglo-Jews, and the acceptance of the Mandate in Palestine, by Britain, had earned the support of the wealthy, established Jews.⁴⁹

The Balfour Declaration brought appeals to Australia from the London offices of the Zionist Bureau for urgent financial support. These, as well as the effect of the Declaration on the leading Anglo-Jews, prodded the community into action. The response to a cabled request from Samuel Goldreich in London, in 1917, "Balfour Declaration = Palestine Declaration, British Government, necessitates great efforts. Can you collect two thousand pounds privately and cable me to Jewish Colonial Trust, London,"⁵⁰ reflected the Zionist attitudes of the community: Solomon Pechter in Sydney answered Weizmann, "Re Cable Goldreich, Zionists here financially weak, community indifferent. If request endorsed by Lord Rothschild amount may be collected privately."⁵¹ By 1918 the efforts to raise funds for the Jewish Colonial Trust had stimulated activity in most States. In Victoria, the president of the Zionist Association declared in a letter to London⁵² that, "I am pleased that our organization is daily gaining strength in influential quarters where we receive both moral and financial support in spite of a small click [sic!] of anti-Zionists."⁵³ In Sydney, special fund raising groups, especially among the professionals, were organized⁵⁴ and, by 1919, the Zionist movement had begun to turn to political activity, the first of a series of concerted efforts to use the Australian Zionist movement to influence the Australian government.⁵⁵

The display of life in the Australian Jewish community was enough to inspire the Zionist executive in London to send Israel Cohen on a fund raising mission for the Palestine Restoration Fund in 1920.⁵⁶ For years thereafter, Cohen kept a friendly and helpful eye on the Australian Zionist movement and fostered its development. The colour of Australian Zionism at this time is described by Cohen, both in his *Journal* and in his private correspondence. He wrote, "The devotion of the Jews to the British Crown is sincere and ever present, and struck me as more demonstrative than that of their co-religionists in the mother

country. So fond were they of singing the National Anthem at the gatherings at which I appeared that I was almost inclined to think that they regarded me not so much as an emissary of the Zionist executive [but] as an envoy of His Majesty."⁵⁷

The direction of Australian Zionism depended now on the activities of a few individuals in key positions in the Anglo-Jewish community. It is clear that in Perth Anglo-Jews, "have shown hardly any sympathy to the movement and have subscribed very little."⁵⁸ The principal support in that city came from European and Palestinian Jews, the latter being in the city in some number. However, as economic conditions worsened after the war, the European and Palestinian Jews, generally less wealthy than the Anglo-Jews, were unable to honour pledges made during Israel Cohen's campaign. Also, with the restoration of communications with Russia, Poland, Rumania and Austria after the war, private calls for assistance from parents and close relatives in Europe and a special effort to care for Ukranian Jewish orphans left little spare capital for Zionist collections.⁵⁹

In Melbourne, the Zionist movement was poorly led but the sympathies of Sir John Monash, the Jewish-Australian war hero, and the silence of Rabbi J. Danglow, who was rabbi of the principal Anglo-Jewish congregation in the city, meant that there was little "active opposition to Zionism in Melbourne though there may be a certain amount of criticism and indifference that must be combatted."⁶⁰ Rabbi Danglow, later to take an active anti-Zionist stance, may have been silent at this time because he was a former friend and fellow student of Israel Cohen⁶¹ and because Rabbi Israel Brodie, later to become Chief Rabbi of the British Empire, was beginning to take a leading interest in the Zionist movement.⁶²

In Sydney the European immigrants formed the active part of the community. The *Hebrew Standard* was colouring the opinions of its readers with its negative stance and Rabbi Cohen seemed to have become steadily more hostile to the Zionist movement. His attitude may have been hardened by the active role of such leading churchmen as Dean Talbot in supporting the Zionist movement.⁶³ These factors are reflected in shekel sales which, in the early twenties marked membership in the Zionist movement. In 1921, one hundred shekels were sold in Sydney, two hundred in 1922 and the same number in 1923. In Perth, 93 shekels were sold in 1922 and five hundred in 1923. In Melbourne, 1500 shekels were sold in 1923.⁶⁴ The same factors coloured the fund raising during Cohen's visit. The total sum pledged was some £67,817, of which Melbourne pledged £26,000 while the larger Sydney community pledged only £15,500 and Perth, £10,200. The rest of the sum was from the tiny communities in Brisbane (100 shekels, £3,100), Newcastle (£12,000) and Adelaide (£1,017).⁶⁵

Following the campaign, there was a period of near quiescence in Australian Zionism broken only by a fund raising visit by Madame Pevsner on behalf of the Jewish National Fund. She established a Western Australian Jewish Women's League in Perth in 1924. Records

in the Central Zionist Archives show a constant flow of letters from London to the various States trying to rally them to produce some financial or organizational support, but all to little avail. Internal organization was fragile: leadership transferred from place to place inside the same city,⁶⁶ new organizations appeared and disappeared,⁶⁷ while in Victoria, the Palestine Welfare League, a new group, was formed, including "Rabbi Danglow and other non-Zionists,"⁶⁸ for the probable foiling of the political endeavours of the Zionist oriented societies. The anti-Zionists were unwittingly assisted in their objective by the establishment by well-meaning members of the community of a fund throughout Australia and New Zealand on behalf of Infant Welfare Centres in Palestine. The fund gave "those who are afraid of being associated with Zionism . . . the opportunity to help in this philanthropic work in Palestine . . ."⁶⁹ When Alexander Goldstein visited Australia in 1927 on behalf of the Keren Hayesod, his reports to Jerusalem gave a dismal picture of Australian Zionism.⁷⁰ Nevertheless, he was able to convene a two day conference of representatives of Zionist societies in Australia to discuss Zionist, Keren Hayesod and National Fund problems and the creation of a Zionist Federation of Australia.⁷¹ Unfortunately, despite Goldstein's optimistic comment that he was able to make the *Hebrew Standard* behave "quite decently" during his visit,⁷² its opposition restricted the participation of Sydney Zionists to the one organization, the Union of Sydney Zionists.

