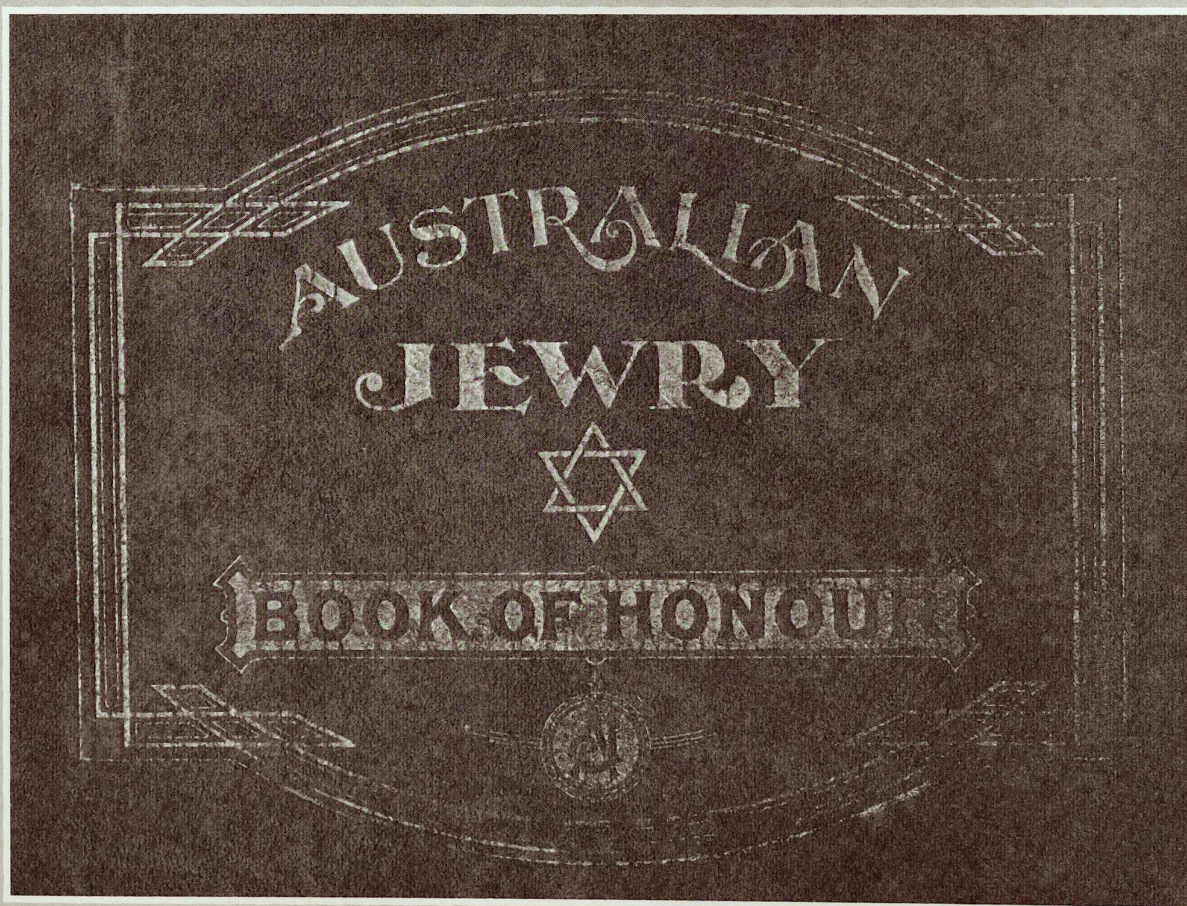


AUSTRALIAN JEWISH HISTORICAL SOCIETY JOURNAL



VOL XXII 2015



PART 2

AUSTRALIAN JEWISH HISTORICAL SOCIETY JOURNAL

June 2015

Volume XXII

Part 2

TABLE OF CONTENTS

Editorial.....	145
James Laurence the singing convict as ‘an Hebrew’ <i>Rob Wills</i>	149
Louis Pulver (1855-1897): ‘Heaven-Born Instructor of Youth’ <i>Raymond Apple</i>	174
Harold Boas – A Man of Principle <i>Philip Moses</i>	184
Finding the Jewish Diggers of the Great War (Part II): Identifying who is Jewish just by Name <i>Russell Stern</i>	211
Deciding to Stay: <i>Dunera’s</i> ‘Alien Doctors’ in Australia <i>Carol Bunyan and George M. Weisz</i>	285
History of Friends of the Hebrew University, (Part III) <i>Alan Milston</i>	303
Let My People Go <i>Robert Goot</i>	328
Whitlam’s Shifts in Foreign Policy 1972-1975: Israel and Soviet Jewry <i>Suzanne D. Rutland</i>	339
Essay Competition: Four winning entries	377

BOOK REVIEWS

Fishnets, Feathers and Heels, Memoirs of an Aussie bluebell By Rosalind Michaelis <i>Helen Bersten</i>	375
Transnational Traditions; New Perspectives on American Jewish History Edited by Ava Kahn and Adam Mendelsohn <i>Helen Bersten</i>	377
President's Report.....	383
Errata.....	385
Genealogical Enquiries.....	386
New Members.....	387
Contributors.....	388

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

JAMES LAURENCE THE SINGING CONVICT AS 'AN HEBREW'

Rob Wills

The Jewish convict singer and actor James Laurence (c.1793-1863) has already made a starring appearance on the stage and pages of this Journal. In 2010 Professor Robert Jordan published 'Blind Larry: The Jewish actor as habitual criminal.'¹ That was the first detailed study of Laurence, although Jordan's major work on convict theatre had previously examined his role as a performer.² As well, Rabbi Dr John Simon Levi has a two-page biographical entry on Laurence in his epic encyclopaedia of Jewry in colonial Australia, *These Are the Names*.³

Laurence's memoir, written in 1842 when he was a convict on Norfolk Island, provides researchers with invaluable information about his life up to that point, but in the years since Jordan's article was published I have found major new sources on Laurence's life, pre- and post-Norfolk Island. These are included in my new book, *Alias Blind Larry: the mostly true memoir of James Laurence the singing convict*.⁴ The amount of material now available on Laurence means we know more about his life, from his birth in London in 1793 to his death in Melbourne in 1863, than most other convicts transported to Australia, particularly those who stayed poor. We have invaluable information about him as an adventurer, a performer, a criminal, a convict, even a reformer, and not least as 'an Hebrew' (his words).

Laurence was born c.1793 (although his memoir says 1795) in Jewry Street, Aldgate, that part of London's east, near the Tower, that was the centre of the city's Jewish community in Georgian times. This article looks at Jewish Laurence – how his religion, his family, his culture, his connections, his background, impacted on his life. Although I have used separate section headings in this article, these strands often inevitably intermingle.

EDUCATION

A crucial question at the outset: how did Laurence acquire the literacy skills to write a memoir full of information, close detail, wry

comment and dry humour? The memoir also reveals his ability in mathematics and languages. The education he received was not typical. Well known authority on British Jewry, Professor Todd Endelman, has noted that:

For most of the eighteenth century, whatever formal schooling the children of the Jewish poor received was limited to a few years study in a *heder*, a one-room school where they were taught to read a few elementary Jewish texts. The quality of education in the *hadarim* was low.⁵

It was not usual for the Jewish poor to attend Christian schools, although children of some of the wealthy Jewish elite did. The few well-endowed Jewish schools offering a broad education only catered to children from prosperous families. Laurence, however, writes: 'in 1805 went to an Academy in Crutched Friars, the Revd James Whiffen. there Remained untill 1809. Left with a Tolerable share of Education.'⁶

The Reverend James Whiffen (1763-1828) of nearby St. Olave's parish, conducted a school in the almshouses maintained by the Drapers Company in Crutched Friars street (a continuation of Jewry Street). This is one of a number of instances of schools being associated with almshouses. There is no explanation as to how low status, Jewish Laurence came to receive a secondary education at a Christian school. He certainly lived very near the school but that would seem insufficient in itself to gain him admission. Yet from what we know his brothers, as discussed below, also received a sound education, perhaps at the same 'Academy.'

CLOSE FAMILY

Despite the paucity of sources about individual poor Jewish families from this period, it is still possible to recover a useful amount of information about Laurence's immediate kin. His former Superintendent on Norfolk Island, Captain Alexander Maconochie, had observed that Laurence was a member of a 'numerous family'.⁷

Laurence states in the memoir he was 'the Son of Henry Laurence a Dimond Broker.'⁸ Despite the sound of this, it does not mean the Laurences were wealthy. Not all those involved in the European diamond trade (a Jewish preserve for several centuries) were prosperous. Even though they worked with precious gems, diamond cutters, as employees, were not paid good wages (except in unionised Amsterdam). A cutter in London in the early 1800s was paid £2 a week, while small independent operators – such as Henry Laurence – earned only a fairly precarious livelihood. A major factor was that

throughout the eighteenth century huge new diamond deposits were continually being discovered in Brazil. An avalanche of raw diamonds flooded the market, causing diamond prices to plummet.

An 1811 Old Bailey court case involved Henry Laurence. Although found guilty of receiving stolen diamonds he was only fined one shilling and discharged – a token punishment. The court records reveal that the other accused was sentenced to death, but 'Judgment respited ... on account of his former good character, and believing it to be his first offence.'⁹ The value of the diamonds was not great – for example one carat's weight of small stones was worth only £7 or £8. The records describe Henry Laurence as 'Long faced, pock-marked', and give his age as 47 (thus born c.1764). Testimony revealed his premises were not lavish: at the time he lived and worked at 16 Duke Street, Aldgate, close by the Great Synagogue, with a shop downstairs and workshop above.

Of James's siblings, we have good information about a brother from the memoir and also from court and convict records. James makes several references to 'my Brother' and 'my Eldest Brother',¹⁰ probably the same person. Describing his life in London around 1812, James says: 'I was then Leading a Gentlemans life. I Keep a young Miss'; but this was a secret he kept from his parents. Not for long: 'I continued for some months untill I was seen at the theatre by my Brother and he made a discovery to my Parents. I did not deny the truth, but did not desert Maria on that account.' Yet when Maria became pregnant, James balked: 'it was not my wish to leave her, though I could not marry her, being inconsistant with my persuasion.'¹¹ Not surprisingly, with a name like Maria she was not Jewish, and at this point in his life James would not marry outside his 'persuasion' (although much later he did).

Maria gave birth to a 'Fine girl',¹² but Laurence did not budge: 'Mrs Paterson the Mother stated to me she would do any thing for the Pair of us If I would be united in Wedlock, but I gave no answer on that Subject nor did not Mention the cause.'¹³ He claims to have provided financial support, and perhaps did so intermittently, but at one point was arrested for debt at the instigation of Maria's father, owing for '£300 Maintaniance'.¹⁴ Despite his shabby treatment of her, Maria stood by him, visiting him in Manchester in 1814 after he was sentenced to seven years' transportation for larceny, and later in London 'to take the last farewell',¹⁵ when he was briefly held there on his way to the prison hulks and transportation. Convict James Laurence arrived in Sydney in April 1815, and we hear no more about Maria and the 'Fine girl.'

Back to his brother: the one who dobbed him in to his parents about Maria may have been his 'Eldest Brother', who was also

transported to Australia, arriving in August 1817, a few months before James was released after serving two years' hard labour in Newcastle for picking pockets in Sydney. James' memoir relates:

My Time was expired, I proceeded... for Sydney in a most deplorable State, worn almost to a skeleton and almost naked. all my friends deserted me. on my arrival I met my Eldest Brother, under the care of Baron Field Judge of the Supream Court.¹⁶ assisted me with cloths and a trifle of money.¹⁷

Although a great many convicts called Laurence/Lawrence were transported to Australia, Lewis Lawrence, transported in 1817 for 'for stealing, on the 7th of January, four veils, value £1 [each]',¹⁸ is the best candidate for James' eldest brother. Not only do the Old Bailey records tell us Lewis was 28, therefore born around 1788 and thus some five years older than James, they also provide glimpses of the women in the Laurence family.

The theft victim, shop-keeper Eliza Yates of Lincoln's Inn Fields, knew Lewis' mother but not him, so she would not entrust him with the veils he sought 'for his mother to shew to a lady'. Instead, she sent her employee, Celia Brown, to accompany Lewis with the veils. Lewis led her to a house in Wild Street where he said his sisters lived. Once there, he said they weren't at home, then took her to 'the corner of Long-Acre', got her to give him the veils, and went indoors while she waited outside. He then changed his clothes and emerged undetected. Celia testified that after waiting 'near an hour without seeing him, I went to the house in Wild-street, and found his sisters there, who told me where I was likely to find him, a person took me to Phoenix-alley, and I waited there for him, but he did not come, and I went home.' Lewis was found later that night in a pub in Bow Street, but he had already pawned the veils. 'Verdict, Guilty; Transported for Life.'¹⁹

One of the highlights of James Laurence's memoir is his escape to Calcutta in 1818 and his exhilarating few months of freedom there as a singer and actor. Yet his old way of life resurfaced, and he stole again and ended up in court once more:

after a Long Yarn was Cast for death and to expect no Mercy from the Court ... I was sent to the Gaol to be Confin'd in a Cell. The Revd Mr Thompson visited me often ... I wrote a letter and put it under a Trunk of mine In my cell for my Money & property to be sent to my unhappy Brother that was in New South Wales ... Several Gentleman visited me at times. There was very few of my persuasion in Calcutta but I informed Mr

Thompson that I was an Hebrew and that if I was to suffer I should die one, has I was taught from my infency, and I trusted to the Almighty for forgiveness.²⁰

The Reverend Thomas Thomason (1774-1829), who tried to get a death-cell conversion out of Laurence, was a Church of England minister who had left a rural parish near Cambridge in 1808 to come to India as a missionary. In Calcutta he used his extensive knowledge of languages to translate the Old Testament into 'Hindoostanee.' A pious biography written soon after his death leaves one in no doubt that Thomason would have made strenuous efforts to convert Laurence.²¹

The Jewish population of Calcutta at this time was few and recent, the first arrival in 1798 being trader Shalom Cohen, originally from Aleppo in Syria. The small community of Middle Eastern Jews, from Baghdad as well as Aleppo, that developed there dealt in indigo, cotton, silk, precious stones, ivory and coffee. One account has their numbers up to 200 by 1825; much later, boosted by refugees fleeing Nazi-occupied Europe, Calcutta's Jewish population peaked at around 5,000 in 1940,²² but in 2010 the community then numbered fewer than 40, so once again there are very few of Laurence's 'persuasion in Calcutta.'²³

Laurence says he awaited execution with equanimity, but wanted his parents shielded from knowledge of his fate:

my time was getting short, my Mind was content. my Wish to my Brother not to let my parents know what Become of me. I made no discovery to any one [of] my Guilt thou I was ask'd Repeatidly, but it was no go. I Remained until the 20th of April, when I was orderd for Execution on the day Following at 4 o'Clock ... Now for the Grand Secret. I pray'd fervently for forgiveness to the almighty as a Sinner. Previous to the Time the Revd Mr Thompson, Sheriff, and Jaioler, came in. Where the interest came from I could not tell, but was Repreaved from death, to be forwarded to New South Wales.²⁴

The histories of other convicts reveal it was not uncommon for those under sentence of death to be told only at the last minute of their reprieve – they were made to sweat. As for 'the interest', or influence, that Laurence claims intervened to save him from death, this is just self-aggrandisement. It was not unusual to commute death sentences down to less severe punishments.

With his new seven year sentence to serve Laurence led an uneven existence back in New South Wales. He kept his nose clean for a

while, was appointed overseer of a gaol gang, but then stole a leg of mutton from a butcher's shop window and was sent to the prison farm at Emu Plains. He acted in the convict-run theatre there, but soon absconded and was despatched to the penal settlement at Port Macquarie.

in 1826 became Free again, went to Sydney ... No account from Home; Brother Drowned; and in the same year Transported again for Seven years for a Robbery.²⁵

Lewis Laurence, unfortunately, had followed faithfully in his younger brother's footsteps, and less than a year after his arrival was transported to Newcastle. He obtained his Ticket of Leave mid-1824,²⁶ but I could find no trace of his death between then and James' return to Sydney in March 1826.

As well as this brother, Laurence also mentions 'my Dear sister' and 'my Eldest Sister' – apparently the same person. Despite initially trying to conceal Maria's pregnancy from his family: 'I was compelled to unfold the Mystery of Maria's Case, and my Eldest sister call'd and seen her, unknown by the rest of the Familey, and made Maria some trifling presents.'²⁷

He could rely on this loyal sister for confidential support, knowing she would conceal his situation from their parents. He again called on her help when he planned to go abroad on a (crooked) money-making venture after his daughter's birth:

but I was determined not to go untill I provided for my Dear Maria & Infant, and related Circumstances to my sister, she being a great Friend of mine and promised me faithfull that she should not want for any thing during my absence. ... I left, and they [Maria's parents] allowd one Guinea pr Week during my absence to be paid to my Sister weekly, which made the amount of Three Guineas pr Week for Maria & daughter, which I was satisfised in mind that would do.²⁸

This sounds very decent and honourable, but he was later gaoled for debt, owing '£300 Maintaniance'.

This wayward young man not only had the support of his sister, there were occasions when his mother, too, came to his aid. At the very time Laurence was concealing Maria's pregnancy from his parents, he was: 'occupied some times at my Fathers and other times at Gaming Houses. my Mother Had given me some little assistance at Times, nothing of any consequence.'²⁹ He seems incapable of expressing gratitude, here and elsewhere, for financial help from his family.