The new Zionist Federation was led by two Jews from Victoria — the National War hero, General Sir John Monash and by Rabbi Israel Brodie. They were a factor in influencing some of the Victorian Anglo-Jews to support the Zionist movement. It was difficult for anti-Zionist Victorian Anglo-Jews to accuse Monash of disloyalty to the Crown. One of the first acts of the new Federation was the appointment of a Palestinian Jew, Mark Ettinger, to the paid position of general secretary and organizer — the first Zionist professional post in the community.⁷³ Ettinger settled in Melbourne in April 1928. Though he travelled to Sydney and to other capital cities in the Commonwealth, he found contact between the Zionist societies difficult to maintain⁷⁴ and his residence in Melbourne focused his activities in that city, sharpening the other factors which worked to make Victorian Jewry dominant in Australian Zionist activity in the 1930s and 1940s. To some extent Ettinger was able to bridge the gap of "the more or less marked psychological difference between Australian and English-born Jews on the one side and between those who hail from Eastern Europe"⁷⁵ and to unite both groups into a working organization, in Melbourne at least. The distance between the cities and the novelty of undertaking Zionist work on a systematic basis prevented him from introducing a uniform organizational pattern in the cities and to unite the disparate Zionist and para-Zionist societies. Nor was he able to centralize fund raising and communications within the Federation. Nevertheless, during the disputes within the Australian Jewish community at the time of the Wailing Wall incident in 1928 (see below), the Zionist movement in

all the States behaved in a disciplined fashion, obeying Ettinger's instructions and presenting a common front.⁷⁶

The years 1928-1929 saw the end of the decade of co-operation or at least peaceful co-existence in Zionist or Palestine oriented activities between the Australian Anglo-Jews and Eastern European immigrants. The steadily developing conflict in Palestine between the Mandatory power and the Jewish Agency began to erode the support of the Australian Anglo-Jews for the movement, especially in Sydney.⁷⁷ Australian Jewry, recalling the role of the Jewish citizenry of the Commonwealth during World War I, felt that they had a stake in the bond of military nationalism between Australia and Britain. Synagogues included the phrase "war memorial centre" in their names and housed shrines to the war dead. Rabbi Cohen, whose Great Synagogue was the principal such Jewish war memorial centre in Sydney, had long advocated defence policies identifying with British foreign policy,⁷⁸ thus confronting some of his congregation with the issue of divided loyalty.

The first signs of the schism began to appear when a large number of Palestinian Jews emigrated to Australia between 1927-1928. Firm statistics are unavailable but the Jewish Telegraphic Agency, in a report of 8 May 1928, based on a Melbourne weekly called the *Australian Jewish Herald*, observed that in the previous eighteen months more than 2,000 Jewish immigrants had come to Australia and that over 40 per cent of the total Jewish immigration, in the six month period between August 1927 and February 1928 came from Palestine.⁷⁹ The new arrivals spread unfavourable reports of conditions in Palestine and their presence was used to create anti-Zionist sentiment in the community.⁸⁰ (Many of these immigrants returned to Palestine or became active workers in Zionist causes. In Perth, especially, where many of these immigrants had settled, Hebrew classes were conducted.⁸¹)

The anti-Zionist current crystallized into open hostility with the affair of the Wailing Wall and the Arab riots. On Yom Kippur, 24 September 1928, British police officers removed a wooden partition, *mehitsah*, erected between male and female worshipers at the Wall, alleging that its installation constituted an infraction of the status quo. The incident, which was one of the triggers of the riots in August 1929, aroused widespread indignation and protest in Jewish communities throughout the diaspora.⁸² The Australian Zionist Federation conveyed a resolution to the Commonwealth Government "deploring the action of certain British officials of the Palestine Government" who denied worshipers free access to the Wall.⁸³ In Sydney, the rabbinate spoke against the Federation from the pulpits, and the Melbourne Jewish Advisory Board, which in reality represented the Anglo-Jewish component of the Victoria Jewish community, publicly disassociated itself from this resolution and sought to prevent the Australian Government from transmitting the text of the resolution to London. The Advisory Board set the tone for the controversy with the words that Australian Jews as "loyal British Jews" should make every effort

to "uphold the authority of the British Government . . . and do nothing to embarrass it in its already difficult task."⁸⁴ Complaints were also made by the anti-Zionist faction to the police, attempting to prevent rallies of the Jewish community.⁸⁵ This active opposition and the counter demonstrations seem to have hardened opinion among those who were previously not committed. Ettinger claimed that as a direct result of such vigorous opposition, the Zionist movement gained a good deal of support and interest from the majority of the (non-Anglo) Jewish community.⁸⁶ Perhaps these anti-British demonstrations in several Australian cities illustrate the increasing interest in Palestine.

A phenomenon of this period of disagreement within Jewish ranks is the degree of support given to the Zionist movement in Australia by church bodies and individual non-Jews. Despite the charges of "disloyalty" by the Anglo-Jews, the long standing support of the movement by such men as Dean Talbot and Dr. Richard A. Arthur, continued to be of considerable moral and, sometimes, financial support.⁸⁷ A number of groups, led by the Christadelphians, co-operated in raising funds to plant a forest in the Jezreel Valley.⁸⁸

The schism grew wider with the development of events. Bitter controversy within the community was caused by the British (Passfield) White Paper of 1930, which restricted Jewish immigration into Palestine. In Sydney a protest meeting was organized at the Town Hall⁸⁹ and the resolutions were couched in terms which sought to placate the Anglo-Jews while expressing indignation at the White Paper.⁹⁰ The same resolutions, *mutatis mutandis*, were passed at meetings in Melbourne and Perth.⁹¹ However, the placatory attempts failed and the *Hebrew Standard* continued its anti-Zionist campaign on the grounds that the Jewish communal leaders were not in sympathy with the need to protest although, in fact, leaders of all sections of the community were found on platforms in Sydney, Melbourne and Perth. The heat of the controversy was temporarily ameliorated by the letter of 13 February 1931 from Ramsay MacDonald, Prime Minister of Britain, to Chaim Weizmann, which sought to explain away some of the more objectionable passages of the Passfield White Paper. In the subsequently calmer climate the Zionist movement in Australia made some headway.

The 1930s was a period of rapid growth of the Jewish population of Australia. From 1935 onward, as a result of Nazi persecution, the number of Jewish immigrants again began to increase, even though Jewish immigration was still restricted to but one hundred permits per week. This was far too few for the number of applicants and the Australian Government agreed after the Evian Conference to increase the number to fifteen thousand refugees (including non-Jews). The outbreak of war prevented this quota from being reached but at least seven thousand Jewish immigrants reached Australia between 1934 and 1940. The impact of these newcomers was felt in the enrichment of the religious fabric of Australian Jewry.⁹² Some 75 per cent of these newcomers came from eastern Europe. These immigrants began to play a

key role of the Australian Jewish community and they ensured that, ultimately, the official policy of that community would fully support the aims and aspirations of the Zionist movement.

It took time for their influence to be felt, especially since their very coming to Australian shores engendered hostility on the part of the Anglo-Jews who were afraid of antisemitism developing in the country. Ida Benzion, who came to Australia on behalf of WIZO in 1937, gave her impression of the Australian Jewish community as she found it, in a confidential letter to the editor of the *Palestine Review*:

“Australia is so far away from the rest of the world, and its Jewry is less interested in Jewish affairs than any other I have visited. Even the report [the Peel Commission] and the partition scheme failed to awaken the slightest flicker of interest in all but a small portion of foreign Jews. Sir Isaac Isaacs worried as to whether the Arabs were getting a fair deal! Not a word about the Jews. Some are a bit worried lest Palestine be unable to take all the refugee Jews and that might bring them to Australia. Some people are trying to shut the doors to the refugees and, alas, the Jews are amongst them. It is a spiritually poor, intellectually poor, nationally poor, Jewry, without leaders and without any feeling of responsibility.”⁹³

This judgement may seem overly harsh for a period which saw some expansion in Zionist activity, especially in the development of youth movements, cultural groups and women’s organizations.⁹⁴ Yet it is apparent that the Zionist movement was badly organized and even unable, in the words of Rabbi Brodie, President of the Federation, to “do elementary things such as replying to correspondence or urgent wires.”⁹⁵ As late as 1940, Shlomo Loewy, who had come to Australia on behalf of the Zionist Federation,⁹⁶ wrote to the Jewish Agency: “The greatest mistake done by our central institution was that in the last ten years Australia was visited only in connection with fund-raising activities. That was detrimental to the movement, and, on my arrival [in 1939] I found only miserable remnants of what we call an organization.”⁹⁷

A symptom of the mood of the community and of the relationship between Anglo-Jews and the newer immigrants is found in the brief but eventful tenure in office of Rabbi E. M. Levy, who succeeded Rabbi Francis Cohen at the pulpit of the Great Synagogue, upon the latter’s death in 1934. Rabbi Levy, in contrast to his predecessor, was an ardent Zionist and was appointed President of the Zionist Federation of Australia at its sixth congress in 1937, succeeding Rabbi Brodie.⁹⁸ Levy replied to a statement by Claude Montefiore of London, published in the *Hebrew Standard*, in which Zionism was described as a child of antisemitism, whereas Judaism was solely a religion and not a nationalism. Levy’s reply noted that “even a friendly Englishman considers it absurd for a Jew to pretend he is an Englishman . . . We are all Jews no matter where we live.”⁹⁹

Immediately, Sir Isaac Isaacs, the Governor General of Australia, and Sir Samuel Cohen, the President of the Great Synagogue, protested

against Rabbi Levy's arguments which they said implied that Jews were "disloyal" to the Crown¹⁰⁰ — a strange about face since, in earlier years, Isaacs had strongly argued a case similar to that about which he was now objecting.¹⁰¹ The Zionist executive felt constrained to proclaim its loyalty to the Crown. Rabbi Levy was given notice by the Great Synagogue that his contract would not be renewed and he was obliged to return to England, although the Great Synagogue Board was forced, through a series of unpleasant incidents, to negotiate a settlement with him. This was, perhaps, the zenith of the Anglo-Jewish opposition to Zionism in Australia. Though the debate continued until the very founding of the State of Israel, the fate of European Jewry and the wrath of the community inspired by the MacDonal White Paper of 1930, which further restricted Jewish immigration into Palestine, gave cohesion to most of the disparate elements of the community.