Decades later, after a life of crime in England and Australia, the multiply-convicted James Laurence finally went back to England in the mid-1840s, a free man. There he gave evidence to a House of Lords Select Committee, and met his former Superintendent from Norfolk Island, Captain Maconochie. In one of his many polemic pamphlets, Maconochie described the success of his promotion of religious observance on Norfolk Island:

with the Jews, unused at that time in the colonies to have their faith treated with so much respect, I was peculiarly successful (I made one of their number, an educated man, their reader and special overseer, and gave him charge over their moral conduct as well as religious observances; they consequently all behaved very well; three of them eventually became overseers through their good conduct, one has been long since respectably settled in Sydney, and one, originally among the least promising of them, I met some years afterwards in London, established in business, doing well, and reconciled to a numerous family there. He had been twelve years a prisoner when he came under this management, and twice, if not three times, previously convicted, consequently very much demoralized [meaning his morals had been debased]).³⁰

Given his conviction record and his history, there is no difficulty in recognising James Laurence as 'originally among the least promising of them'. But what of his 'numerous family'? We could expect some of his sisters (if probably not his parents) to still be alive, and we know for certain that he had at least one brother in London around this time. When asked by the Select Committee in 1847: 'What Trade have you followed since your Return to this Country?' he replied 'I have a Brother in London who used to allow me a Trifle'³¹ – the past tense and the use of 'trifle' perhaps reveals a degree of bitterness on James' part.

I looked to the 1851 UK census to find other members of his family, and identified one who is almost certainly a brother, and two other likely brothers. Samuel Lawrence shared a place of birth with James, London's Aldgate; he was aged 53, thus born c.1798 and some five years younger than James; and, of particular significance, he was a Diamond Merchant. Yet, like his father Henry, apparently not a very successful one. Samuel's place of residence on census night, Sunday 31 March 1851, was the Debtors Prison in Whitecross Street. He was one of 97 inmates at the prison recorded by the census taker. (A brother deep in debt could well have decided he could no longer afford even a trifle to support his ex-convict sibling.)

Samuel was married but I did not find his wife or any children. Nor did I look for the sisters, not knowing first names or married names, and there was no record of father Henry in this or the 1841 census.³² Yet it is possible that the 1851 census records two more of Laurence's brothers, both born in the City of London, both about the right ages, both merchants. These are Moses L. Lawrance, 54 years old (born c.1797), and Philip, 51 (born c.1800). Moses lived at 26 Maida Vale West,³³ with wife Rayner, three daughters, a son, and three servants. Philip Lawrance, probably Moses' brother, was unmarried and a visitor at the Maida Vale house on the night of the census. All part of James Laurence's large family in London?

In yet another publication where he discusses the Norfolk Island Jewish convicts, Maconochie again refers to Laurence: 'five years ago one was met in England, apparently in good estimation and circumstances and travelling for a small merchant.'³⁴ Despite the positive tone of 'travelling for a small merchant', this was very probably a low-level job. A commentator from the 1750s refers to: 'Poor travelling Jews, who seek their daily bread by hawking and selling small wares in the country.'³⁵ There was also an itinerant trade in jewellery which by the 1790s was dominated by Jews – a possible travelling career for Laurence, the diamond merchant's son (cheap watches sold by peddlers were known as 'Jew watches').³⁶

There was no identifiable record of James Laurence himself in the census records for London. It is always possible he was travelling outside the capital, but I did not trawl through the entire UK 1851 census looking for him. Of course, he may have deliberately absented himself from the census process.

OTHER KIN

Young James Laurence, with his 'Tolerable share of Education', left school in 1809 and in that year: 'it was the wish of my Parents of my proceeding to Kingston Jamaica to a Relative as a Book Keeper and to assist him in his Marcentile affairs.'³⁷ So he sailed on the *Aguilar* in mid-1809.

Amused the Captain and Passengers with several songs, to the astonishment of the whole of them ... We arrived safe at Port Royal in the Month of September on the 29th day. I landed at Kingston the same Evening with the Captain and Part of the Passengers, where I was accompanied by the Capt to my Uncle with my Letters of Recomendation. He was astonished, but Happy to See me, though thought I was too Young to leave my Parents.³⁸

Since the early 1500s there had been a Jewish community in Jamaica,

first comprising Sephardim escaping the Inquisition in Spain and enforced Christianisation in Portugal, with Ashkenazim arriving in numbers from the mid-seventeenth century on, when Cromwell tacitly permitted Jewish migration to England and, by implication, to its colonies. A century later the Bevis Marks synagogue in London helped fund poor Sephardim to migrate to Jamaica or Barbados. Many Jamaican Jews, like Laurence's uncle, were merchants. Kingston became a focus of Jewish settlement around the middle of the eighteenth century, with a Sephardi synagogue built there in 1744 and an Ashkenazi one some 40 years later.

I have made no conclusive identification of Laurence's uncle in Kingston, although a potential family member is one Philip Lawrence, mentioned in the records of the Ashkenazi synagogue in 1837 and 1850 – perhaps a son of the uncle and hence James' cousin.

Another possibility for the uncle is a member of the Hart family (as we will see, James Laurence had Hart kin in the USA). Harts played a significant role in Jamaican history, for example Daniel Hart (1800-1852), who was a retailer from a poor family yet was elected to the Kingston House of Assembly in 1836. This was despite, or because of, being described by the Governor as a 'Jew pedlar, a sellar of rotten shads [river herrings], tho' with a little money.'³⁹

The West Indian climate did not suit James, but after recovering from a fever:

was asked as a favor if my uncle would allow me to Sing at Vauxhall Gardens, aBout 2 Miles from Town. I then Proceaded with my uncle & Familey and was Gratfully Receved and very Much appauded, and could have Had an Engagement but my uncle would not allow me with out writing to my Parents on the Subject. but However I did not Press the Matter.⁴⁰

James continued to have health problems so eventually left, paying a brief visit to the USA (Carolina and Virginia) before returning to England. Back home, he threw himself into pursuing a life in the theatre, an unpopular choice with his family.

I then got an Engagement with Mr Elliston, against the will of my Parents, at the Surry Theatre at £2 pr Week to Sing and play in Operatical Pieces, but not as a Star of the day. I now was Stage Mad – I would have rather Play'd and Sang Gratis than been discharged. I now and then visited my fathers but they did not approve of my conduct.⁴¹

He went from theatre, to thieving, to trying to earn his living as a

singer, but without success. His parents disapproved of his behaviour, but were prepared to give him another chance – on certain conditions (note that ‘friends’, used below, can mean relatives at this period, and almost certainly does here).

Very much reduced in circumstances, left destitute of a Shilling, and from the intrest of friends was once again taken under the Protection of a Parent again with a Promise of Keeping at Home. I Remained at home Two Months and informed my Father I should wish to go to America again, to New York where I had a distant Relative, an Eminent Merchant in Grenwich Street, by the Name of Hart. it was agreed that I might go to Break my Conection, with plenty of new Apperal and £100 in cash.⁴²

We come now to one of Laurence’s great escapades (there were several) – namely his involvement with his distant relative in New York, ‘an Eminent Merchant in Grenwich Street, by the Name of Hart.’ Among the several Jewish merchants called Hart who had settled in the USA and Canada in the eighteenth century, Ephraim Hart (1747-1825) is the most promising candidate for Laurence’s relative. Contemporary sources list ‘Ephraim Hart, merchant, 87 Greenwich’.⁴³ As for being ‘Eminent’, Ephraim Hart was one of the 24 brokers who signed the 1792 Buttonwood Agreement under a buttonwood tree outside 68 Wall Street, which marked the beginning of the New York Stock Exchange.

Laurence sailed to New York with an acting troupe led by George Frederick Cooke (1756-1811). Cooke achieved fame in major roles – Othello, Shylock and Richard III – but increasing alcoholism affected his reputation and his performances. Yet he must have made a great impression on star-struck young Laurence, who adopted Cooke’s forenames as part of what became his favourite alias. He added the false surname ‘Laurent’ (which sounds something like Laurence), claiming to be the son of another famous British actor, Mr Laurent (a clown and sometime proprietor of London’s Lyceum Theatre), and thus reinvented himself as ‘George Frederick Laurent’.⁴⁴ The troupe arrived in New York in November 1810.

The young thespian’s career in New York unfortunately did not run smoothly – nor did his relationship with his Hart kin.

I continued my Engagement untill Mr Price, the Proprieter [of the Park Theatre], gave me an insult after Four Months, and required me to pay the fine or fullfill the Engagement ... I at this time was living with Mr Cook at the Tontine Coffee House

at a very Great expence. he inform'd me it was foolish for me to break the Engagement untill the Season was over. I told him my determination. my cousin Mr Hart would not countenance me owing to the Life I was leading, and told me he would write to London if I did not leave them [that is, the acting troupe]. I did so, according to his wish, and went to live with the family. it was too remote for me. Mr Hart, Junr, was about leaving for London. I stay'd there untill I had an opportunity of Getting to his check Book. I Embraced an opportunity to take the Check book and Forged for a Thousand Dollars, and proceeded to Philadelphia on all Top Ropes [that is, living riotously or extravagantly].⁴⁵

A reprehensible way of repaying the kindness of his American cousins. The only son of Ephraim Hart, the Philadelphia-born Dr Joel Hart (1784-1842), was married in the Hambro Synagogue, London, on 2 May 1810 to Louisa Levien (whom he met in London while studying at the Royal College of Surgery). It seems highly plausible that he was the 'Mr Hart, Junr' about to leave for London. He could have been revisiting London on medical matters, or perhaps even to bring news of his first child, Frances Horatia Hart, born 3 February 1811 in New York City. In any event, he travelled \$1,000 lighter (although Laurence does tend to exaggerate the magnitude of his crimes, so it could well have been less).

There was more crooked activity in Canada and then back in New York before Laurence returned to England, probably arriving in the second half of 1811 (his chronology is often shaky). On the coach from Plymouth to London he befriended an old man, a Mr Knox of Glasgow, and took him to a notorious London brothel, the Key in Chandos Street. While Knox was asleep 'I eas'd my Friend of Ninety Four Pounds in Bank of England Notes and His Watch & Appendages.'⁴⁶

He sold the watch for £30, found he could not plunder Mr Knox any further, so made his farewells and returned to his parents, now living in Bury Street (it is noteworthy that he is still only about 18 at this time). Again he found his 'Dear Sister' had covered for him – Ephraim Hart had written to London, as threatened.

I took Coach with my Boxes and arrived in Bury Street. Several Questions Concerning America and how travling did agree with me, but I made the answers short. I was affraid to say much, but during conversation my Sister told me that a letter had arrived some time Back with the unpleasant tidings of my conduct to my Cousin Hart of New York. address'd to my

Father, but it came to the Hands first of my Dear Sister. Knowing it would make the family uneasy should it be seen, and as a Trump [a friend in need] destroy'd the same without my Parents Knowledge so that there was no down on me through these means. they never ask'd me concerning my circumstances or How I was situated concerning Cash, But I told my Mother that I had a Trifle.⁴⁷

Given this unpleasant history, it is amazing that not long after returning from Australia to England in 1844, Laurence made another visit to the United States. He volunteered to the House of Lords Select Committee: 'I have been to the United States. I went to see an Uncle of mine who lives in America.'⁴⁸ The Committee sought further information.

4619. When were you in the United States?

I went to the United States Four Months after I arrived in London in 1844. I have recently come home. I have been in London Seventeen Months. I have been all through the States of America; in fact I had been there in 1809.

4620. Did you carry on any Business in the United States?

No. I went there to an Uncle of mine. During my stay there I was not capable of carrying on Business, because I lost the Use of my Hand and Arm. I was with my Uncle in Philadelphia.

4621. He is in Business there?

Yes.

4622. He maintained you?

He did during my Stay.⁴⁹

The Hart family, his kin and unfortunate hosts in New York in 1810/11, had strong links with Philadelphia, so perhaps it was the case that a third of a century later the Harts had forgiven (or forgotten) and thus generously extended their hospitality to Laurence once more. Broker Ephraim Hart had died in 1825 and his son Dr Joel Hart who was born in Philadelphia, died in 1842, so he could not be the uncle. Yet Laurence might have loosely characterised one of Joel's sons, either Gustave Adolphus Hart (b.1815) or George Washington Hart (b.1819), as uncle. However, the Jewish community in Philadelphia included many Harts at this time, and it might be that the uncle is to be found among them. There are more than 30 men with this name listed in *McElroy's Philadelphia Directory* of 1840, and eight of them are merchants. Other Hart businesses included basket maker, bookseller, bootmaker, boxmaker, cooper, druggist, dry goods, fancy goods, grocer and plumber.

The duration and timing of this visit to the US is not easy to determine, but the best fit is late 1844 to late 1845.

There is one more intriguing reference in the memoir to another family connection, a different one. In late 1812 Laurence made his arrangements to pay maintenance (see above) before going off to Portugal on a money-making venture. He described this enterprise as follows:

I made a Purchase of Five Hundred Pounds of Forged Notes from Billy Aberfield, small and Large, to take with me as a Recomendation to my Portugues Friends. and with the Help of God to accomplish my design, I engaged a passage on Board the Ship Matilda of London and to imbark at Portsmouth for Lisbon.⁵⁰

'Friends', as noted earlier, can mean kin, family, at this period, so it is possible, even probable, that here Laurence is referring to kin in Portugal. And this could mean that the Laurence (Lorenzo?) family had Sephardi origins in Portugal. His Hart relatives in New York were also Sephardim.⁵¹

Despite all his crimes and misdemeanours and general bad behaviour, Laurence clearly benefited from a very high level of support from many family members in London, the USA and even Portugal.

CONNECTIONS AND CONTACTS

Above and beyond his numerous family, Laurence was also able to draw on extensive support from the Jewish community at large – networking being a key and continuing feature of Jewish life. Here he sets the scene for his first trip abroad in 1809:

it was the wish of my Parents of my proceading to Kingston Jamaica to a Relative as a Book Keeper and to assist him in his Marcentile affairs. I saild with a small [trading] Venture on Board the Transport Ship Aguilar, Belonging to a merchant of the same name of Darvinshire Square.⁵²

Isaac Aguilar (c.1748-1825), a Jewish merchant of Devonshire Square, presumably financed the *Aguilar* (the ship, built in 1801, does bear his name), but he does not appear in *Lloyd's Register* as the owner. If he had been born abroad, as an alien he could not own a British ship and hence would have had to resort to subterfuge: 'Foreign-born Sephardi merchants who were not naturalized ... purchased ships in the names of their English-born clerks'.⁵³ The ship's regular destination was Jamaica – arrangements had been

made (presumably by his parents) that Laurence would travel on a Jewish-owned vessel.

Devonshire Square, a short distance NE of Jewry St, was laid out and developed from 1678 on. Aguilar's house, No. 12, is one of the earliest surviving buildings, with its residents recorded from 1692 to the present. Isaac Aguilar's first occupancy of this house was from 1785-1812. Bankruptcy might then have resulted in a move to more modest accommodation. He had been a man of substance in the Parish of St. Botolphs, being Parish Constable in 1803 and Overseer of the Poor in 1806. Jewishness was not a barrier to holding such offices in a parish – the parish being an important unit of civil government. In 1817 he returned to No. 12 for several years, and his obituary in 1825 referred to him as 'late of Devonshire Square.'⁵⁴ At the end of the eighteenth century wealthy Jews took up residence not only in Devonshire Square, but also in the new mansions of Billiter, Finsbury and Welclose Squares.

In 1811, during one of his early stints in the USA, Laurence learned of his father's arrest in England over the stolen diamonds, and was understandably disturbed by this:

At this unpleasant news and the feeling of a child, I Emmeaditly Took Shipping and Sailed for England. my uneasness on the Passage was more than I can express, and what was the worst of all, I had a very Long and dangerous passage of 110 Days Before we arrived at Portsmouth. my anxiety was great to hear the result of an affectionate Parent, and to my Rejoisment of a Gentlement by the name of Israel of Point Street, of the Acquital of my Father under singular circumstances, through the Respectability and numerous characters, Knowing him for a number of years as an Honest Man. at this favorable report I was urged to stop for a few days with Mr Israels Familey and then procead to London.⁵⁵

Henry Roche, an expert on Portsmouth Jewry, has identified an Abraham Israel as living in Point Street at just the right time.⁵⁶ The *Hampshire Telegraph* of 14 January 1811, when listing Israel's bankruptcy, described him as 'silversmith and slopseller' (slops being clothes). In early 1815 he was no longer bankrupt and moved to London in that year. As a silversmith in the Portsmouth Jewish community in 1811, Abraham Israel must have closely followed the courtroom fortunes of diamond dealer Henry Laurence in London. England's Jewish population at this time was small, perhaps only some 15,000, and most lived in London. This was where Laurence went after staying for a few days with the Israel family:

I then Took Coach and arrived there, my Father Living in Bury Street, St Mary Axe. the supprise was Great Seeing me in London and no account of me for Several months. I then stated the pirticulars of coming to England, which was approved of as a duitfull Son, thou I had run through almost the whole of my Money, with the Exception of Sixty Four Pounds, and I explained the Reason of my leaving Jamaica.⁵⁷

Even when transported to far off Australia, Laurence was able on arrival in 1815 to call on a Jewish community connection: 'Left my Letters of Recommendations with Mr Nichols, Ex Superintendent, and then Post Master.'⁵⁸

Isaac Nichols (1770-1819), an ex-convict who had made good in New South Wales, was not Jewish yet Laurence had good reason to present Nichols with his 'Letters of Recommendations'. In 1805 Nichols had married Rosanna Abrahams, daughter of Esther Abrahams. Esther, Jewish and London-born, was a First Fleeter, transported for the attempted theft of silk lace. In 1787 she was 20 years old, pregnant, and before transportation gave birth to Rosanna in Newgate prison. Rosanna's father was presumed to come from a Spanish Jewish family. In Australia Esther lived with Lieutenant George Johnston and they had seven children, eventually marrying in 1814. Thus, Laurence took his letters of recommendation to Nichols because Nichols had a Jewish wife who was descended from London's Jewish community and so fell within the ambit of Laurence's network of contacts.

There is no indication in the memoir as to any benefit Laurence might have immediately obtained from this introduction, but some twenty years after his arrival in Sydney he was able to use the connection to his advantage:

I was Pull'd again for a Robbery on a Scotch Gentleman by the name of Main of Kent Street, had recently arrived from Home. got committed for trial. Retaind Mr Nichols.⁵⁹

In retaining the legal services of George Robert (or Bob) Nichols (1809-1857), it is likely Laurence had in mind London-born Jewish Esther Abrahams and her daughter Rosanna. Bob Nichols was Isaac and Rosanna's second son. And Laurence was doubtless conscious of a mother's significance in Jewish heritage (even though Bob Nichols lived and died Church of England).

In this instance 'George Lawrence (commonly called blind Laurence)'⁶⁰ was accused of stealing a cut-glass toilet bottle worth 12 shillings from a Sydney shop, but Nichols not only got him

released on bail, at the trial itself in January 1835, he ably argued his client's case with the result that Laurence was found not guilty (although the evidence as reported, and Laurence's history, indicated the opposite).

Turning back now to the seven year sentence he had received in Calcutta: after finishing this at Port Macquarie in New South Wales, he received a Certificate of Freedom on 18 March 1826 in the name of 'George Frederick Laurent' (but a note records: 'was originally transported per Indefatigable as James Laurence'). We get a snapshot of the newly free Laurence: he is 33 years old; 5 feet 7 inches; with a complexion that is 'Dark Sallow & pock pitted'; his hair is brown and his eyes are 'Brown, blind of left.'⁶¹

During his brief period of freedom in 1826 Laurence, under his nickname Blind Larry, achieved a certain notoriety in the Sydney press, as per a pub brawl reported in *The Monitor* of 7 July 1826:

Nettleton's half-way house was all alive on Tuesday Evening. A marvellous concatenation of Jew and Gentile – Scribe and Pharisee – all met for the purpose of *keeping it up* [prolonging a debauch], as the phrase is – but with the motley groupe here assembled, harmony did not prevail to the extent evinced in other the like assemblages – for ere the night closed in, '*Milling*' [fighting] was all the go, and any thing else but good-humour was the *forte* of some of the fraternity. The head of the supper table which was well laid out, was most *conveniently* (as it should seem) filled by our worthy promoter of the Peace *Mr. Israel Chapman* – and *Mister Lawrence*, alias *Blind Larry*, alias *Monsieur Laurent*, acted as Croupier.

The Halfway House Inn run by J. Nettleton was indeed exactly half way between Sydney and Parramatta. There is still a hotel (not the same building) on the site today, The Horse and Jockey at 70 Parramatta Road. Publican Nettleton replied to the paper indignantly on 14 July 1826:

I read a very shameful account of a dinner which took place at my Inn, on the Parramatta road, and now beg to contradict it. A subscription-ball and supper, was indeed held at my house on the day mentioned by you. Mr. Chapman certainly was on his return from Parramatta, whither he had been on duty respecting Mr. Ball's robbery, but he was no[t] only not president, but not even a guest. As to the man you call *Blind Larry*, I know nothing of him; at my tap all ready money customers are welcome, and if Blind Larry has been one, so

much the better. Chapman is an active respectable constable, and as such his being a guest, would have been, in my opinion, no discredit to my house; but as to *Larry*, I consider you have wantonly injured my house, in representing him as a conspicuous guest at my table, and cast disrespect on the very respectable persons who were present. In justice to them and myself, and considering your observations made by your reporter without your particular observation or concurrence, I have to demand, that this letter of refutation may be inserted in your next number; and in the mean time recommend you in future, to be more cautious in your wit at other peoples' expence. I had thoughts of withdrawing my humble support to your paper, but I shall wait for a reply to this, as I have hitherto held you to be a man of candour, as well as of public spirit. I am, Sir,

Your most Obedient Servant, J. Nettleton.

Israel Chapman (1794-1868) – the 'active respectable constable', and Laurence's drinking companion – was Jewish and born in London. Convicted of highway robbery in 1817, he was transported for life, arriving in Sydney on the *Glory* in 1818. After serving with credit as a convict constable, including capturing bushrangers, he was granted an early Conditional Pardon in 1821 and became a successful and indeed famous police runner/constable. As a detective and thief-taker, he was the darling of the local press, and, since he operated out of the George Street police station, was dubbed the 'George Street Runner'. With the endorsement of Governor Darling he was granted an Absolute Pardon in 1827 and thus was able to return to England, which he did in 1829 after the death of his wife, Catherine Martin, who also came as a convict. Yet, he could not settle back 'home' and in 1833 returned to Sydney and the police force.

The criminal population hated Chapman and he earned a place in Hell, along with Captains Logan and Cook, in the clever work *A Convicts Tour to Hell* by 'Frank the Poet' (Francis MacNamara, 1810-1861, also author of the stirring convict ballad *Moreton Bay*). In the 1839 *Convicts Tour to Hell* Cook is tied to a fiery stake in a boiling lake for discovering New South Wales, and Logan too suffers in fire and brimstone, whereas for Israel Chapman:

Then I beheld that well known Trapman
The Police Runner called Izzy Chapman
Here he was standing on his head
In a river of melted boiling lead.
Alas he cried behold me stranger

I've captured many a bold bushranger
 And for the same I'm suffering here
 But lo, now yonder snakes draw near.
 On turning round I saw slow worms
 And snakes of various kinds and forms
 All entering at his mouth and nose
 To devour his entrails I suppose.⁶²

But Chapman survived this poetic assault, and even outlived the poet – although in 1852 he received a six-month sentence of hard labour for theft. He died in the Lunatic Asylum at Liverpool on 4 July 1868 and was buried in the Jewish section of Rookwood cemetery.

Laurence's freedom was short-lived. In August 1826 he was convicted of yet another theft (38 yards of shirting) and sentenced to seven years transportation to Moreton Bay. His memoir gives a brief but compelling account of the horrors of life at Moreton Bay under the notorious Captain Logan before some improvement occurred:

then Capt Clunny of the 17th Regt came to Releive the Tyrent. Logen Lost, Murder'd by the Blacks. Part of his remains Brought down from the Lime Stone in a Blanket, Dreadfull sight. an alteration in the Ministry, Severe but good. our ration was lookd after, slops [clothes and bedding] the same, but a deal of flogging.⁶³

With 20 or so vigorous words Laurence precisely captures Logan's well-deserved fate. While his replacement Captain Clunie was settling in, Logan went exploring up the Brisbane River. Separated from his party in the bush, he was killed on 17 October 1830 by aborigines and his remains partly devoured by wild dogs. When what was left of him was brought back to the settlement by a search party (which included convict bushman Lewis Lazarus), there was great rejoicing by the convicts.

Laurence would have received an excellent first-hand account of the discovery and recovery of Logan's corpse because Lewis Lazarus was also a Jewish convict (the first in Moreton Bay), as well as an expert bushman. Lazarus had escaped twice from the penal settlement: the first time living for four months in the bush (and surviving being speared); in his second attempt he managed to get as far down the coast as Port Macquarie, where he was captured and sent back.

Levi states that Lazarus was offered a Conditional Pardon if he could find the missing commandant – he did, and brought the rotting remains back to Brisbane (almost dying from infection as a result). Lazarus got his Conditional Pardon and was able to go to Sydney.⁶⁴

Harrison and Steele offer a variant on this: 'in October and November 1830 two convicts were granted indulgences for taking care of Captain Logan's body from the Brisbane Valley until its burial in Sydney'⁶⁵ – presumably Lazarus was one of these.

Another member of the search party was Surgeon Cowper who, as a senior government official, was given credit for its success in Captain Clunie's report: 'Mr. Cowper, whose exertions on this occasion were very great, and for which I feel much indebted, discovered the dead Horse sticking in a creek, and not far from it, at the top of the Bank, the body of Captain Logan, buried about a foot under ground.'⁶⁶ Yet, Lazarus, the experienced bushman, is much more likely to have made these finds than Cowper, a boozy, townified surgeon.

'I WAS AN HEBREW'

We have already seen manifestations, in his own words, of Laurence's Jewish consciousness. He used it to justify not marrying Maria Patterson, mother of his child, because she was not of his 'persuasion' (although he would not disclose this as the reason). Nonetheless, in Sydney in May 1835 when he was 41, he had no such scruples when marrying 19 year old convict Sarah Shirvington who was still serving a seven year sentence of transportation for 'man robbery' (which usually meant a prostitute robbing a client with violence). Sarah was a Protestant.

In the application to publish the Banns for their impending marriage at St. John's Church, Parramatta, the characters of both parties are described as 'Good.' However, an official hand annotating the document rejected this assessment of Laurence, observing: 'Laurence is a very bad character, a Strolling Jew'.⁶⁷ This was followed by a damning summary of his crimes. Even so, the marriage was permitted to proceed. But it did not survive his arrest a year later in July 1836 and subsequent transportation to Norfolk Island. Sarah bigamously remarried in 1839.

As we saw, under sentence of death in Calcutta he rejected attempts to convert him to Christianity: 'I informed Mr Thompson that I was an Hebrew and that if I was to suffer I should die one, has I was taught from my infency, and I trusted to the Almighty for forgiveness.' This was undoubtedly the high point of his cultural consciousness and adherence to his faith. Awaiting execution, he 'pray'd fervently for forgiveness to the almighty as a Sinner.' As against this, he was not prepared to go so far in his repentance as to confess: 'I made no discovery to any one [of] my Guilt thou I was ask'd Repeatidly, but it was no go.'

There is also a particular example where his appeal to religion

seems highly irregular and inappropriate. When he ventured off to Portugal carrying hundreds of pounds worth of counterfeit money with the explicit intention of unloading it there, he observed that: 'with the Help of God to accomplish my design, I engaged a passage ... for Lisbon.'⁶⁸ By any standards, piously invoking God's assistance for a criminal enterprise is warped.

He explicitly mentions his religion again at the end of the memoir when writing of Maconochie's reforms on Norfolk Island:

Religion was the order of the day – a Place of worship Built for the Protestans, a Place for the Catholics, a Temperry place for the Jews, thou only 8 in numbers. no work for the Jews on Saturday.⁶⁹

Maconochie, writing about himself in the third person, gives this account:

Having ascertained precisely the number of holidays which in the event of their open profession it would be necessary to allow them, and obtained also the permission of the Chief Rabbi at Sydney to observe the Christian instead of the Jewish Sabbath, he sent for the requisite books and vestments, gave them a room in the settlement to use as a synagogue, appointed one of their number, an educated and very well conducted man, their Reader, and making him at the same time an overseer, gave him special charge both of their moral and religious conduct.⁷⁰

Laurence said they were 'only 8 in numbers', but when their Reader, Levy Abrahams, wrote in mid-1840 to the Sydney Synagogue Committee (with Maconochie's endorsement) seeking religious supplies, he said: 'There are at present nine Prisoners of the Jewish Persuasion here', and listed them, including of course 'James Lawrence'.⁷¹ Yet six months later in a letter asking for Passover supplies, Abrahams wrote:

I regret to state that the conduct of one of our number, John Lawrence, has been so irregular in his religious [observance], litigious, and otherwise objectionable, that he has been indispensibly separated from us, and the *Congregation* will therefore use its own pleasure in supplying him.⁷²

Frustratingly, we do not know what action or actions by Laurence provoked this separation. However, at the end of his life he was unquestionably back in the fold, and died as he intended, 'an Hebrew'.

Laurence spent his last days in the Collingwood Stockade in Melbourne, serving a total of 21 months for the separate crimes of receiving a stolen shawl and cloak (three months), and stealing a watch (18 months). A fellow accused, Margaret Richmond, who had pawned the watch-chain, had told police that: 'the bleary-eyed Jew, Laurence, had the man's watch.'⁷³

He died in Collingwood Stockade on Wednesday 28 October 1863. As was standard procedure when a person died in prison, an inquest was promptly held – in Laurence's case the day after his death. A key witness was Malcolm Harcus Smith, Superintendent of the Stockade:

He was sentenced to 21 months with hard labour. He was not well on his admission and was not put to hard labour but was brought under the notice of the Chief Medical Officer. He has been in hospital almost ever since with the exception of a few days at a time. He has been seen regularly by the medical officer. The Visiting Magistrate saw the deceased, and the Revd Mr Myers saw him. The deceased died last Evening at half past Eight oclock. He was seen yesterday by Dr. McCrea. He had wine, beef-tea and eggs.⁷⁴

The Inquest's jury found: 'that on the 28th of October 1863 in the Collingwood Stockade where he was in legal custody as a Prisoner of the Crown he died from decay of the vital powers.'⁷⁵ He is buried in an unmarked grave in the Melbourne General Cemetery.

'The Revd Mr Myers', Rabbi Emanuel Moses Myers, was born in London's East End – Laurence territory – and named in the Duke's Place Great Synagogue on 19 June 1827. He came to Australia as an immigrant and was in Hobart in the 1840s where he painted the Ten Commandments for the Synagogue there. A few years later, in 1847, he did another such painting for the Melbourne Jewish community's new synagogue. He had married Matilda Casper in Hobart in 1853 and was appointed Rabbi for the Melbourne Congregation in 1857, presiding over the consecration of the enlarged Bourke St. Synagogue in 1858.⁷⁶

In 1863, just a few weeks before Laurence's death, Myers announced in the *Argus* that 'he intends (D.V.) to open his Collegiate Institution on Thursday morning, October 8 ... in Victoria Street.' Subjects to be taught were Hebrew, Classics, mathematics, natural sciences, French and elocution, with a teaching staff of five, including the Principal, Myers himself, who was responsible for 'Hebrew and general superintendence.'⁷⁷

Perhaps it is not too fanciful to speculate that Laurence, ever the optimist, hoped on his release to find a position in Myers' college – on

his death certificate his Profession was listed as 'Music Teacher.' The performer turned teacher.

AFTERWORD

The rich variety of information about James Laurence provides an intriguing picture of the dynamics of a Jewish family of limited means in Georgian England: the support, the loyalties and the clear affection, as well as the conflicts and clashes, the disagreements and disputes. Even his appalling youthful behaviour did not exclude him from later re-connecting with his Hart relations in the United States. His life reveals the importance of the wider family, and also throws light on the network of Jewish connections and contacts at home and abroad that even a wayward fellow like Laurence was able to call upon. We also get an insight into his personal faith, which, like that of many others, was not always consistent and encompassed a range of behaviours. James Laurence was, indeed, a complex character.

ENDNOTES

1. Robert Jordan, 'Blind Larry: the Jewish Actor as Habitual Criminal', *Australian Jewish Historical Society Journal (AJHSJ)*, vol. 19, pt. 4 (2010), pp. 7-25.
2. Robert Jordan, *Convict Theatres of Early Australia 1788-1840* (Strawberry Hills: Currency House, 2002).
3. John Simon Levi, *These Are the Names: Jewish lives in Australia, 1788-1850* (Carlton: Miegunyah Press, 2006), pp. 391-3.
4. Rob Wills, *Alias Blind Larry: the mostly true memoir of James Laurence the singing convict* (Melbourne: Australian Scholarly Press, 2015).
5. Todd Endelman, *The Jews of Georgian England, 1714-1830* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1999), p. 228. Access to the good education provided by the Jews' Free School (founded 1732) was unlikely for Laurence because at this period the JFS had immigrant German Jewish orphans as its main focus.
6. James Laurence, 'Memoir', p. 1. Laurence's memoir is found as Item 1 in Evans, *Norfolk Island Convict Papers, ca. 1842-1867* (Manuscript MSQ168, Mitchell Library, Sydney). In my transcription I have left Laurence's idiosyncratic spelling intact but have imposed punctuation and sentences.
7. Alexander Maconochie, *The Mark System of Prison Discipline* (London: Mitchell & Son, 1857), Notes, p. 2.
8. Laurence, 'Memoir', p. 1.
9. *Old Bailey Proceedings Online*; <http://www.oldbaileyonline.org/> 1811: James Hodgetts and Henry Lawrence.
10. Laurence, 'Memoir', pp. 25, 37, 52, 58.
11. *Ibid.*, pp. 24-26.
12. *Ibid.*, p. 26.