At the onset of World War II the Zionist movement in Australia received stimulation from a steady stream of visitors who would not normally have visited Australian shores. The direct route between Palestine and America was closed and air traffic came via Australia. Among the visitors was David Ben-Gurion who addressed a packed meeting in Sydney. The disruption of normal world-wide communications had severe disadvantages because the geographical isolation of Australia meant that the Zionist movement was often without contact for weeks — occasionally months — with the headquarters of the movement in Jerusalem and London.¹⁰² It was therefore decided to give special care to the reorganization of the Department of Zionist Policy which was placed in 1942 under the chairmanship of Dr. J. Machover.¹⁰³ Numerous publications during, and immediately after, the war carried the message of Zionism and Jewish nationhood around the Jewish Commonwealth. A monthly magazine, *The Zionist*, also began publication in 1943 and continued for more than a decade.¹⁰⁴ On the example of Great Britain, an "Australia-Palestine Committee" was established and included many non-Jewish Zionist friends. Men such as the State premiers, bishops, leading academics and trade unionists became active in these committees to promote repeal of the 1939 White Paper.¹⁰⁵ It was under the aegis of these committees that another stream of pamphlets tried to mould public opinion in favour of the Jewish national home.¹⁰⁶

At this time, when the Zionist movement was organizing political pressure against the British Government with a little success,¹⁰⁷ it was forced to divert some of its efforts to combat a resurgence of the Freeland League and the territorial movement. Dr. I. N. Steinberg, an emissary of the Freeland League, proposed that colonies should be established in Australia for emigrants from central and eastern Europe. These colonies were to be based on both agriculture and industry but would be free from political aspirations. Steinberg believed that a suitable area for settlement would be the Kimberly district of Western Australia.¹⁰⁸ A number of pamphlets, including detailed maps of the

area, were published by the Freeland League and they also published supporting statements from the press, the Australian Council of Trade Unions and from some churchmen.¹⁰⁹ The League was thus capitalizing on the sympathy for the Jewish cause won by the Zionist movement through its Australia-Palestine Committee. The Freeland League also published its own paper, *The Australian Jewish Forum*, until 1950 even though the Australian Government had rejected the scheme for fear of creating an "enclave".

In December 1942, twelve days after Anthony Eden made known Hitler's plans for European Jewry in "A Declaration on Behalf of the Allies", the Zionist Federation joined the other communal organizations in setting up the United Emergency Committee for the Rescue of European Jewry.¹¹⁰ The chairman of the Department of Zionist Policy was also chairman of the Rescue Committee and the program developed was not only one of trying to save lives but also one of co-ordinating these attempts with pressure for a repeal of the May 1939 White Paper, the freedom of migration to Palestine and representation of "the Jewish People" at all international bodies concerned with Palestine. This plan was formulated and approved at the 1943 Conference of the Australian Zionist Federation. While it was only binding on the Zionist Federation, there was complete agreement that the United Emergency Committee would respect this program as its own.

For a time it seemed as though the anti-Zionist forces would be stilled and the community would work in harmony. In fact, events proved these hopes to be false and the anti-Zionist Anglo-Jews began a period of intensive activity. The leaders of the Anglo-Jewish group were Rabbi Danglow of Melbourne, Sir Archie Michaelis, M.L.A., and Sir Isaac Isaacs, who was perhaps the most prominent Jew in Australia. Sir Isaac was the spokesman for the group and his statements received a receptive press in the *Hebrew Standard*, which was still edited by Alfred Harris.¹¹¹ From 1941-1943 Isaacs had made various attacks on the Zionist movement in the Jewish press, but in 1943 had launched a series of stinging assaults on the "pestilential doctrines of Zionism" which were printed in the public press. The series reached a climax during October and November 1943.¹¹² His open hostility was a challenge that could not be resisted. The Zionist Federation had tried to avoid a public breach with so eminent a man whose prestige could prejudice the success of their activities at a time when the Australian Government was being courted by the Zionist movement. The situation suddenly became crucial because Isaacs was in constant communication with Dr. Herbert Vere Evatt, Minister for External Affairs, whose help was urgently needed. Isaacs was silenced for a while by the publication of a close and detailed criticism of his arguments by Julius Stone, Professor of International Law at Sydney University, who showed in *Stand Up and Be Counted*,¹¹³ that many of them were specious. Stone's pamphlet ran to two editions. Between the publication of the first and second editions Isaacs suddenly put down his pen and the anti-Zionist voices were quieted for a while. In April 1945, it was

learned that Dr. Evatt was to attend the San Francisco Conference to help draft a charter for the new United Nations Organisation. The Zionist Federation immediately sought the help of the Australia-Palestine Committee to present petitions to the Prime Minister, John Curtin, and to Evatt. An impressive petition was raised by the committee and was presented to the Prime Minister shortly before Evatt's departure. Evatt received a delegation of leading Zionists who were also armed by a statement from Mr. Peter Fraser, Prime Minister of New Zealand, to the effect that Jewish aspirations in Palestine should be respected. Evatt promised the full support of the Australian Government. It is probable that the controversy with Isaacs was counter-productive to the anti-Zionist cause for it gave all the issues involved a public airing and may have strengthened Evatt's "sense of mission" toward the establishment of a Jewish State.¹¹⁴ Certainly Evatt received (and read?) a copy of *Stand Up and Be Counted*.¹¹⁵

In 1946 Isaacs returned to the fray with a publication entitled *Political Zionism, Undemocratic, Unjust, Dangerous*,¹¹⁶ and the Executive Council of Australian Jewry, the federal governing body of the community, was forced to disassociate Australian Jewry, officially, from Isaacs's views, affirming that the Jewish community supported demands for a Jewish State and free migration to Palestine. The statement of disassociation was given wide circulation and publicity in political circles, among the churches, trade unions and the press. Thus, again, anti-Zionism had proven unsuccessful and spurred the whole community to throw its weight behind the Zionist movement. This exchange and further statements from Isaacs received widespread publicity in the daily press¹¹⁷ and roused a good deal of anger against Isaacs who was subjected to abuse at public meetings. Though the controversy was described as a crisis for the community by the daily press, it was not so in the sense that the Anglo-Jews were now reduced to the true vocal anti-Zionists, Isaacs, Danglow and Michaelis. The rest of the community supported the Zionist movement wholeheartedly. Eventually, the President of the Executive Council of Australian Jewry, Mr. Alec Masel, who was also a former president of the Zionist Federation, was able to extract a promise from Isaacs that no more public statements would be made until they had first been discussed with him.¹¹⁸ This was the swan-song of the Jewish anti-Zionist movement in Australia until the late 1960s.¹¹⁹