13. Ibid., pp. 27-28.
14. Ibid., p. 30.
15. Ibid., p. 33.
16. Barron Field (1786-1846) arrived in Sydney in 1817 as judge of the NSW Supreme Court of Civil Judicature. A promising beginning notwithstanding, he antagonised most of the various groups in the colony and left his post in 1824. As well as the law, he had found time to pursue interests in science and literature and in 1819 had published the first book of poetry in Australia, appropriately named *First Fruits of Australian Poetry*. Perhaps Field used Lewis Lawrence's penmanship: the Indent for the convict transport *Almorah* lists Lewis' Calling as 'Pen & Quill Man', that is a man with clerical skills.
17. Laurence, 'Memoir', p. 37.
18. *Old Bailey Proceedings Online*; 1817: Lewis Lawrence.
19. Ibid. for these court quotes.
20. Laurence, 'Memoir', pp. 51-2.
21. John Sargent, *The Life of the Reverend T. T. Thomason, M.A., Late Chaplain to the Honourable East India Company* (London: Seeley and Burnside, 1834).
22. Aharon Daniel, *The Jews of India – Baghdadi/Iraqi Jews & Manipur Jews*, the-south-asian.com, March 2001, accessed 9 March 2015.
23. Robert Hirschfield, 'The Last Jews of India', *The Jewish Daily Forward*, 17 May 2010.
24. Laurence, 'Memoir', pp. 52-3.
25. Ibid., p. 58.
26. A Ticket of Leave granted a degree of freedom to convicts who had satisfactorily served part of their sentence. They were free within a designated district to find accommodation, work, marry, and own property.
27. Laurence, 'Memoir', pp. 26-7.
28. Ibid., pp. 27-8.
29. Ibid., p. 26.
30. Maconochie, *The Mark System of Prison Discipline*, 1857, Notes, p. 2.
31. Parliamentary Papers, *Minutes of Evidence, Reports of Select Committee on the Execution of the Criminal Law* (House of Commons Parliamentary Papers, 1847), p. 447.
32. In *These Are the Names*, Levi refers to enquiries emanating from Laurence's parents in England in 1843 about the welfare of their son who they feared had been murdered by Aborigines. Yet, there is no evidence in the voluminous paperwork generated by this enquiry to establish that it concerned James Laurence or his parents.
33. The 1879 Dickens' *Dictionary of London* (by Charles Dickens Jr.) states that: 'A large number of rich Jewish families have migrated ... and taken up their quarters in Bloomsbury and Maida-vale. So plentiful are Jewish households in the south-west district, that certain streets and terraces where they have formed colonies are playfully called the "New Jerusalem." Such an appellation was not used 'playfully' but rather represents the antisemitic attitudes of the time.
34. Alexander Maconochie, *Prison Discipline* (London: Harrison, 1856), p. 25.
35. Endelman, *The Jews of Georgian England*, p. 91.

36. Ibid., p. 185.
37. Laurence, 'Mémorial', p. 1.
38. Ibid., p. 2.
39. Marilyn Delevante and Anthony Alberga, *The Island of One People: An Account of the History of the Jews of Jamaica* (Kingston: Ian Randle Publishers, 2008), p. 32.
40. Laurence, 'Mémorial', pp. 3-4.
41. Ibid., p. 7.
42. Ibid., p. 11.
43. *Longworth's American Almanac, New-York Register and City Directory for the Thirty Third Year of American Independence* (1808), p. 168.
44. This alias was still working effectively 200 years later – Levi's *These Are the Names* lists George Frederick Laurent as separate person and has a 100 word entry on him.
45. Laurence, 'Mémorial', pp. 12-13.
46. Ibid., p. 21.
47. Ibid., pp. 23-4.
48. *Parliamentary Papers*, 1847, p. 447.
49. Ibid., p. 452.
50. Laurence, 'Mémorial', p. 28.
51. Gustavus Hart, 'A Biographical Account of Ephraim Hart and his Son, Dr. Joel Hart, of New York', *Publications of the American Jewish Historical Society* (New York, 1896), No. 4, pp. 215-8.
52. Laurence, 'Mémorial', p. 1.
53. Endelman, *The Jews of Georgian England*, p. 113.
54. *The Gentleman's Magazine*, 1825, vol. 95, p. 475.
55. Laurence, 'Mémorial', pp. 5-6. As noted above, his father had in fact been found guilty, not acquitted, but only suffered a light penalty.
56. Email from Henry Roche, 14 November 2011.
57. Laurence, 'Mémorial', pp. 6-7.
58. Ibid., p. 34.
59. Ibid., p. 67.
60. *Sydney Gazette*, 13 January 1835.
61. Certificate of Freedom 1826: SRNSW 4/4424 075/5047, Reel 602.
62. http://www.middlemiss.org/lit/poetry/tour_to_hell.html accessed 8 March 2015.
63. Laurence, 'Mémorial', pp. 59-60.
64. Levi, *These Are the Names*, p. 406.
65. William Ross, Jennifer Harrison and J. G. Steele, J. G. (eds.), *The Fell Tyrant or the Suffering Convict* (Brisbane: Royal Historical Society of Queensland, 2001), p. 3.
66. J. G. Steele, *Brisbane Town in Convict Days 1824-1842* (St. Lucia: University of Queensland Press, 1975), p. 148.
67. Applications for Banns, St John's Parramatta, April 1835: SRNSW 4-2269 91 35-197.
68. Laurence, 'Mémorial', p. 28.
69. Ibid., p. 79.
70. Maconochie, *Prison Discipline*, 1856, p. 25.
71. Levy Abrahams' letter 29 May 1840: copy provided by AJHS, Sydney.
72. Levy Abrahams' letter 26 December 1840: copy provided by AJHS, Sydney.

- 73. *Argus*, 22 August 1862.
- 74. Colony of Victoria Inquisition. Inquest into Death of James Lawrence, 29 October 1863: No. 949.
- 75. *Ibid.*
- 76. Levi, *These Are the Names*, p. 590.
- 77. *Argus*, 5 October 1863.

LOUIS PULVER (1855-1897): HEAVEN-BORN INSTRUCTOR OF YOUTH

Raymond Apple

Generations of Sydney Jews were proud to say, 'I won the Pulver Prize'. In a Jewish sense this carried almost the same cachet as the Pulitzer Prize in the United States, named after a Jewish newspaper publisher. The Pulver Prize honoured a late nineteenth-century Jewish educator and musician whose pupils would have echoed the phrase made popular in Reader's Digest many decades later, 'My Most Unforgettable Teacher'. Winners of the Pulver Prize were listed on an honour board at the Great Synagogue, Sydney, the scene of much of Pulver's activity.¹

One could write a whole paper on Australian Jewish Pulvers, ranging from Rev. Isaac Pulver, Louis' father, to Professor Lisa Jackson Pulver, the Aboriginal academic who became a synagogue president, with others along the way, but it is Louis Pulver to whom this present paper is dedicated. His family connections take in significant Australian figures such as Rabbi A.T. Boas of the Adelaide Hebrew Congregation and his distinguished family, as well as the famous South Australian Solomons (with their connection to Sister Mary MacKillop,² who was befriended by Emanuel Solomon at a time of difficulty). There are also some non-Jewish Pulvers in various parts of Australia. 'Pulver' means 'powder', from the Latin *pulvis*, dust, and it is linked with the English verb 'to pulverize'. It is an Ashkenazic surname (an American version is Pulwer), possibly denoting an apothecary (in Hebrew *roke'ah*, which is also a well-known family name); it is connected with Pulvermacher, a maker of gunpowder.

Louis' father Isaac was a competent, learned Jew, born in Germany early in the nineteenth century. He had a traditional Jewish education as well as a good voice and an aptitude for languages, so that we find him in various countries exercising the skills of minister, teacher, cantor, *shohet* and *mohel* – and language tutor. He came to England as a young man (the date is not certain) and in 1840 in Birmingham married Rosetta Hadkins, also known as Solomon, who was born in about 1815 in Gloucestershire.³ Hadkins is a version of a European

Jewish surname; it might originally have been Hutkin or Gutkind. Not much is known about Rosetta Hadkins' family. A John Hadkins (Moshe ben Yaakov), presumably a relative, was born in 1804 and buried in a Jewish cemetery in London in 1885. He had married Maria Woolf at the Great Synagogue, London, in 1829. Edward Hadkins, possibly Rosetta's brother, lived in Melbourne in 1851, when he gave three guineas to the synagogue building fund.⁴ If Rosetta, indeed, was his sister, this might explain why the Pulver family chose to come to Australia. At least one male descendant of Rosetta bore the first name Atkins; the females were sometimes called Rosetta, though none seems to have had the first name Isaac after Rev. Isaac Pulver.

Isaac and Rosetta had six children (maybe others were stillborn), four born in England and two in Australia.⁵ Adela was born in Cheltenham, England, and married her cousin Judah Moss Solomon of Adelaide; they had two children, John (Jacob) and Elias. Jacob (John) Wolf was born in Cheltenham (does his name indicate that Isaac's father was Jacob Wolf?); he died at 17 in Melbourne. Sarah was also born in Cheltenham (her birth certificate calls it Chiltingham); she married a relative, Samuel Isaac Solomon and died in childbirth. They had two children, Adela Sybil (later Mrs Isaac Herbert Boas) and Harold Isaac. Miranda was born in Cheltenham, the last of the children to be born in England. Subsequently, Solomon was born in Melbourne, where he belonged to communal committees and Louis was born in Melbourne and also never married; when he was ill in Sydney he was looked after by a sister, 'Miss Pulver'; the *Jewish Herald* obituary of Louis calls her 'his only sister'. Thus, of the six children, only two married and had families.

Though a *shohet*, Isaac is not listed in Solomon Hirschell's Kabbalah Book of London, which enumerates *shohetim* authorised by the chief rabbi.⁶ Isaac was appointed 'reader' to the Cheltenham Jewish congregation in 1839 and spent ten years there.⁷ As well as conducting services he was the religious factotum and was paid £5/16/8 per month, complaining that it was not enough to support his family. In 1845, when he tried to resign, the 75-member congregation increased his salary to £6/15/- per month; they liked him but could not afford a larger sum. He advertised himself as 'Professor of the Hebrew and German Languages' and taught Hebrew to local Christian clergy.

Isaac Pulver was one of the first Anglo-Jewish ministers to preach in the vernacular. His congregation reported to the *Jewish Chronicle*, 'Our brethren have been lately delighted by a series of religious discourses, delivered by their reader, the Rev. Mr. Pulver'.⁸ When he finally left Cheltenham in 1849, they told the chief rabbi, 'It will be long before we become reconciled to a change'.⁹

Chief Rabbi Nathan Marcus Adler sent him to Cape Town as the first Jewish clergyman in South Africa. He stayed only two years and officially left for health reasons, though the truth is that he was disappointed at the religious laxity of the congregation and did not wish to bring up his children in that environment.¹⁰

The family moved to Australia and settled in Melbourne in 1851.¹¹ Isaac by then was almost 50. He dabbled in business without much success, though when he had money he gave five guineas to the synagogue building fund and bought some or all of Dr David Hailperin's Hebrew library.¹² For a while he was a committee member of the Melbourne Hebrew Congregation and local educational bodies and then became assistant reader at the Melbourne and subsequently East Melbourne Synagogues. From 1854-59 he was *shohet* for the Bourke Street Synagogue (Melbourne Hebrew Congregation) and from 1860 for East Melbourne. He was a member of the Melbourne Beth Din with Revs S. Herman and M. Rintel; when he left subsequently for Tasmania he was replaced by Woolf Davis. It was he who wrote to the chief rabbi urging the creation of the Beth Din, an indication of the level of his rabbinical knowledge. In 1871 he went to Hobart as minister and *shohet* but died there in 1873.¹³ His tombstone does not mention his family, which may or may not be significant.



Gravestone of Rev Isaac Pulver, Hobart.

Photo courtesy of David and Pnina Clark, 7 July 2014

As mentioned, his son Louis was born in Melbourne in 1855 and was educated there. From his father he gained a good Jewish knowledge and training in synagogue *nussach* (traditional melodies), though he followed Rintel's style of *hazzanut* (cantorial music).¹⁴ His secular education came from the Jewish day school and the Melbourne Model School. He specialized in music and gained a certificate in music from the Victorian Education Department. He financed most of his studies by working as a warehouse assistant for Feldheim, Jacobs and Company for three or four years.

Louis was a competent violinist, pianist and organist,¹⁵ and could handle other instruments. He was honorary secretary to the local orchestral society, composed music for some of Longfellow's poems and taught music and singing, but his main focus was within the Jewish community. His Jewish career initially centred on the East Melbourne Hebrew Congregation¹⁶ where he was choirmaster, secretary, teacher and headmaster. He did not enjoy the secretarial work and had problems with Nathaniel Levi.¹⁷ He also felt dissatisfied with his work with the choir, partly because he could not recruit enough boy choristers.

Where he shone was as a teacher, even though he did not have formal teaching qualifications. He did have a philosophy of teaching: he said, 'My first and principal duty is to make my pupils good; to instil knowledge comes next'.¹⁸ This of course echoes the moralistic tone of nineteenth century education. He had an amazing rapport with his pupils; it is said that there was an electric current in his classroom.¹⁹ His classes were so popular that money had to be spent on enlarging the synagogue classroom. Classes took place on Sunday mornings and three afternoons a week after school. There was a carefully crafted syllabus. Boys and girls were taught separately and no child could be promoted to the next class without passing Pulver's test. The day's lessons concluded with the singing of 'God Save the Queen' – in Hebrew.

School did not begin and end in the classroom. Pulver was creative in the extracurricular activities he spearheaded and conducted - even to the extent of providing biscuits with coloured icing. Everyone wanted to come to his picnics at Brighton Beach and to his birthday parties, because he was like everybody's uncle. All-in-all as an educator he was far ahead of his time.

Pulver involved himself in a range of other activities. He raised funds for the Young Jewish Men's Russian Relief Fund. He was active in the Melbourne Jewish Club, though he was less than impressed when the club sold *hametz* drinks (containing leaven from prohibited grains) on *Pesach* (Passover). He was secretary of the Hebrew Ladies' Benevolent Society. His musical interests included the Melbourne

Artists' Society, dedicated to classical music, where he was the librarian. With his sister Miranda he lived in Richmond, within walking distance of the city synagogues.

Yet Pulver worried that he was being taken for granted. Following the early death of Hyman Isaacs, headmaster of the Sydney Jewish Education Board, in 1884, he applied for the position and was appointed, a position he filled until ill health forced him to resign in 1896.²⁰ East Melbourne tried to retain him and offered to increase his salary, but it was too late. Melbourne showered him with farewell functions and testimonials, and so many children wanted to bid him farewell that a whole series of parties had to be organized, and children and adults alike wept at his going. Crowds (including Rabbi Dr Joseph Abrahams) came to the station to see him off on the Sydney train on 7 January 1885. Melbourne never knew another teacher like Pulver, even though the years produced a number of very competent educators. Amongst the latter was Rabbi L.M. Goldman, whose *Jews in Victoria in the Nineteenth Century*²¹ records Pulver's achievements.

Pulver was still in his 20s when he moved to Sydney in 1884. He spent thirteen years there before his passing, aged 42, still unmarried. In one sense he had no offspring; in another he was like Mr Chips with thousands of children, though the story-book Mr Chips did not have girls amongst his pupils.

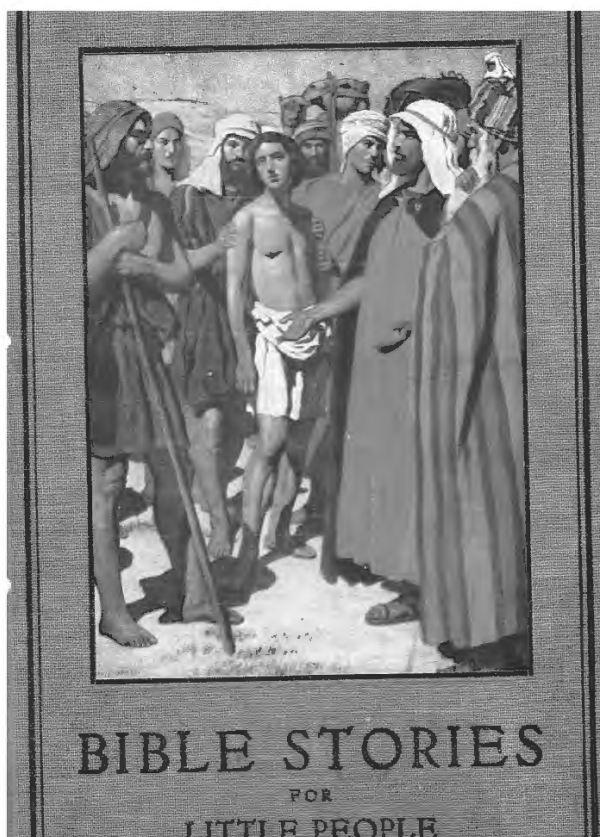
Sydney's new headmaster was the same Pulver who had worked in education in Melbourne, blessed with irrepressible energy and ideas - yet this was a more mature Pulver who not only relied on instinct and inborn talent but worked out educational ideas and policies that reflected and enhanced the thinking of the time. He was once again the musical stalwart of the community, acting as officiate and choirmaster when necessary and giving occasional sermons when the chief minister, Rev. A.B. Davis, was away. He was known for his clear enunciation of English, and argued cogently in communal debates. He prepared solid research papers for the Jewish Literary Society. He ran Sabbath afternoon services for children for a mostly locally-resident community.



Louis Pulver on his tricycle.

This photo appears in Volume III, AJHS Journal, p.71.

As in Melbourne, Pulver involved himself in musical organisations and literary societies, but now he became a writer of considerable merit and accomplishment. If textbooks did not exist, he wrote them. Guides to the prayer book and Bible, vocabulary exercises, explanations of Hebrew grammar - all appeared from his fertile pen.²² His writings proved in many respects to be superior even to those in England. It might also be said that in Pulver, the Australian Jewish community had a greater educator than many of his counterparts in England - with the honourable exception of the famous Moses Angel of the Jews' Free School.²³ Not least amongst Pulver's books was his famous *First Bible Stories for Little People*, first printed in 1889 and subsequently re-issued several times.²⁴ Rev Morris Rosenbaum, the scholarly minister of the Borough Synagogue in South London, revised the last edition, published in 1930.²⁵ The success of the work has much to do with the author's ability - as he explains in his preface - 'to bring down to the mental capacities of young children the histories contained in the earlier portions of the Bible, and the principal moral truths which they teach'.²⁶



Cover of Bible Stories, 1930 edition, Revised by Rev. Morris Rosenbaum, Courtesy of Leonard Symonds.

It went without saying that his classes were run professionally, with syllabuses, teaching aids and discipline standards. Teachers – most of them well-meaning youngsters themselves, with little knowledge or educational training – received careful guidance. They must have included some really promising teachers, since in the preface to his *First Bible Stories* he thanks colleagues for their suggestions. He also thanks ‘the headmistress of one of our largest public infant schools’, who tested his language with her pupils to ensure that small children understood it.²⁷

Right of Entry classes in public schools, introduced with the New South Wales Free, Secular Public Instruction Act of 1880, added to the Sunday morning and weekday afternoon lessons. Where necessary, Pulver undertook fundraising activities as well. Formal lessons went hand-in-hand with recreational and social events. The pupils had no chance to be bored. They and their headmaster were friends. The *Jewish Herald* said that in him, children had ‘a true friend, a loving companion and a sympathetic instructor’.²⁸ M.H. Kellerman says in his history of the New South Wales Board of Jewish Education that Pulver’s influence ‘cannot be over-estimated’.²⁹ An obituarist called Pulver ‘a heaven-born instructor of youth’.³⁰ When he died in 1897 he was described in a poem published in the *Jewish Herald* as

...The teacher, rarely gifted to instil
The love of God in childhood’s budding mind;
Who from the mouth of babe and suckling strove
To established strength in Jacob’s tents;
Whose loving heart called forth responsive love,
Implanting gentle virtue’s elements.³¹

In reminiscences published half a century later, M.H. Cohen refers to the children’s excitement at Pulver’s lantern lectures.³² Pulver also shared his other hobbies with the children, especially photography. Pulver’s assistant, Maurice Abraham Cohen, who had been educated at Jews’ College and London University, succeeded him to the headship, which he retained until his death in 1923. Louis Pulver was a tall, black-bearded, energetic man (with large feet!) His energy and stamina are evident from the photos of him accompanied by a young Joel Fredman riding a tricycle from Sydney to Melbourne and back. Yet energy and stamina can both be sapped by illness. Still in his early 40s, Pulver became unwell and was lovingly tended to by his sister (though, perhaps strangely, it is not her name on his death certificate but that of the secretary of Sydney Hospital). He died on 4 November 1897, of ‘tubercular disease of the kidneys’.³³ He had been in Sydney



Louis Pulver, Jewish Herald obituary, 12 November 1897.

Hospital for two months. Rev. J.H. Landau conducted his funeral. Landau and also Rev. P. Philippstein had (with Miranda Pulver) been at his bedside when he died. The death certificate calls him 'school teacher'... true, but what an understatement.³⁴

ENDNOTES

1. There is a photo of this board up to 1944-5704 in *AJHS Journal*, vol. 2, part 8, 1947, p. 426, accompanied by an editorial note which states: 'The winners since 1944 are as follows: 1945, Maurice Golomb and Estelle Michelin; 1947, Louis Steinhof and Judith Porush. The Prize was not awarded in 1946'. The honour board itself is now missing. Efforts are being made to find the names of prize-winners from 1948 onwards.
2. 1842-1909, a South Australian nun engaged in educational and charitable work under the aegis of the Sisters of St. Joseph. Beatified by Pope John Paul II in 1995, she was canonized in 2010. During a period when Mary MacKillop was excommunicated, the Solomon family supported her. I was on the organizing committee for the Pope's 'MacKillop' visit to Australia.
3. Mrs Judith Joseph of Birmingham secured the marriage certificate.
4. L.M. Goldman, *The Jews in Victoria in the Nineteenth Century* (Melbourne: privately published, 1954), p.98. Information about the Hadkins name was provided by Chaim Freedman of Israel.
5. Information about the Pulvers' children was provided by Katrina and Jenny Cowen of Melbourne, descendants of the Solomon family, and by Liz James of Melbourne.
6. The manuscript is in the library of the Jewish Theological Seminary of America, New York. See also Charles Duschinsky, *The Rabbinate of the Great Synagogue, London from 1756-1842* (London: Oxford Univ. Press, 1921); my copy formerly belonged to Rev. Morris

- Rosenbaum (see note 22 below) and has his handwritten marginal notes.
7. Information from Jennifer Silverston of the Cheltenham Hebrew Congregation.
8. Ibid.
9. Ibid.
10. L. Herman, *The Cape Town Hebrew Congregation 1841-1941: A Centenary History* (Cape Town: privately published, 1941), ch.2. The synagogue was in a house at the corner of Bouquet and St. John's Streets; the minister occupied the rest of the house.
11. Goldman, op. cit., index references to Isaac Pulver.
12. Louis Pulver bought the books from a pawnbroker and sold them to the Melbourne Public Library for £75: see articles by I. Porush, 'The Colourful Dr David Hailperin and his Books', *AJHS Journal*, vol.9 part 6 (1984) pp. 417-433, and M.Z. Forbes, *AJHS Journal* 'David Hailperin: The Strange Rabbi-Doctor and his Times,' vol. 9, part 7 (1984), pp.533-4.
13. M. Gordon, *Jews in Van Diemen's Land* (Melbourne: Ponsford Newman & Benson, 1965); and P. & E. Elias (eds.), *A Few From Afar: Jewish Lives in Tasmania from 1804* (Hobart: Hobart Hebrew Cong., 2003). A photograph of Isaac Pulver's gravestone was secured by David Clark of Hobart.
14. *Jewish Herald*, 12 November 1897.
15. M.H. Cohen, 'Louis Pulver Anniversary', *Great Synagogue Journal*, December 1947.
16. Goldman, op. cit., passim. See also M.C. Davis, *History of the East Melbourne Hebrew Congregation 'Mickva Yisrael' 1857-1977* (Melbourne: East Melbourne Hebrew Cong., n.d.), passim.
17. Goldman, op. cit., p.264.
18. Cited by M.A. Cohen, *Hebrew Standard of Australasia*, 12 November 1897.
19. Ibid.
20. Suzanne D. Rutland, *Edge of the Diaspora: Two Centuries of Jewish Settlement in Australia* (Sydney: Brandl & Schlesinger, 2001), p.100.
21. Goldman, op. cit., passim.
22. Pulver's publications are listed in S. Liberman, *A Bibliography of Australian Judaica* (Sydney: Mandelbaum Trust, 1987 ed.): see Pulver in Index.
23. See Mary Lazarus, edited by Jennifer McNaughton, 'Moses Angel and the Jews' Free School', *AJHS Journal*, vol.20, part (2011), pp.215-255.
24. My copy is the 1905 edition printed by the *Hebrew Standard*, 491 George Street. Sydney.
25. Rosenbaum was a scholar, historian, genealogist, writer and Masonic authority.
26. Pulver, *First Bible Stories for Little People*, 1905 ed., p.iii.
27. Ibid., p.ix.
28. *Jewish Herald*, 19 November 1897.
29. M.H. Kellerman, *New South Wales Board of Jewish Education History 1909-1979 with Background Summary 1863-1909* (Sydney: NSW Board of Jewish Education, 1980), passim. Kellerman was a leading worker for the Education Board and AJHS, and a Masonic

authority and historian. He was a professional educator specializing in distance education. See also D.J. Benjamin, 'Essays in the History of Jewish Education in New South Wales', *AJHS Journal*, vol. 4, part 2 (1955), pp. 29-53 and part 3 (1955), pp. 116-129. Benjamin was also a leading worker for the Education Board and AJHS and served for a time as Secretary of the Great Synagogue. By profession he was a barrister.

30. *Jewish Herald*, 12 November 1897.
31. As cited in Isidor Solomon, 'The Pulvers', *AJHS Journal*, vol 3, part 1 (1949), p.36.
32. M.H. Cohen, *Great Synagogue Journal*, December 1947.
33. The death certificate was secured by Joe Kensell.
34. *Ibid.*

HAROLD BOAS – A MAN OF PRINCIPLE

Philip Moses

In 2015 as the country looks towards commemorating the centenary of the landing at Gallipoli, and the Jewish community seeks to honour those Jewish men and women who served in World War I, the name *Harold Boas* resonates as being the compiler of the 'Honour Roll' of Jewish servicemen and women who both fought and died in that war. Elsewhere in this publication the difficulties encountered in verifying the names and the question of their authenticity is examined. However, this should in no way detract from the work and effort that was put into compiling and publishing the names by this extremely dedicated man and it is appropriate and timely to look at his life and some of his many achievements.

Harold Boas was the seventh of ten children born to Rabbi Abraham Tobias Boas and Elizabeth Solomon of Adelaide. He was born on 27 September 1883 and his siblings were Isabel (1874), Lionel (1875), Esther (1877), Isaac Herbert (Eidy) (1878), Ruth (1880), Naomi (1882), Laura (1886), Albert Victor (Bill)¹ (1887), and Doris (1890). Harold married Sarah (Sadie) Cohen on 29 March 1911 and they had two surviving daughters Peggy (1914) and Marjorie (1921).



Harold and Sadie Boas around 1930 with Marjorie (l) and Peggy (r)

The pillars of Harold Boas' life were family, religion, work and concern for his fellow man, and whilst these were mostly in accord, at times they did conflict. I do not intend to elaborate on Harold's significant achievements and contributions to the architecture, town planning and civic life of Perth but rather look at Harold, the person, his thoughts and ideas.

The importance of family can be seen from the following extracts from his unpublished autobiography.² Of his father, he wrote:-

My father was of a gentle and kindly nature and admired by all, Christians and Jews alike. He was known for his scholarship and erudition, particularly as a Shakespearean student, and for his work among the charitable institutions of all denominations and he left an indelible mark upon the history of his adopted city.

I have always regretted that at the early age of twenty-one I left home and from that time lost the value of his personal influence and guidance but I have always been proud and grateful for the grounding that his teachings and practice in service to others gave me. Titles and decorations are of some effervescent satisfaction to people but to inherit a good surname seems to me to be of greater value.³

The autobiography, which is dedicated to his wife, begins:

This record is dedicated to my wife, on the 60th anniversary of our wedding day March 29th 1911, who has devoted herself to me, her children, her household management and cooking at which she is an expert, her garden of which she is an enthusiast, and her charitable efforts.

It concludes:

I cannot claim, as my old friend "Bill Adams" has quoted elsewhere, that we never had "a cross word – good bad or indifferent" but my life with her has been one of companionship, co-operation and happiness, mixed only on rare occasions with sorrow for the limits of which we have always been thankful to a gracious providence.

In the Foreword he elaborates on the purpose of writing his autobiography:

In my own case I embarked on this venture under two directing

forces which were fused by a third influence into the final plunge.

One force has been that I have always been a hoarder of printed and written matter on which I have been actively interested - over a long, varied and very active life covering many facets. These have accumulated and formed a fairly large bulk touching all phases of my life and mostly having relation to matters of some public interest.

The second was the initial one of writing down the history of my life for the interest and amusement of my grand children and great grand children with the hope they might be inspired by some aspects and warned by others.

On a lighter note, whilst detailing his family history he writes:

My great-great-grandfather, Samuel Moss Solomon, born in London 1769 died in Australia 1842, was the originator of the black lead pencil and one of my relatives in Melbourne holds a snuff box duly inscribed 'S. Solomon. 'The original black lead pencil maker, Wentworth Street, 'Spittlefields'. That is why I like to tell my grandchildren that the present day HB lead pencils are named after me.

Harold grew up in the last quarter of the nineteenth century in Adelaide when life was very different to today. His recollections of childhood recounted in the autobiography reveal a childhood something akin to Tom Sawyer and Huckleberry Finn.

My favourite haunt in early Gover Street days was the slaughter-house of the local butcher, Pullins, just near the rear of our home. The cutting of the sheep's and pigs' throats and their skinning and cleaning had a tremendous fascination for me and I often participated in the procedure. This sadistic trait has certainly waned during my latter life.

There are more instances of a time long past, where children living in a major city were quite safe playing on the streets.

I recollect the delight at this time of becoming possessed of lace-up boots for the first time and the constant unlacing and lacing-up which took place. I remember, also, while living in this house being taken by my sister Isabel into the East Terrace Parklands nearby and running away from her to a horse which

kicked me, fortunately with no serious consequences. I remember, also, finding a half sovereign one day in the street in front of our home, under a culvert, and telling all and sundry about it, showing it to the baker and milk boy who immediately said he had lost it and I, innocently believing, handed it over. I remember describing the colour of the coin to my parents by pointing to the brasswork on their bedstead.

The local markets at the rear of our home have left a lifelong smell in my nostrils of the pungent atmosphere always associated with fruit and vegetable markets and which always bring back to me these early recollections.

Chief among the memories of these market stalls and personages was a Mr. Stringer who kept a shoe stall, the contents of which hung over the rungs of what I recollect looked like a clothes horse. I often spent hours sitting with him at the stall and pretending to help.

Although extremely successful in his profession as an architect, dedicated to civic and philanthropic duties, Harold does admit to 'indiscretions of youth':

I remember many friends of this time - while living in this house - who were not altogether a delicate type of genteel folk. I'm afraid my associates and my life during this period were not conducive to bringing out the best in a young lad. I was a child of strong sentiments, a lover of my fellow human beings and easily led by good fellowship into all sorts of indiscretions. For some very good reason I suppose, a number of us in our class were 'kept in' and punished after 'break up' before Christmas. As a revenge three or four of us planned to raid the school during the holidays. The rear of our home led on to a lane which, itself, led to the rear of the school yard which was enclosed by a nine or ten foot stone wall.

Having scaled this wall we entered the school by one of the windows and after wrecking the furniture and tearing up all the examination papers we left the premises, having broken nearly all the windows in the building.

The discovery of the 'crime' caused quite a sensation and for some time we were able to avoid detection. However, through the guilelessness, or wilful intention, of my sister Ruth who 'gave us away' to Detective Beckman we were ultimately apprehended.

As a result the four of us were taken before the Children's Court and only through the influence of my father were we released

with a severe reprimand and a demand by the Magistrate that our parents should punish us and pay the cost of the damage, £5 each. I think my father fulfilled both obligations.

The whole affair was a great adventure for us all and I remember with what pride I informed the driver of the tram in which we went to the Court that I was being taken to 'court'.

This incident necessitated Harold transferring to another school where another event led to his 'falling' into his profession – that of architect.

For reasons which I cannot remember now I was ordered out of the class by one of the dearest and most loveable of Prince Alfred masters who was associated with the school as boy and master for over fifty years. 'Jimmy' Illiffe died at the ripe old age of ninety.

As I was leaving the room he called me back and directed me to report to the art master, Mr. James Ashton – why, I have never been able to fathom as up to that time I had given no indication that I was interested in art.

Mr. Ashton was a leading figure in the art world of Adelaide and his son, Will, gained international repute and was subsequently Director of the New South Wales Art Gallery. His grandson is now a well known architect in Sydney.

Mr. Ashton's forte was the painting of large seascapes, very bright and clean, of good quality and mostly of one size and in consequence of which we used always to insist that he pinned his canvas in one piece round the four walls of his studio and cut them off as required by his patrons, at so much per yard.

On duly reporting to Mr. Ashton I was set to work to copy a drawing and apparently I grew interested and continued thereafter in the class until the end of the year when two of my efforts were selected for exhibition at the annual break up ceremony at the Adelaide Town Hall. One was a copy of a bust of Shakespeare in pencil, the other a charcoal drawing of a death's head.

This distinction evidently gave my family the idea that I was a born Michelangelo and hence I was asked immediately if I would continue at School in the coming year or would I be apprenticed to an architect. This idea of freedom from school and going out into the world appealed to me and governed my decision, knowing nothing really of the work or interests of an architect.

Later, he continues:

At the beginning of the New Year, 1899, [aged 15] I found myself on February 14th bound by Articles of Indenture, to one of the leading architects, Edward Davies.

Thus, out of an unworthy incident, was my life's work and future life and living set for me and this illustrates how small incidents sometimes fix one's destiny.

Being the son of an Orthodox Rabbi, it was inevitable that religion would play a significant role in Harold's life. In chapter sixteen of his autobiography entitled 'My Jewish Life and Associations' he details his view of his religion whilst growing up and also how he later becomes more comfortable with liberal Judaism and why his view of religion was the basis for his anti-Zionist stand in the 1930s and 1940s.

I was born into an Anglicised Australian orthodox Jewish home in Adelaide, South Australia, and in which I spent the first twenty one years of my life. The Adelaide Hebrew congregation of which my father, the Rev. A.T. Boas, was the religious head and over which he presided for just on fifty years comprised a few hundred Jewish families, mostly of English or German extraction. Outside of Hebrew prayers, English was spoken generally and Yiddish or Continental languages were rarely heard.

The form of orthodoxy practised in our home was liberal in its interpretation, free from many of the extreme elements of dogma and practice. The Sabbath, however, was religiously observed in its Friday evening home gathering and Sabbath morning service at the Synagogue - the afternoon being devoted to either the reception of congregational visitors or visiting others of the older generations. I can still feel a nostalgia for the regular visits to the older generations' homes on Sabbath afternoons when the children were always supplied with liberal doses of the exquisite delicacies - cakes and sweets etc., - handed round at tea time.