The cordial relationship between Australian Zionist leaders and members of the Australian Government, especially the personal regard that had developed between Max Freilich and Horace Newman, two veteran Zionists, and Dr. H. V. Evatt,¹²⁰ now was to ensure that the numerically small community was to have substantial influence on events at Lake Success in 1947. Evatt was elected chairman of both the ad hoc Committee on Palestine of the United Nations General Assembly and president of the United Nations Assembly of 1948-1949, during the crucial period when the decisions on partition were made. He broke all precedents by inviting the Jewish Agency to be repre-

sented at the deliberations of the committee so that it could present its own view. Evatt has described the tenacity he needed to steer the committee to a vote on 25 November 1947, and attempts made to void the decision taken then and at the vote in General Assembly on 29 November 1947. Officials in the Australian delegation were of the opinion that in their joy at passage of the resolution, Jewish Agency leaders were substantially unappreciative of Evatt's influence in steering the vote to a successful conclusion.¹²¹ The same might also be said of the attitude of Australian Zionism which, from a slow beginning, grew to play a critical role in the final stages of pre-State Zionist history.¹²²

This article was contributed by the author to Jewish Social Studies, Vol. XXXIX, Fall 1977, No. 4 and is reprinted subject to some editing. The Society is grateful to Dr. Crown and the publishers for the opportunity to present the article to the readers of this Journal. The subject has been dealt with in other papers in the Journal but Dr. Crown has added more details and introduced new material particularly for the period after the early twenties. The Zionist Movement now plays a major role in Australia in Jewish life but it remains surprising that so little has been recorded of its history. For that reason alone the author's learned contribution is timely and valuable. (Editor)

NOTES

- 1 The files in the Zionist Central Archives, Jerusalem, have very little information on Australia for the period before 1917. The subsequent period is fairly well documented but the material is not too abundant to make study an inordinately long process.
- 2 Cf., the article "Zionism" in the *Encyclopaedia Judaica*, 16, p. 1034.
- 3 Morris Z. Forbes, "Palestine Appeals in the Fifties and Sixties," *Australian Jewish Historical Society, Journal and Proceedings* (hereafter A.J.H.S.) 3, No. 7 (1952) 313-33.
- 4 Cf., Goldman, pp. 109-21; also, Forbes, above.
- 5 Cf., "Montefiore" in Raphael Patai, *Encyclopaedia of Zionism and Israel* (New York, 1971) for a concise summary of Montefiore's activities.
- 6 An entry in Montefiore's diary saying that he would like to divert Jewish immigrants from Australia to Palestine was almost a prophetic foreshadowing of the conflict facing Australian Jewry in 1948 and 1949. In those years the Australian Jewish community was forced to call a special conference to discuss whether Jewish migration to Australia should be encouraged – in competition with Israel – because such migration would benefit the community.
- 7 Cf., Goldman, p. 292 – The Jews in Victoria in the 19th Century.
- 8 *Sydney Morning Herald*, 5 December 1860.

- 9 *Even Sappir* [A Sapphire] (Lyck, 1866), 1 v. The section dealing with Australia has been translated by L. A. Falk, in A.J.H.S., 1: 19-22; 43-50; 86-92; 116-20; 153-59; 192-97.
- 10 *Ibid.*, p. 45.
- 11 Moses Hess, *Rome and Jerusalem* (New York, 1943), p. 175.
- 12 Cf., *The Argus*, 4 January, 1862. "[Many] Jews . . . declare that no greater calamity could come to them than to be obliged to repossess themselves of that very undesirable country known as the Holy Land . . . The Jews do not desire to be evangelized and they do not wish to go back to Jerusalem."
- 13 Cf., *The Jewish Herald*, 8 March 1891.
- 14 Cf., New South Wales *Parliamentary Debates*, 2 October 1895, and the *Bulletin*, 11 November 1899.
- 15 Cf., Goldman, p. 392.
- 16 Cf., Zelman Cowen, *Isaac Isaacs*, (Melbourne, 1967), p. 226.
- 17 1 December 1893.
- 18 *Melbourne Jewish Herald*, 2 November 1894.
- 19 *Ibid.*
- 20 Cf., *Palestina* 1, October (1892). Committee lists.
- 21 *Ibid.*, 1895.
- 22 Cf., *Australian Hebrew*, 28 February 1896.
- 23 See the *Hebrew Standard*, 28 February 1896.
- 24 Cf., David J. Benjamin, "Western Australian Jewry, 1829-1897, Part 2, Perth," A.J.H.S., 2 (1946), 6, 311; Charles A. Price, *Jewish Settlers in Australia* (J.S.A.), p.35 and Appendix.
- 25 *Hebrew Standard*, 9 February 1900.
- 26 A record of a debate of 12 June 1901, "The Zionist Movement Should Be Encouraged", found in the minutes of the Great Synagogue, Sydney, shows many Jewish members of the establishment present. Cf., Morris Z. Forbes, "Early Zionism in Sydney, 1900-1920", A.J.H.S., 3 (1950), part 4, pp. 165-87. Note that the data in the *Encyclopaedia Judaica* for this period of Zionism in Australia is entirely unreliable and inadequate.
- 27 This is preserved in the library of Elias Green, Sydney.
- 28 Cf., File Z3, 50/BIg, Central Zionist Archives (hereafter C.Z.A.). A circular letter of 6 April 1906 showed that the managerial meeting of the Ladies' Branch of the International Zionist Organization was to be held at the Athenean Hall, Little Collins Street, Melbourne. A membership subscription of two shillings and sixpence was charged, one shilling of which was to be a shekel. (The C.Z.A. filing system is very complex. Numbers are quoted as found. They are often inconsistent.)
- 29 See letter 18 October 1910, C.Z.A., 50 BIg².
- 30 See note 20.
- 31 C.Z.A., file 23/500/BIg².
- 32 Cf., Suzanne Rutland, "Seventy Five Years, The History of a Jewish Newspaper", (Monograph of the A.J.H.S., November

1970), pp. 18 f.

- 33 Despite Rabbi Cohen's condemnation of Zionism, his attitude was most probably coloured by his experiences after 1906. His opposition was personally directed to his opponents at this time. In 1924 he secretly donated one hundred pounds to the Palestine Restoration Fund. He wrote in a private letter to London, "Unfortunately, Zionist affairs in this city are in the hands of the very intolerant persons, rancorous towards those who cannot see eye to eye with them in every respect and lacking in the courtesy due to public men who have convictions of their own. *This explains why the great majority of my congregation have held aloof despite a vigorous propaganda, and, indeed, in consequence of its tactless and bitter character [my italics].*" Cf., C.Z.A., 24, 1106/11.
- 34 Cf., C.Z.A., 500, BIg².
- 35 Cf., *Hebrew Standard*, 6 July 1906. Cf. also C.Z.A., Z4/32171. Speech of Dr. Richard A. Arthur on behalf of the New South Wales Government to the Australian Zionist Federation, 1930. "I am here tonight to have the honour on behalf of the New South Wales Government of welcoming the delegates from the other States . . . In a humble way I have been connected with the Zionist Movement. Twenty-three or twenty-four years ago, a long time ago, I founded the Immigration League of Australia and I was casting my eye all around the world for worthy and desirable immigrants and about the same time I heard that the British Government had offered the Zionist Movement an area in East Africa . . . It seemed to me that at that time Palestine seemed out of the question as the grip of the Turk upon that land, although not very secure, was also overshadowed by the possible menace of the Great Russian Empire and that as circumstances were it seemed impossible that the ideal which in another miraculous way has now come to pass, that the miracle could be brought about so I then wrote to the Prime Minister and suggested that he should offer the Zionists a tract of land in Australia for a settlement. I wrote to the "Jewish Herald" in London. I had some very interesting correspondence with Israel Zangwill and when I went home to London a year or two afterwards, I had to go to a hospital; the meeting did not come off and I had to make a hasty return to Australia."
- 36 *Ibid.*, 10 May 1907.
- 37 *Ibid.*, 8 February 1907.
- 38 *Ibid.*, 9 October, 1907.
- 39 *Ibid.*, 14 October 1910.
- 40 Cf., C.Z.A., 502, BIg².
- 41 *Ibid.*, Victorian Zionists were opposed on the grounds that distances between the State capitals were too great for a Federation to work effectively.
- 42 C.Z.A., ZB Koln 503/BIg². Vecht represented Australian Zionists

- at the Congress in 1909 (see C.Z.A., 122 B11/2), and Solomon Pechter represented Australia in 1920 (See C.Z.A., 189/B1). Both lived in Europe after periods of residence in Australia. The community could not yet afford to send a delegate from Australia. Cf., C.Z.A., 500/B1g.
- 43 C.Z.A., 500 B1 GZ. Report on Zionist activity in New South Wales. The report shows that in 1911 the community had two hundred Zionists of whom ninety were children. In Victoria there were a Victorian Zionist League, a Children's Society, and a Woman's Zionist League (Melbourne) and a Young People's Zionist Society. New Zealand had a Chovevei (Hoveve) Zion Movement and several other Zionist societies unnamed.
- 44 Cf., C.Z.A., 500 B1 G2, letter 30 January 1911.
- 45 Cf., C.Z.A., 502 B1g, for a copy of "The Aims and Practical Objects of Zionism", issued under the auspices of Percy J. Marks, president of the Sydney Zionist Society.
- 46 The tenor of the answer to the objections was as follows: "The opponents to Zionism have a favourite argument that we should wait till the Almighty gives Palestine to the Jews, and not anticipate the ways of Providence. The reply to this, of course, is that God helps those who help themselves. We are not to sit down and do nothing, but bestir ourselves and do all we can to bring about the return to the Holy Land. Providence always works through human agencies. The anti-Zionists are not even logical in their arguments, for they only quote scripture so far as it suits them, and then give a meaning to passages which in other circumstances they would not. To take only one out of many examples. Psalm 146, verse 7, reads "the Lord which gives food to the hungry". Here, if they applied the same argument as they do in connection with Zionism, they would not work or do anything so as to be in a position to obtain food, but simply rely on God's promise to feed them. They, however, in this case recognise its true meaning, but will not do so in similar quotations having reference to the restoration of the Jews to Palestine."
- 47 Indicative is the fact that the New South Wales State elections were postponed until 14 October 1910 because of Yom Kippur and the danger of disenfranchising Jewish citizens and discommoding Jewish candidates for Parliament. The non-Jewish press carried occasional pro-Zionist articles, cf., *Adelaide Advertiser*, 17 December 1910; *Maitland Daily Mercury*, 21 December 1910; the *Sydney Evening News*, 1911 is reported as having a friendly article.
- 48 C.Z.A., Z4/32171.
- 49 Cf., Peter Y. Medding, *From Assimilation to Group Survival* (Melbourne, 1969), pp. 127 f.
- 50 C.Z.A. Z4/293.
- 51 *Ibid.*
- 52 *Ibid.*, 5 December 1918.