As we mostly lived some miles from the Synagogue this meant long walks to and from home and Synagogue on Friday nights and Saturday mornings and Sunday morning religion classes. We never rode in cars to within reach of the Synagogue and parked them round the corner as is so generally done in orthodox communities today. Indeed there were no motor cars even if we wanted to fall so far from grace. We were liberal enough to have a mixed choir of men and women in the Synagogue in which most of our family participated during

our youth. In addition there was a Christian choir master, an unheard of innovation in an orthodox congregation.

I was interested in and took part in many communal activities including a very active Jewish literary and debating society consisting of many accomplished members. I acted in an official capacity in many of these activities. I read Jewish journals including the "London Jewish Chronicle" and acted as Adelaide correspondent to the Melbourne "Jewish Herald" for some years. Despite this active interest in Jewish affairs we did not consider ourselves as anything apart from the general community or consider ourselves a race apart. We had literally hundreds of friends of other faiths who used our house as a general rendezvous. Indeed it was known generally as Liberty Hall.

In those days, Zionism was a nostalgic dream of those who still believed in the literal fulfilment of Biblical prophecy. All of us took an active interest in the affairs of the city and my father was involved in a great number of local social, charitable and literary associations and organizations and was on the most friendly terms with the heads of all Christian communities.⁴

In this way we grew up to look upon ourselves as Australians of the Jewish faith.

If it was *beshert*⁵ that Harold's profession was to be an architect, then it was similarly divined that he would live his adult life in Perth:

It was in 1905 that my brother, I. H.,⁶ wired me in Adelaide that a friend in Perth desired to build some cottages and that if I came over to Western Australia I could get the work. Thinking that this would give me added practical experience and, at the same time prove a remunerative holiday I agreed to go over with the intention of doing this work and returning to Adelaide at the end of the job.

Continuing further:

My course must again have been set for me by a benign and generous Providence because of the attendance the night after my arrival at a Jewish communal function in what was then known as St. George's Hall in Hay Street. This event sealed my future destiny in Western Australia as I met the girl who was subsequently to become my wife. I have had no occasion since to regret either consequence. Indeed both events have provided the source of all my subsequent happiness and – much less important – my material welfare.

In common with all those whose working lives spanned the first half of the twentieth century, Harold's professional life was interrupted by the three world events: World War I, The Great Depression and World War II and he found himself re-establishing his practice after each. The first period in Harold's professional life started with his arrival in Perth in 1905 until his enlistment to serve overseas in 1916. Although he did not set off with the intention to settle there, he did arrive at a time when Perth was about to experience a period of rapid development – ideal for an aspiring young architect as he describes in his autobiography:

About 1907 or '08 I took over the practice of Austin Bastow in Surrey Chambers, St. George's Terrace, now replaced by the new Prudential Buildings, who was retiring to farm in the country. I practiced as Bastow and Boas and batched in a room as part of my office.

Mr. Bastow was a well known man and Mayor of Subiaco for many years. He subsequently went to Melbourne where he became an Estate Agent and died there some years back.

Among the clients I took over was A. H. Williams, the Attorney in Western Australia for the Bruce Estate which owned a large tract of country now known as Nedlands and called after Edward ('Ned') Bruce, then resident in London. I helped in the sub-division of this Estate which was virgin country lying south of the Perth-Fremantle Road, as the Stirling Highway was then called.

I also helped negotiate for the making of the road 'Broadway' from Stirling Highway to the Nedlands Jetty and Baths, which were subsequently built by the Estate.

I was also associated with the building of the tramway from Subiaco to Redlands by the Perth Tramway Company, as it then was, and which was paid for by the Estate, but subsequently was taken over by the Government.

I prepared the plans and specifications of the Nedlands Park Hotel, helped secure the licence and supervised the erection of this hotel for this Estate at a cost of, I think, approximately £8,000.

Another of my early large commissions was in connection with the opening up of the Estate which comprises the whole of Mount Lawley of over 1,000 acres lying across the north of Perth for three miles in extent by half a mile in depth. I designed literally hundreds of houses in the early stages of its development for the pioneer home owners.

Later, in 1912, I entered into partnership with Major Edwin

Summerhayes, and went into practice at Forrest Chambers, now the City Mutual Building, practicing as 'Summerhayes and Boas'.

We had a good practice which was only terminated in 1916 as the result of the War into which both he and I became absorbed - as well as the whole of our drafting staff.

Having met 'the girl of his dreams' and made the decision to settle in Perth, Harold threw himself into his work and participated in Jewish and general communal activities. A report in *The Hebrew Standard of Australasia* of 6 April 1906 (less than one year after he had arrived in Perth) about a 'general meeting' of the *Chevra Kadus* contained the following. 'Certain plans for the construction of a Mortuary House prepared by Mr Harold Boas (architect) were then submitted, and it was decided to leave the whole matter in the hands of the committee, with full power to act.' He was also already active in the Perth Hebrew Literary Society.⁷

Although it was to be another 30 years until Harold publicly campaigned against what he believed to be the dangers of Political Zionism, his views were already formed and in February 1907 he was appointed honorary secretary of the Jewish Territorial Organisation (ITO).⁸ He was also involved in the 'internal politics' of the synagogue. At the half yearly meeting of members of the Perth Hebrew Congregation held on 31 March 1907 he proposed the following motion, 'that law 30, "The President shall not be eligible for re-election to that position for more than two years consecutively," be abolished, which was lost'.⁹ However, the following motion put by his brother, Eidy, was passed. 'That no member shall be eligible for the offices of President or Treasurer unless he shall have served for twelve months, not necessarily consecutively, on the Committee'.¹⁰

Throughout the greater part of the nineteenth century, the Jews arriving in Australia came from England and generally blended well into Australian society. However, towards the end of the century when Jews started arriving from Eastern Europe and there was talk of plans to settle large numbers from Russia, antisemitism reared its ugly head in certain sections of the press and continued to bubble away beneath the surface, every so often rising to the surface.

Such an instance occurred in Perth in 1909, after the very public suicide of Edward Casson, former Secretary of the Amalgamated Society of Railway Employees. The suicide was reported in graphic detail by *The Daily News*,¹¹ including the following sentence, "It was known among his friends that Mr. Casson was financially embarrassed, and it was common talk that he was 'in the hands of the Jews'."

The following day Harold Boas wrote a 'Letter to the Editor'.¹²

Sir, - You have always held a high place in the judgement of our community as a gentleman of cosmopolitan and broad-minded views on most subjects, more particularly in respect to the various religious callings of the numerous readers of your widely-circulated paper. It is, therefore, with a feeling of surprise and regret that I noticed in last evening's "Daily News" a phrase, which, if of only small moment in itself, is calculated to give a great deal of pain to the members of my faith, and to help create and foster a wholly false and bigoted idea.

In your account of the tragedy by which Mr. Casson lost his life you state, *inter alia*, "it was common talk that he was 'in the hands of the Jews'."

It would be idle to deny the meaning meant to be conveyed by these words, and I would ask, sir, is it fair or just that such a sweeping assertion as this should be made, even supposing the unfortunate gentleman did borrow from Jewish money-lenders (which is, after all, only a conjecture), and that the name of a whole class should be used as expressing a synonym for money-lending and its frequent attendant evils.

In drawing attention to this, I hope, unintentional slight, it is with no sense of fear for the good name of the Jews amongst the more intelligent members of this community, nor in any spirit of hyposenstiveness [*sic*], but because I recognise the wide influencing power of the daily press amongst those who are, unfortunately, not able to form correct opinion for themselves upon the abstract subject of religious equality and tolerance.

Such a phrase appearing in a widely-read paper, helps to keep alive as a household expression a sneer that is only worthy of unenlightened and intolerant Russia.

It is only too often, through the medium of the daily press, that the Jew is made to carry his name as a distinguishing mark of deregulation and shame, and like our common ancestor, Cain, must be shunned by all men.

I shall not labour the subject further, nor should I have troubled you thus far had it not been that I value the respect and good opinion of my fellow-citizens and not less that I am also proud of the faith to which I belong and am extremely jealous of its good name.

Trusting for future consideration of our feelings at your hands - I am, etc.

Surrey Chambers.

HAROLD BOAS.

A second letter signed 'John Walker' appeared in *The Daily News* on 14 June 1909 which began:

"IN THE HANDS OF THE JEWS"

Sir,-With your correspondent, Mr. H. Boas, I must also express my surprise and regret that you should have allowed the above expression to appear in a report of an unfortunate ending of a fellow man's life. That your reporter wished to convey an impression other than that of fair comment there is not the faintest shadow of doubt. That he would succeed amongst all your readers is open to question. But still, if only one drop of ink is put into a churn of milk, are not the whole contents spoilt?

Later in the letter, the writer continues,

.....And every right minded person will agree with Mr. Boas that there is no sense of fear for the good name of being a Jew that urges one to be indignant against your report. No, sir, the world's history from B.C. to the 20th century teems with examples of what a Jew was, can be, and is. And we here in Australia have so much to be thankful for, because Britain has at different times been in the hands of the Jews. What would our position be today if England did not hold the main controlling powers over the Suez Canal? And to whom are we indebted for it? To two Jews, Beaconsfield and Rothschild. I could if so disposed, multiply this example, but that, Sir, is not my object in writing. I have looked for some comment from you, and, to use a common expression, I think it up to you to remove the slight, however unintentional, that Mr Boas and his coreligionists may feel that they think you have cast upon their feelings.

Far from paying any regard to the sentiments expressed in John Walker's letter, the following comment from the editor appeared at the end of the letter:.. 'The expression "in the hands of the Jews" was quoted in our report, and hence could only convey its well-defined meaning. No reflection was conveyed, or was intended to be conveyed, against the Jewish community.' As for any form of apology to Harold Boas or to the Jewish community at large, it would appear the newspaper intended to do no more than to rub salt into the wound. The following even more offensive item appeared in *The Daily News* on 20 June 1909 under a gossip column headed *News and Comments*.

The “Daily Ooze” has got into trouble for declaring that a recent unfortunate “was in the hands of the Jews”. The expression is objected to on the ground that it unnecessarily harries the feelings of the compatriots of “Dutchy” Perlstein and Joe Van Praag,¹³ a suggestion which excites the profoundest incredulity in the bosom of this paper. Still it is rather late in the day for sensitiveness of this description. “In the hands of the Jews” is at least a hundred years old, probably more. The Jew has been a synonym for usury ever since King John’s time, when a favourite way of dealing with *Mr. Shent per Shent* was to place him on a rack and yank his fangs out, and if the children of Judah have grown sensitive on the subject, it argues a great change in recent years. We have a shrewd suspicion that some rude gentile has been getting at the “Daily Ooze’s” leg.

Thankfully, language of this nature is no longer permitted in the Australian daily press.

Whilst building up his architectural practice, Harold continued his interest in civic and communal affairs. At the Annual General Meeting of the Perth Hebrew Congregation in 1909, he suggested ‘with a view to making the Sabbath services more attractive, a choir should be formed from the boys attending the school and less Hebrew should be used and that decorum should be maintained among the children at the Friday evening and Sabbath morning services’¹⁴ He was also appointed to a committee ‘for the establishing of a society having for its object the introduction of legislation for the abolition of capital punishment.’¹⁵

In May 1912 a contract was signed for substantial extensions to the Perth Hebrew Congregation *Shule*. The plans had been prepared by Harold and he also supervised the project.¹⁶ In the same year he was also responsible for the design of a new cemetery at Bunbury.¹⁷ Regrettably, in August of the following year he and Sadie suffered a great personal tragedy with the death of their severely handicapped daughter, Brenda, at the age of eighteen months. In June 1914 (shortly before the outbreak of World War I) an extraordinary election was held for the South Ward of the Perth City Council, due to the resignation of the incumbent. This was won comfortably by Harold Boas and was to be the start of a total of twenty years of service to the Perth City Council, interrupted by the two World Wars and the Great Depression. Writing about his memories of the outbreak of World War I, Harold relates:

Do you remember where you were when...? I remember sitting as chairman of that (*the Works*) committee in the Town Hall building

on the afternoon of August 4th, 1914, when the news came through that England had declared war on Germany, which news struck us with awe. Little did we realise that the world and life generally as we had known them were to cease forever.

Harold tried on numerous occasions to enlist but was rejected due to poor eyesight. However, he was determined to serve and 'do his bit'. As an enthusiastic member of the Automobile Club of Western Australia, he was elected Honorary Treasurer of the 'Motor Ambulance Fund'. The aim was to raise the funds necessary to provide an ambulance for the troops overseas. His efforts at fund raising were so successful that two ambulances were provided. In addition to this he was a member of the Citizens Committee in the YMCA Public Appeal for its war services abroad.

Although Harold did not publish the Honour Roll until 1923 its genesis can be traced to March 1916, when he wrote the following letter to the editor of *The Jewish Herald*.¹⁸

Sir,—I am, with perhaps the great bulk of the Australian Jewish community, intensely proud of the part Australian Jewry has played in the national struggle in which we are at present involved.

I am also aware that there is still a section of the general community who question whether the Jews are doing their fair share in providing men and materials for the national need.

It will be essential that at the conclusion of the war, when the Jewish international position must and will be taken into consideration in any terms of peace demanded by the Allies, that our detractors should be answered fully by the production of proven statistics as to our part in the world struggle.

It is with some concern, therefore, that I have realised the absence of any co-operative attempt upon the part of the several Australian Jewish communities to collect and tabulate the names of those who have joined the Expeditionary Forces.

I would therefore respectfully suggest that you, Sir, emulate the example of the "Jewish Chronicle" and establish an Official List and Roll of Honour in connection therewith.

Owing to the absence of our respected Rabbi on active service, I have recently been appointed by the executive of our congregation to prepare such a list and be responsible for its maintenance. I have reason to believe that other State congregations have been lax in this respect and would suggest that you, Sir, use the influence of your columns to have similar appointments made in the other parts of Australia.

The lists could be periodically sent on to you for publication, and so create a permanent historical record of our response to the Empire's call, which I feel sure future generations will look back on with pride and gratification.

I attach hereto my first list of Western Australia's response, and trust you will see your way clear to publish same and use your influence in the creation of the co-operative list I have suggested.

Faithfully yours,

HAROLD BOAS

Forrest Chambers, St. George's Terrace, Perth, 14th March 1916.

By September 1916, his partner in their architectural practice and most of their staff had enlisted, and he was devoting his time to the war activities of the City Council. The Executive Director of the YMCA was in Perth on a fund raising visit and Harold expressed to him his frustration at being rejected for overseas service and suggested that he be appointed 'Jewish YMCA Secretary'. This suggestion found favour and was speedily approved by the YMCA Australian Headquarters in London. Accordingly, Harold wound up his affairs in Perth, arranged for his wife and daughter to go to Adelaide to live with his family there and set sail on the troopship *Orontes* on 29 December 1916.

Harold returned to Australia on the same ship just over three years later, in January 1920. Prior to leaving London he published a book entitled *The Australian Y.M.C.A. with the Jewish soldier of the Australian Imperial Force*, which gives a detailed account of his activities whilst overseas. The foreword to the book was written by Sir John Monash and Harold's daughter, Marjorie Luno, holds a copy of the book with the foreword personally signed by Sir John.¹⁹ The following statement appears on the inside front cover of this book:

It is proposed, at a later date, to produce a comprehensive Statistical Record in detail of the personnel of Jewish members of the Force, and to illustrate it with photographs of all Jewish dead, and officers and men who have been awarded Honours. In this connection I will be glad to hear, from any source whatever, of any additional information or particulars touching any phase of Australian Jewish activities with the A.I.F. that will be helpful in completing this very essential work.

I also appeal to readers of this volume to advise me (at Perth, Western Australia) of any errors and omissions which occur throughout its pages.

In his autobiography, Harold provides a brief description of his service overseas,

My duties were to cater for the social, educational and religious needs of these men throughout the United Kingdom and France. In addition, I became involved in the administrative and organizational work of the Y.M.C.A. in its general services to the troops.

I spent most of my time between London and Salisbury Plain in the United Kingdom and some time in France. I motored thousands of miles yearly to and from the various camps - organizing services and the itineraries of the Jewish padres on their visits to the troops - first Major Rabbi D. I. Freedman, religious head of the Perth Hebrew Congregation, and later Major Rabbi J. Danglow, head of the St. Kilda Hebrew Congregation, Melbourne.

The men at these weekly camp meetings found them a great boon, mainly for the social contacts. Every time I met a Jewish soldier, I sent a card to his next of kin in Australia and these cards, thousands in numbers, formed a great link between my work, the men and their home folk.

I visited the sick in hospital, arranged burials and marriages, arranged leave, loans and made gifts of money and goods provided by the Jewish people back in Australia and the Y.M.C.A.

He also recounts a very special encounter whilst overseas:

It was on account of my position as a City Councillor that I had the unique experience of meeting Pope Benedict XV at the Vatican at Rome in 1919.

On leave in London after the Armistice I was able to take a trip to the Continent with an old Perth friend, the late Issie Herman. Whilst in Rome and being shown over St. Peter's by our Roman guide we learned that a delegation of Abyssinian priests was to wait on the Pope the following morning. Thinking this a great opportunity to meet the spiritual head of the Catholic Church we importuned the guide with the aid of sundry lira to try and get us admitted to the audience. He protested the impossibility of obtaining such permission but said he would try.

Next morning we met him about ten o'clock when he introduced us to a very minor official who also expressed doubt as to such a possibility. By persuasion we got him to introduce us to about the

Fourth Secretary – who passed us on to the Third who in turn passed us on to the Second and finally we found ourselves in front of the First Secretary or his equivalent. He expressed grave doubts as to whether he could possibly acquiesce in our desire but eventually asked us for our credentials.

I then remembered that I had in my wallet a general Letter of Introduction from the Mayor of Perth on a foolscap sheet with the large red seal of the City of Perth attached thereto. As soon as he saw the red seal his whole attitude of caution disappeared and it proved an open sesame to us. We were ushered into the audience chamber and waited in line with the other members of the delegation until His Holiness arrived and passed down the line. When he reached us we were introduced and we kissed his hand and were blessed by him and given a message in French to the Australian people.

He was a small benign gentleman dressed in white and he impressed us with the spiritual significance of his office and person. It was a unique experience and enabled us to see something of the interior corridors and halls of the Vatican not open to the public and filled with priceless art treasures.

It was also unique in that the Jewish representative of the Australian Young Men's Christian Association was received and blessed by the head of the Catholic Church, a faint wisp of that great human desire for the Brotherhood of Man and the Fatherhood of God. The Seal of the City of Perth had opened the door to this great vista.

Harold was the son of an Orthodox Rabbi, albeit one with some very progressive ideas for his time. However, it was the experiences he had and the people he met whilst in London during and after the War that formed his desire to see a more progressive form of Judaism established in Western Australia, as he explains in his autobiography.

During the fifty-four years I have been in Perth I have acted as architect for the congregation in an honorary capacity. I built the mortuary house at Karrakatta in 1908 and have extended the synagogue buildings on three occasions.

Gradually, however, I drifted away from close association with the communal and social life of the community, mainly owing to the lack of intellectual appeal of the synagogue services and its extreme conservatism and orthodoxy.

My heart was attached to my Jewish upbringing and the beauty of its home life and the inherent virtues of its real religious tenets of moral values and social justice but my mind revolted

against the narrow limits of its ultra orthodox dogma and conservative practices - out of all relation to modern ideas. I believed in progressive religion and could not find scope for it in the Perth synagogal practices.

It was as a result of my World War I service that I first became acquainted with the liberal progressive movement.

In 1916 I was appointed the Jewish representative of the Australian Y.M.C.A. with the A.I.F. Whilst in London in 1917 I first met Basil Henriques through a mutual friend, Louis Jacobs, as a result of the work I was doing among Jewish troops in the United Kingdom. He and his wife were then living in the East End of London doing wonderful social work among the Jewish boys and girls of that area. Through them I met the late Claude Montefiore and the Hon. Lily Montague - also the late Rabbi Mattrick, the founders and minister of the Jewish Religious Union, the Reform movement in London.

I was so inspired by all these noble characters and the spiritual inspiration of their teaching and services that I was convinced that here was the answer to my religious needs.

I returned to Australia in 1920 convinced of the need for such a movement here and determined to do what I could to have it established in Western Australia.

Owing to the extreme conservatism of the local Jewish community it was not until 1948 when Sir Basil and Lady Henriques visited Australia that some progressive steps were taken by Philip Masel and myself to make some attempt to form a Liberal movement in Western Australia.

However, it was left to Dr. Ronald Taft to take the first actual steps toward this objective with the result that at an initial gathering of a few enthusiasts a group was formed which is now firmly established as the Temple David congregation of this city.

As one of the founders and one of the first vice presidents and now an honorary life member of the liberal movement I am gratified that there is now established in this State a movement which will ensure the continuance of Judaism as a living religion giving an opportunity to Jewish youth in Australia to remain attached to it, obviating the drift away of members which an outmoded system failed to inspire and hold.

As he had sold his house, furniture and car and dissolved his architectural partnership prior to leaving for overseas service, Harold was faced with the prospect of starting out again on his own when he returned to Perth in 1920. Shortly after he had opened a

small office, Charles Oldham, a well known architect died suddenly and he was asked by the executors to manage the practice. One of the indentured students there was Colin Ednie-Brown, with whom he formed a partnership which ultimately acquired the practice which became known as 'Oldham, Boas and Ednie-Brown' or, as Harold says the architecture students referred to it, 'olus bolus and upside-down'. The firm's work was mainly commercial and industrial, rather than residential, and early projects included setting up aircraft hangars in a number of country towns in 1921 for the state's first commercial aviation service as well as the design and construction of the radio station 6WF in 1924.

From his early twenties Harold took a keen interest in politics and for a time played a very active part. Following the win in 1911 by the Labor Party at the Federal election, out of concern for what he perceived as the growing threat of socialism, he joined the then Liberal League of Western Australia and served on its Executive. Being anxious to see younger people take a greater interest in political affairs, he was instrumental in the formation of the Young Liberal League and served as vice president until he left for overseas service in 1916. After he returned he joined the National Party, which had superseded the Liberal League, acting as Treasurer and as a delegate to interstate conferences. In 1925, concerned over the political and industrial unrest in the country, he initiated a civic and political club known as 'The Argonauts' and served as president. The purpose of this club was to give the youth of the State a greater sense of responsibility and loyalty. This was done through lectures, discussion groups, 'parliamentary' type meetings and social functions. For several years this was very successful, with membership exceeding 2,000 at its peak. However, in 1929 Harold resigned to undertake an extensive overseas trip, and with the onset of the Depression the club ceased to exist.

Having been asked by the Town Planning Associations to be the Australian representative at an International Conference in Rome in September 1929, Harold took the opportunity to fulfil a long standing promise to his wife, Sadie, to take her to England to see some of the sights he had enjoyed there during his overseas service. Their daughters, Peggy and Marjorie were placed in boarding school at *Frensham*, at Mittagong in the NSW southern highlands, not too far from Sydney where they could also be with Harold's sister Esther's family. In March 1929 Harold and Sadie left on the *Orsova* for their 'world tour'. They were away for nine months, returning in January 1930, after visiting the UK, France, Belgium, Holland, Switzerland and Italy and returning via Canada, the USA, Honolulu, Fiji and New Zealand.

Visits to the major cities of the world gave Harold valuable insights into the planning and problems of large cities, greatly enhancing his stature as a Town Planner. Shortly after his return, it was announced he had been elected a Full Member of the Town Planning Institute of Great Britain. By this time, the effects of the Great Depression were being felt in Western Australia and, concerned for the well being of his employees, an innovative scheme was devised to allow them to continue earning until economic conditions improved.

The time arrived when my partner and I could no longer sustain our staff at its full capacity but so as to avoid dispensing with them it was resolved that they should combine in a co-operative effort whereby they could continue to earn independently of our practice.

They therefore formed themselves into a company known as 'Poster Studios' and set about producing artistic advertising productions from lino cuts designed, printed in the office and sold either direct to retail firms or produced for firms desiring their own advertising of saleable products.

This work covered price tickets, illustrated cards for all sorts of occasions and purposes including bridge scorers in dozens of varying shapes and designs and including large scale posters and other advertising media. It saved the situation for the staff who carried on until they were able to rehabilitate themselves again in their personal activities.

This hiatus enabled me to devote my time to my City Council activities, Town Planning and all sorts of interests associated with the economic rehabilitation of the community as it was affected by the Depression.

Throughout the Depression years Harold devoted himself to many activities, being strongly motivated to help the people of Western Australia through the difficult times. He became involved with the campaign to promote locally produced products which not only held an exhibition attended by more than 80,000 people, but also organised an exhibition train which travelled throughout the country to promote these products. He chaired the committee running the Model Homes Scheme which raised money for youth employment and built homes on land donated by the City Council. He was appointed to the Board of the Workers Homes, which administered the Small Loans Scheme to help stimulate activity in the building industry. One of his great concerns during this time was youth unemployment and he chaired the Boys' Employment

League set up in 1931 by the Parents and Citizens Association to assist unemployed youth to find jobs. During the six years it operated, more than 9,000 jobs were found.

A by-product in Western Australia of the Depression was the rise of a secessionist movement, promoted by the Dominion League. Those with strong nationalistic ideals who were opposed to secession formed the Federal League, which Harold chaired. He spent several years touring the State, particularly the goldfields, acting as its spokesman. At the referendum held on 8 April 1933 the secessionists obtained a two-thirds vote in favour of secession from the Commonwealth. The request by the State Government to the British Parliament for Western Australia to be removed from the Constitution and become independent was subsequently denied.

Harold believed that one should either enter politics on a full time basis or pursue a career. However, his conviction that secession was completely contrary to the long-term interests of the Western Australia was so strong that he was persuaded to campaign on this platform for a seat in the Upper House at the elections that were held at the same time as the referendum. Although it was a close result and he did not get elected he felt the experience was worthwhile, but not one that he would want to repeat.

The intolerance by many in the Australian Jewish community to the refugees arriving in the years before the outbreak of World War II is well documented.²⁰ At this time, Harold's brother I.H. (Eidy) Boas was president of the Victorian Jewish Advisory Board and in a newspaper interview made some negative comments regarding Jewish refugees which stirred up quite a controversy.²¹ On the other hand, Harold, whilst Honorary Director of the Australian Jewish Welfare Society in Perth, strongly defended the Jewish refugees in the press, particularly when support for the Kimberley Scheme was stirring up a lot of 'anti refugee' feeling amongst the general public.²²

By 1939 when war was declared, Harold's architectural practice had recovered from the effects of the Depression and was again flourishing. He once more felt compelled to serve and, being too old for active service overseas, devoted himself to service on the home front. Being a City Councillor, he became Chairman of the Council's Civil Defence Committee. He served on the National Security (Building Control) Sub-Committee and also became involved with the National Savings Campaign organising the Architects Subdivision of the Western Australian War Loans and War Certificates Committee.

Harold also felt it was necessary, at this time, to remind the Australian Jewish community of the part it had played in World War I and wrote a paper 'The Australian Jew in the Great War, 1914-1918'.²³

By 1942 the demands of war on his partner and their staff meant that the architectural practice had virtually disappeared. Once more Harold was left frustrated and wanting to do more for the 'war effort'. Feeling somewhat isolated in Perth, he was advised to move to Melbourne where, in May 1942, he joined the Central Cargo Control Committee whose task it was to coordinate and speed up the turn round of shipping in Australian ports. This involved both upgrading of cargo handling equipment and expansion of storage facilities at all major Australian ports.²⁴ Before returning to Perth in December 1945, Harold compiled a detailed report of the work of the Committee, which is held in the military section of the National Archives.²⁵

In his autobiography Harold recounts an incident in Melbourne illustrating his concern for his fellow man and thinking 'outside the square'.

Whilst in Melbourne in 1943 I attended the funeral of the late Sinclair McGibbon, well known public identity in Perth and who was associated with public affairs, business and farming interests, Chamber of Commerce and most other public functions in Perth for many years.

I was so struck with the simplicity of the cremation service at Springvale and the beauty of the Rosarium that I wrote to the Prime Minister, Mr. Curtin, suggesting the Australian war dead should be brought back from their scattered graves throughout the field of war operations and cremated and buried in memorial rose gardens in their respective capital cities. This would give the citizens and relatives easy access to pay tribute to them and keep their memory fresh in our minds and hearts. I was advised he would bring the idea before the appropriate authorities.

I also discussed the matter with Sir Gilbert Dyett, the Federal President of the Returned Soldiers' League.

Nothing came of the idea, however, mainly I believe because of the religious objections by Roman Catholic and Jewish denominations to cremation.

In the early 1930s the Australian Jewish community, in general, was not particularly responsive to Zionism. However, as conditions worsened in Europe and the horrors of the Holocaust emerged, the community started to embrace Zionism. Support for the movement had been a cause of concern to Harold for some time. He describes his feelings whilst in London when the Balfour Declaration was signed:

I was in London on the night of December 2nd 1917 when Mr.

Herbert Samuel, later Lord Samuel, officially conveyed the British government's Declaration to 5,000 people in the Opera House and was privileged to be present in company with Rabbi D.I. Freedman, then Jewish Chaplain to the Australian Imperial Forces.

It was an inspiring night with brilliant speeches, as a result of which the whole audience was whipped up into a state of hysteria and emotionalism.

Mr. Samuel's penultimate declamation of his address 'Next Year in Jerusalem' brought down the house and it was then I began to realise the possible future dangers of this intense nationalism.

As one who believes that the Jewish People throughout the world are a religious group and not a race and are bound together only by a common religion I found myself convinced that the establishment of a Jewish State would undermine the citizenship of all Jews in other countries and place in question their loyalty to the countries of their birth or adoption and jeopardize their civil and political rights earned by the efforts of great Jews throughout the world in their struggle for emancipation – more so throughout the British Empire.

With community support for Zionism growing during the war years, it comes as no surprise that whilst still in Melbourne, Harold met Sir Isaac Isaacs, former Governor General, and a staunch and outspoken critic of Zionism. Their close association arose out of their common views and they were in agreement that more needed to be done to warn the community of the dangers of political Zionism. On his return to Perth, together with Philip and Sam Masel, a publishing company was formed and in May 1947 the monthly journal, *The Australian Jewish Outlook*, was launched with Harold acting as chairman of the editorial committee and Sir Isaac one of the major contributors.

In a paper entitled 'Should the State Enquire into the Religious Beliefs of its Citizens? – Harold Boas Says No.'²⁶ which looked at the question of declaring one's religion in the Census questionnaire, Harold wrote:

If and when the Jewish State is established in Palestine what will be the position of Australian citizens of the Jewish Faith? Will they be segregated in the official census and marked "Foreigners" who must then seek naturalisation to remain Australian citizens? They surely will be classed as nationals of the Jewish State.

These questions open up large issues and one which I have always presented as the danger which Australian Zionists have either discounted or ignored. It will shortly become a real issue and one which all Australians of the Jewish Faith will be called upon to answer, and to decide whether the question of dual loyalties exists or not.

The changing attitude, however, of many in the community after the formation of the State of Israel in 1948 meant the *Journal* had a relatively short life.

Despite the revitalisation of communities throughout the world by their desire to support Israel and the newly found pride in Judaism, Harold remained unconvinced. Chapter 16 of his autobiography entitled 'Jewish Life and Associations' written more than twenty years after the creation of the State of Israel, concludes with these words:

Whether this point of view as to the possible danger to the civil and political rights of Jews all over the world not citizens of the State of Israel was justified history alone will ultimately prove.

I have no qualms of conscience or regrets at my action in attempting by my efforts to save Judaism for the Jews and the world. In Israel it is already nearly dead.

Once before the Jews in history worshipped the Golden Calf and with dire consequences – I pray history will not repeat itself.

When this struggle ended I turned again to Liberal Judaism as the only hope for its revival and resuscitation.

Harold's concern that a record be prepared to honour the Australian Jewish servicemen and women who fought in World War I was part of a greater passion for the history of the community. He was a meticulous record keeper and a prodigious correspondent, taking an interest in the Australian Jewish Historical Society from its inception in 1938. In 1963 he established the West Australian Branch, acting as chairman for many years. His contributions to the *AJHS Journal* included a detailed biography of Sir Charles Nathan²⁷ and a history of the Kalgoorlie Jewish community.²⁸ In 1974, already ninety years of age and retired from active work, he set about distributing his collection of documents, manuscripts and newspaper clippings, much of which is now housed in the Society's archives.²⁹

Throughout his busy professional life Harold found time for involvement in numerous causes. His fundraising efforts through the Royal Automobile Club during World War I have already been

mentioned. His membership of the Club lasted for more than fifty years and in the 1920s he was involved with the lobbying by the Club for the government to improve roads throughout Western Australia. He became involved with the Kindergarten Union of Western Australia shortly after its formation in 1911 and acted as honorary architect, designing and building many of their centres as well as acting as Treasurer.

Following the evolution of the United Nations out of the former League of Nations in October 1945, Harold was elected Chairman of the Australian Association for the United Nations and was the Inaugural Chairman of the United Nations Children's Appeal. This led to an interest in the Save the Children Fund, where he again served on the executive. He also attended the United Nations Association Conference in Bangkok in February 1950 as the Australian representative. At the invitation of the Executive Council of Australian Jewry, he also acted as the representative for the World Jewish Congress at this Conference and reported widely on its activities to the Jewish communities in Sydney, Melbourne, Adelaide and Perth on his return.

In 1949 Harold initiated the formation of the Western Australian Division of the Australian-American Association and was appointed chairman. He played an active part in initially promoting the Association with numerous speaking engagements, which he continued until 1957. Another organisation that benefited from his efforts was the Victoria League (For Commonwealth Friendship in Western Australia) where he also served on the Executive and acted as the honorary architect in respect of the League's premises. On a more personal level he was involved in 1911 with an unsuccessful attempt to form a Society for the Abolition of Capital Punishment. He campaigned again for this in 1932 and supported a campaign for the reprieve of a condemned man in 1952, both of which were unsuccessful.

The 1969 New Years Day Honours List included, amongst those awarded the Order of the British Empire (OBE), the name Harold Boas. Harold acknowledges this honour in his autobiography. The front page contains the following quote from Ecclesiastes 11.1, 'Cast thy bread upon the waters for thou shalt find it after many days.' When he revised his autobiography in 1971 he added, 'I found some of this bread when on January 1st 1969 I was awarded the Most Excellent Order of the British Empire by Her Majesty Queen Elizabeth II for my work in Architecture and Town Planning'.

Formal recognition by the City of Perth of Harold's significant contribution to the town planning of the City came when the area previously known as 'Delhi Square' was upgraded with gardens and

lakes and renamed the 'Harold Boas Gardens'. The renaming ceremony took place on 8 December 1976, with 93 year-old Harold in attendance. In paying tribute to Harold, the Lord Mayor of Perth at the time, E. H. Lee Steere, said in part:

As a distinguished Architect, honoured as a Life Fellow of The Royal Australian Institute of Architects, Mr. Boas gave Perth some of its finest Buildings. One by one the larger architectural landmarks are disappearing but I understand some of his earliest commissions in the form of suburban homes designed soon after his arrival from South Australia still stand today. Some of Perth's older, but still fine residential Suburbs - also owe their development to Mr. Boas's skill.