- 53 *Ibid.*, letter of 23 September 1918. The Victorian Zionist Organization was formed in that year. The report of the State Zionist Council of Victoria stated that the year had been most active.
- 54 *Ibid.*, The Sydney Zionists' Association and the Young Men's Zionist Association combined to form the Union of Sydney Zionists.
- 55 The Union of Sydney Zionists had sent a copy of a resolution to the British government expressing their thanks to the government for their statement in 1918 on behalf of Rumanian Jewry. In 1919 members of the Victorian Zionist organization interviewed the Minister of Defence, Senator George Foster Pearce, and obtained an offer of help from the Australian government when Senator Pearce would be in London. Private Louis Phillips was given special army leave to act as Australian representative to the 1919 Zionist Conference. Cf. C.Z.A., Z4/293.
- 56 Cf., Israel Cohen, *The Journal of a Jewish Traveller* (London, 1925).
- 57 *Ibid.*, p. 47.
- 58 C.Z.A., Z4 1106/11, letter to Israel Cohen, 2 March 1922.
- 59 *Ibid.*, with a detailed account of the situation of Perth Jewry.
- 60 C.Z.A., Z7/2097, letter of 27 July 1923 from Israel Cohen to Rabbi Brodie.
- 61 *Ibid.*
- 62 *Ibid.* "Mr Zeltner is the president of the Victorian Zionist organization but I am afraid that this organisation is little more than a matter of form and I have not heard of it holding any meetings. I am therefore most anxious that the Victorian Zionist Organization should become a real live body and I should be most grateful if you would do everything in your power to bring this about . . ."
- 63 C.Z.A., Z4/1106/11. Letter to Dean Talbot; and *ibid.*, letter from Morris Symonds of the Union of Sydney Zionists to Israel Cohen.
- 64 C.Z.A., Z4/2097.
- 65 *Ibid.* Of this sum only £30,499 had been collected by 1923. The fact that so much had been pledged by European immigrants who were involved in trying to help their families overseas, made it difficult to have pledges redeemed.
- 66 *Ibid.* Letter of Zeltner to Israel Cohen; transfer of activities from Victorian Zionist Association to the Zionist Association Hatchia, June 1923.
- 67 C.Z.A., 11061, 11 August 1924. Letter to Israel Cohen. "South Australian interest in Zionism is moribund: we have not the right leader or leaders. Perhaps the new Rabbi from London will awaken us." A Newcastle Zionist association had existed, but it is described as moribund in 1924. A letter of 25 March 1924 shows a new Brisbane group, the Daughters of Zion, remitting small funds to London for a girls' agricultural college. In Broken Hill some Zionist activity must have been conducted because the sum of £ten was collected in 1924, (letter 28 January 1924)

- but no more is known about this group.
- 68 C.Z.A., Z4/3217 I. Letter by Alexander Goldstein to Keren Hayesod, London, 1 July 1927.
- 69 *Ibid.*
- 70 *Ibid.* "Union of Sydney Zionists, Maccabean Hall, Darlinghurst, Sydney . . . The *Hebrew Standard* is under the influence of Rabbi Cohen who is a pronounced anti-Zionist. I succeeded, however, in making the *Hebrew Standard* behave quite decently during my campaign, most probably because I promised him to discuss at the end of my campaign, the arrangements for your and the National Fund subsidy to that paper. The Sydney Campaign . . . I do not think that I have ever worked so hard or had to face such a great lot of difficulties . . . The greatest of them is the complete absence of Zionist workers . . . Every penny collected was got either at my meetings or by my personal canvassing . . . not one Zionist had done any canvassing."
- 71 *Ibid.* See also the Report of the First Interstate Australian Zionist Conference, 19-20 September 1927.
- 72 Letter, sent nt. 70.
- 73 Report of Mark Ettinger to the Jewish Agency, cf., C.Z.A., Z4/32141.
- 74 Letter of Ettinger to the Keren Hayesod, Jerusalem, 21 December 1928. Cf., C.Z.A., Z4/3217 I.
- 75 Report, C.Z.A., Z4/3214 I.
- 76 *Ibid.*
- 77 Cf., *The Jewish Herald*, 3 January 1929.
- 78 Cf., *The Hebrew Standard*, 10 August, 1906; 6 December 1907.
- 79 The report worried the Jewish Agency who asked Ettinger to supply them with authentic figures and details of the effect on Australian Jewry. Cf., C.Z.A., Z4/3217 I, 1515.
- 80 *Ibid.*, and Ettinger's report in the same file.
- 81 Ettinger's aforementioned report.
- 82 Cf., "Western Wall" in *Encyclopaedia of Zionism*, II: 1215-16, for a full description of the incident and the consequences.
- 83 Cf., *The Hebrew Standard*, 8 and 15 February 1929.
- 84 Cf., *The Jewish Herald*, 3 January 1929.
- 85 Cf., C.Z.A., Z4/3217 I, letter of Ettinger 21 December 1928.
- 86 *Ibid.*
- 87 Cf., Ettinger's report of 1930, C.Z.A., Z4/3217 I, p. 5, where he discusses non-Jewish support for Australian Zionism.
- 88 *Ibid.*
- 89 See copy of the leaflet, "Fellow Jews" advertising the meeting on 2 November 1930, in C.Z.A., Z4/3217 II.
- 90 The resolutions are typed on the back of the copy of the leaflet (see note 87) in the Central Zionist Archives. It reads:
1. That this meeting, held on the 2nd November 1930, by the Jews of Sydney, whilst expressing its loyalty to His Majesty, King George V, protests against the recent White Paper issued

by the British Government in connection with Palestine. It regards the same as a breach of the terms of the Balfour Declaration and the Mandate under which Palestine is administered.

2. That this meeting pledges its loyalty to the Zionist cause and expresses confidence in the action of the leaders.
3. That these resolutions be communicated to the Prime Minister of England and also to the Prime Minister of Australia.
4. That this meeting pledges itself to continue the Shekel Campaign and endeavours to secure an Australian delegate to the forthcoming Zionist Congress.

- 91 *Ibid.*, marginal notation.
- 92 A convenient summary of the population data appears in Encel, Buckley, *et al.*, pp. 27-41, *The Demographic History of the N.S.W. Jewish Community 1933-1966*, Jewish Social Studies, 34, No 2 (1972).
- 93 Cf., C.Z.A., S5/485.
- 94 Cf., "Australian Zionism" in *Encyclopaedia of Zionism*, chapters 5-9, and Medding, chapter 6.
- 95 Cf., letter by Brodie to Israel Cohen, C.Z.A., S5/495.
- 96 See letter of 14 November 1938, C.Z.A., S5/495.
- 97 Cf., Loewy to Lauterback, 18 September 1940, C.Z.A. S5/495.
- 98 Report of the Sixth Congress of the Federation, 3 March 1937, in C.Z.A., S5/495. It is interesting to observe how the resolutions of the Congress reflected the controversy between Zionists and Anglo-Jews, with statements of loyalty to the King and appreciation of Weizmann's work, all in the same resolution.
- 99 Cf., *Hebrew Standard*, 1 November, 1937.
- 100 Cf., *Hebrew Standard*, 18 November 1937.
- 101 C.Z.A., letter by Israel Cohen to Rabbi Levy, 26 January 1938, drawing attention to discussions between Cohen and Isaac Isaacs in the 1921 campaign. S5/495.
- 102 C.Z.A., S5/495 contains many copies of letters begging for information from Australia. It took at least four weeks for mail to arrive and many letters were lost. Eventually a procedure was adopted whereby mail was sent in duplicate via New York, ensuring the arrival of at least one copy.
- 103 Cf., J. M. Machover, *Towards Rescue: The Story of Australian Jewry's Stand for the Jewish Cause, 1940-1948* (Jerusalem, 1972), p. 13.
- 104 Cf., Solomon Stedman, "The Jewish Press in Australia", A.J.H.S., 6 (1964), part 1, pp.39-49.
- 105 Cf., Freilich, pp. 94-107, 113, 132-33, *Zion In Our Time* (1967).
- 106 E.g., Bishop Charles Venn Pilcher, *Palestine, A National Home for the Jews* (Australian Palestine Committee, New South Wales Section, n.d.); Dorothy Thompson, *Palestine and the Arabs* (Australian Palestine Committee, New South Wales Section, n.d.).
- 107 Publicity given to an approach by the Australian Zionist

- Federation to the Commonwealth Government, and a pledge of support by the Acting Prime Minister, Sir Arthur Fadden, may have been instrumental in persuading Churchill to authorize the establishment of a Palestinian Brigade in the British Army. Cf., Freilich, p. 87. Robert Menzies went to Palestine in February 1941 on his way home from a war cabinet meeting in London. He was greeted there by Moshe Shertok and Chaim Weizmann. Cf., C.Z.A., S5/15203.
- 108 Cf., Isaac N. Steinberg, *Australia, the Unpromised Land* (London, 1948).
- 109 Cf., S. Stedman, *A Jewish Settlement in Australia* (Sydney, n.d.); *Australians and Jewish Settlement in the Kimberleys*, Sydney, n.d.); *Jewish Settlement in the Kimberleys supported by Australians, A Collection of Articles and Documents*, (Sydney, n.d.).
- 110 Cf., Machover, pp. 16f.
- 111 Cf., Rutland, chapter 6, "Controversies over Zionism:" Medding, chapter 6, "Zionism, Nationalism, Charity and Psychological Security", and Cowen, pp. 232-37.
- 112 *Hebrew Standard*, 28 October 1943, 4, 11 November 1943.
- 113 Julius Stone, *Stand Up and Be Counted* (Sydney, 1944).
- 114 Cf., Machover, pp. 45 f. Freilich, in a personal communication, indicated that Evatt had a very strong feeling that his special mission was to help in the establishment of a Jewish State. Evatt had almost a messianic sense of his place in the establishment of the State of Israel.
- 115 Cf., Cowen, pp. 238 and 243.
- 116 Sir Isaac Alfred Isaacs, *Political Zionism* (Sydney, 1946).
- 117 *Sydney Morning Herald*, 12 July 1946; *The Argus*, 11 July 1946.
- 118 For a description of the negotiations, cf. Medding, pp. 132-33.
- 119 Cf., Mark Braham, *Jews Don't Hate* (Melbourne, 1970).
- 120 Cf., Freilich, *passim*, for a description of their friendly relationships. Cf., also, H. V. Evatt, "Australia's Part in the Creation of Israel", A.J.H.S., 5 (1961), part 4, pp. 151-70, where Evatt testifies to those friendships.
- 121 Cf., Freilich, p. 197.
- 122 Ben Gurion's latest work, *Israel, A Personal History* (Tel Aviv, 1972), has neither Evatt's name nor the name Australia in its pages. His name also does not appear in the *Encyclopaedia of Zionism*, except in a passing reference in the entry on "Australian Zionism".