But his vision and ability found scope far beyond the planning of one suburb. Harold Boas took an early and enthusiastic interest in the developing field of Town Planning. The Perth City Council made the first moves to establish Town Planning in Perth in 1911 and during his two terms with the Council, spanning twenty years from 1914 to 1943, Mr. Boas worked closely with the Town Clerk of the day, William Bold, in advocating and actively promoting greater awareness of planning the City. This relationship produced so much that is good in Western Australia.

Though not formally trained as a Planner, Mr. Boas is generally acknowledged as the Father of Town Planning in Western Australia and is honoured as a Fellow of The Royal Australian Planning Institute. At various times during his long civic service Mr. Boas served with distinction as Chairman of almost every Council Committee, but it is not surprising that he is most closely associated with, and best remembered as Chairman of the Town Planning Committee. It was in this capacity that he was largely responsible for the preparation of a major report on planning Perth. The first Town Planning Act in W.A. in 1928 owed much to Mr. Boas's initiative and his term as the inaugural Chairman of The Perth Metropolitan Town Planning Commission from 1928 to 1930 saw the foundations of planning our Capital formally established.

During his Council career Mr. Boas was closely associated with major improvements to our City which simultaneously enhanced its beauty and its recreational facilities.

Development of City Beach, Lake Monger, the Victoria Park foreshore and the construction of Riverside Drive - and development of its adjacent Parklands - were all carried out in his term.

One City improvement which Mr. Boas has long advocated is the development of a wide Plaza in Forrest Place with open vistas North to a Cultural and Civic Centre. It may have taken nearly fifty years to bring this dream to reality, but I am delighted to be able to say today that the Council's negotiations to acquire Padbury Buildings from the Commonwealth Government are very close to completion. The creation of a wide Plaza in Forrest Place - with links to the Perth Cultural Centre - is therefore within our grasp and I hope the New Year will see a start on this long-awaited City improvement.³⁰

Harold Boas died on 17 September 1980, ten days short of his 97th birthday, and only a few months after his beloved wife, Sadie. He had had a long and productive life and had always 'stuck to his principles'.

ENDNOTES

1. Nicknamed *Bill* because he was born in the 'Jewbilee' year of the reign of Queen Victoria.
2. In 1966 Harold Boas wrote an autobiography, which he called *Bricks and Mortar – An Autobiography*. He revised it in August 1971 when he made some minor amendments, mainly of an updating nature. A copy is kept in the Society's archives.
3. Boas, *Bricks and Mortar*, p.8 All subsequent quotations are from Boas' autobiography.
4. Rabbi Boas was probably the first rabbi in Australia to demonstrate a genuine interest in the interfaith movement.
5. A Yiddish word meaning 'fate' or 'destiny'.
6. 'I.H.' – Harold's older brother Isaac Herbert (Eidy) had graduated in Science in Adelaide and already moved to Perth where he was lecturing in chemistry. He went on to head up the CSIRO Forestry Products Division and was instrumental in the development of the use of hardwoods in the production of newsprint.
7. The *Jewish Herald (JH)*, 21 September 1906 reported on an evening held on 30 August where 'The arrangements for the evening were in the hands of Mr H. Boas and Mr I. Crawcour, and were carried out most successfully'.
8. *JH*, 22 February 1907. The Jewish Territorial Organization, known as the ITO, was a Jewish political movement which first emerged in 1903 after the Zionist Congress rejected the British Uganda Offer, but which was institutionalized in 1905. The organization was founded by British Jewish author, critic and activist Israel Zangwill and British Jewish Journalist Lucien Wolf. Few in the World Zionist Organization supported the Uganda Scheme, as the East Africa offer was sometimes called, particularly those representatives from Eastern Europe who argued that Palestine alone was the sole acceptable site for a Jewish homeland. Herzl was severely criticized for his willingness to seek a Jewish state outside of the Middle East. The

ITO's members were known as 'territorialists' or 'ITO men'. ITO attempted to locate territory suitable for Jewish settlement in various parts of America (such as Galveston, Alaska); Africa (in Angola, establishing several contacts with the Portuguese government, the colonial power at the time); Asia; and Australia, but with little success. The ITO lasted until at least 1943, though indeed it lost much of its power and impetus after the Balfour Declaration of 1917 and Zangwill's death in 1926.

9. *JH*, 19 April 1907.
10. *Ibid.*
11. *The Daily News*, Perth, 9 June 1909.
12. *Ibid.*, 10 June 1909.
13. Prominent members of the Perth Jewish Community at the time.
14. *Hebrew Standard of Australasia (HS)*, 8 October 1909.
15. *JH*, 29 October 1909.
16. *Ibid.*, 10 May 1912.
17. *Southern Times*, 24 August 1912.
18. *JH*, 24 March 1916.
19. Harold's daughter, Marjorie Luno, was in Adelaide at the time and is now living in Melbourne. See H. Boas, *The Australian Y.M.C.A. with the Jewish soldier of the Australian Imperial Force* (London: H. Boas, 1919).
20. Suzanne D. Rutland, *Edge of the Diaspora*, Chapter 8, 'The Coming of the Refugees' (Sydney: Brandl & Schlesinger, 2001), p.174.
21. Benzion Patkin, 'From Advisory Board to Board of Deputies in Victoria', *AJHS Journal*, Vol IX, Part 1 (1981), p. 39.
22. Under a large headline 'Jewish Refugees' the *Westralian Worker* of 15 September 1939 printed a letter from 'Mr. C. Cross M.L.A.' warning the people of Western Australia of the dangers allowing large numbers of Jewish refugees into the State, based on reports he had heard of problems in England. On 22 September the newspaper published a very balanced response from Harold. On 6 October, under an even bigger banner 'Refugees' a further response from Cross was published. Both letters from Cross displayed the same antisemitic tone referred to earlier.
23. Harold Boas, 'The Australian Jew in the Great War', *AJHS Journal*, Vol 1 Part IV (1940), pp.98-104.
24. 'Personal', *The West Australian*, 29 April, 29146, p.6.
25. Boas, *Bricks and Mortar*, p.81.
26. *Australian Jewish Outlook*, January 1948, p16.
27. Harold Boas, 'Charles Samuel Nathan Kt., C.B.E.', *AJHS Journal*, Vol VI, Part 7 (1969), p.416.
28. Harold Boas, 'A Short History of the Kalgoorlie Hebrew Congregation 1901-1969', *AJHS Journal*, Vol VIII, Part 3 (1970), p.214.
29. Box AB47, AJHS Archives, Sydney Jewish Museum.
30. The full text of the address is reprinted in *AJHS Journal*, Vol VIII, Part 4 (1977), p.202.

FINDING THE JEWISH DIGGERS OF THE GREAT WAR (PART II)

Challenges of Identifying who is Jewish just by Name
Russell Stern

BACKGROUND

Following his service during World War I as Jewish Representative with the Young Men's Christian Association (YMCA) in 1923, Harold Boas produced *The Australian Jewry Book of Honour*¹ (referred to as the World War I *Book of Honour*) being a compilation of the honours won by Australian Jewish servicemen during the First World War, as well as a Nominal Roll consisting of columns setting out the name, rank, regimental number, unit, state of enlistment and any honours won as well as casualties and other information relevant to the entry. The book also included some photographs.

In his Preface, Harold Boas notes that preparation of the book had been a 'long and difficult task, owing to the absence of any complete centralized official record of the Jewish Personnel in the A.I.F.'² He then proceeds to state that the records that appear in the book have been obtained from a wide number of sources including his own personal records, and from records maintained by the Australian Jewish Community. He does not name these sources, but thanks the Great Synagogue, Sydney and the East Melbourne Synagogue for their 'generous financial aid'.³

The Preface is followed by a 'General Survey'. Here Boas notes that 'this Record has had exhaustive editing and verification' and that everything had been done to make it authoritative and official 'and where error has crept in it will be found to be on the conservative side'.⁴ After listing the total Jewish British Empire war effort, Boas goes on to note 'The record for Australia shows that there were at least 1,500 Australian Jewish men who voluntarily enlisted and served abroad. Of this number over 200 laid down their lives and a very large percentage was wounded'.⁵

Since the archival records were not open to the public at the time, Boas was not able to examine the personnel files of the men of whom

he was writing or to see the religion that was professed by them. Since these archives have now been opened up to the public, I was able to access that information. With the benefit of having examined these files and attempting to ascertain the religion of the enlistees who had been named by Boas in his *World War I Book of Honour*, I find it remarkable that his estimate of the numbers in 1923 (1500 with 200 fatalities) appears to be more accurate than that which he had previously suggested in 1919 (2000 with 300 fatalities). These 1919 'Statistics' appeared on pages 48 and 49 of *The Australian Y.M.C.A. with the Jewish Soldier of the Australian Imperial Force (Australian Y.M.C.A.)*.⁶ He repeated the 1919 statistics some twenty years later in his article written with A.W. Hyman and published in the *Australian Jewish Historical Society Journal* in 1940.⁷

The statement, that there were at least 1,500 Australian Jewish men who served abroad, corresponds with the number of enlistments involving overseas service that my examination of the Australian World War I Archival enlistment records has uncovered. Again, the statement by Harold Boas that a number over 200 had paid the supreme sacrifice seems to accord with the findings from my research into the records.

Boas' experiences as Jewish Representative had been described by him in *The Australian Y.M.C.A.*⁸ In the Preface he stated:

It is proposed, at a later date, to produce a comprehensive Statistical Record in detail of the personnel of Jewish members of the Force and to illustrate it with photographs of all Jewish dead, and officers and men who have been who have been awarded Honours.

In this connection, I will be glad to hear, from any source whatever, of any additional information or particulars touching any phase of Australian Jewish activities with the A.I.F. that will be helpful in completing this very essential work.⁹

The *World War I Book of Honour* was the comprehensive Statistical Record that Boas had referred to in 1919. It lists the names and regimental numbers of more than 2000 servicemen,¹⁰ including some with Australian origins, who served in 'Imperial' units,¹¹ such as those of Great Britain, New Zealand and India. Many of the servicemen listed by Boas enlisted under a religious denomination other than Jewish. Boas had recognised this circumstance in *The Australian Y.M.C.A.*, where he wrote:

Unfortunately, through misplaced fear of possible

disadvantages, or through moral cowardice, there were some Australian Jews who enlisted under another denomination, mostly Church of England. I have come into contact with some of these men and have asked them pointedly for the reasons which prompted them to take the course they did. There were several reasons given, but I think they may be summarized under the misconceived notion that to be designated a Jew was to start in the army under a disadvantage. Men lacked the moral support of numbers when they first went into camp, and being but an isolated unit, without even a direct representative padre, their character was not sufficiently strong to resist the temptation to take the line of least resistance. Others, I am sorry to say, with an education and knowledge sufficient to have guided them otherwise, adopted a similar course out of mere snobbery.¹²

Whether the reasons suggested by Harold Boas for Australian Jewish volunteers to hide their religious identity in the course of enrolment were valid, Rabbi David I. Freedman¹³ also commented on the practice following his return to Australia. He stated in the *Jewish Herald* in July 1918:

I have found instance after instance in which sons of Israel camouflaged their identity both in the Australian and in the British Army. Why have they done so? One of our Jewish V.C.'s¹⁴ had originally enlisted as a member of another denomination. It was only after he had won the Victoria Cross that he declared himself as belonging to the Jewish faith. But most of those who have hidden their identity have done so because they feared they would be subjected to prejudice and not have a fair deal.¹⁵

Boas commented that in a number of cases, soldiers voluntarily came to him and asked for assistance to have their attestation papers altered in order to show their true religious denomination. He notes 'They said that they had realized since they had been in the army that their fears were misplaced'.¹⁶ Boas continues, indicating that 'I was able to get the sympathetic assistance of the military authorities to enable me to have these records altered'.¹⁷ In my examination of the personal records, I did not come across many clear instances of such voluntary soldier-initiated change of religious denomination having been a significant practice.

It would appear that quite often claims of an incorrect denomination having been proffered in the enlistment papers arose immediately prior

to the granting of special leave for Jews in order for them to observe the High Holydays. Fourteen days' leave was available for Rosh Hashana and Yom Kippur, and eight days for Pesach.

As Boas observes, these claims were made by Jews who were nominally Christian, but also from many Christians who were pseudo-Jews, or temporarily so. Boas says that in a number of cases he had to rely upon the Jewish look of the name.¹⁸ As this article will show, while Harold Boas may not have made any mistake in dealing with such claims, his reliance on 'the Jewish look of the name' did not serve him well when it came to many of the servicemen whom he included in the *World War I Book of Honour*. The name 'Cohen' or 'Levy' did not necessarily mean that the holder of such a Jewish surname was in fact a Jew.

Boas states that he called for nominal rolls from time to time in order that he might ascertain which Jewish servicemen were located throughout the United Kingdom. Occasionally highly placed officers were included, such as Major General Rosenthal – whom he comments was a well-known Christian General in the Australian Forces. It is as true today, as it was in Boas' day, that Rosenthal has been referred to as being a Jew, supposedly bringing us credit and pride.¹⁹

Rabbi Dr John S. Levi in his biography of Rabbi Jacob Danglow, senior minister of the St Kilda Hebrew Congregation, and Chaplain, stated that:

Identity was often a complex and serious problem. The senior Jewish chaplain of the British forces in France complained to Danglow that the War Graves Department 'constantly question the religion of men whom we know perfectly well to have been of the Jewish Faith'. Rev. A Barnett asked Danglow to tell him in detail how he knew that a Private Bishop²⁰ was Jewish. Danglow was able to send Barnett a copy of a black-bordered letter from the boy's father which concluded, 'My wife and myself are consoled to know that you performed the last rites.'²¹

It was Boas' practice to collect names from all available sources, and he was supplied with lists from each of the units in the United Kingdom. Harold Boas was not the first Australian Jew to compile a listing of Australian Jews who had voluntarily enlisted for overseas service. Chaplain Danglow was one who was engaged in this task. He is quoted in the *Jewish Herald* 7 May 1915 that 'he would present this Roll of Honour to his Majesty the King'.²²

Boas was supplied with regular lists of men with whom they had come in contact by the two Australian chaplains²⁸ as well as English

chaplains serving Australian forces. In addition, Boas says that 'names were extracted from the *Jewish Chronicle*, *Jewish Year Book* and the Australian Jewish press and each of the Communities in Australia sent me lists of Jewish men in their respective States who had enlisted'.²⁴

Boas then stated that from these sources 'I have been able to accumulate a list of 2,175 names'.²⁴ He goes on to write that 'Every effort has been made to verify these by constant enquiry and by reference to the official A.I.F. Records, but it has been found impossible in the short time that I have been able to devote to this work to verify the complete list'.²⁶ He continues by indicating that an allowance of 8% needs to be made for duplications, and for names wrongly included because the men were of other, non-Jewish, denominations²⁷ but 'not allowing for many Jewish names which must be omitted from my list, but also because many men... enlisted under other denominations than that of their own faith, I estimate that at least 2,000 Australian Jewish men voluntarily enlisted in the Australian Imperial Force'.²⁸

I suggest that even taking into consideration those volunteers who attempted to enlist, but were rejected on one ground or another, and those who deserted before embarkation, the actual number of Australian Jewish men who enlisted voluntarily and who served in the AIF would be significantly less than 2,000. Boas indicated that of the 2,000 enlistments, his records showed that 300 were killed – that is 15%, a number that he asserted compared favourably with the total enlistments and casualties in the Australian forces.²⁹ Yet, as discussed above, it is clear from my research that the numbers were closer to Boas' more conservative estimation of 1500 enlisted with 200 killed.

WHAT THE ARCHIVAL RESEARCH SHOWS

Prior to 2000 very little research had been carried out in order to compile a definitive list of Jews who had participated in the Australian military forces in World War I. With the centenary of the Anglo-Boer War in 1899, I commenced my attempt to ascertain the details of Jews from Australia who had volunteered in the various units emanating from around the British Empire and participated in that war in South Africa. The fruits of that research have appeared in the *Australian Jewish Historical Society Journal*,³⁰ but I must comment that further research needs to be done to check whether there are any additional references to apparent Jews in the many country newspapers which are now available through Trove, and which published references to, and letters from, local volunteers.

Some years later I set myself the daunting task of authenticating the details of Australian service personnel of World War II. My starting ground was *Australian Jewry's Book of Honour World War II* edited by Gerald Pynt with the co-operation of NAJEX historian Jack Epstein, published in 1973.³¹ (This is referred to as the *World War II Book of Honour*). This contained Honour Rolls, firstly of those who had fallen, and secondly, of those who had served in the Navy, the Army and finally, the Air Force. Some thirty years after its publication, I began to critically examine these Honour Rolls, and came to realise that many who had served were not mentioned. Then after I had prepared, with the assistance of the Australian War Memorial's (AWM) roll of veterans, a list including the names in the *World War II Book of Honour* and others included in the AWM Roll, I discovered that most of the service files held by the National Archives of Australia (NAA) for World War II had not yet been examined for purposes of release for inspection. Furthermore, most files relating to World War II had, and still have not been digitized, and this meant that the files had to be inspected at the reading room of the NAA in Canberra. Ultimately, I handed the NAA a request for more than 7,000 files to be released for examination and this has resulted in several thousand additional names being available to add to those in the *World War II Book of Honour*.³²

By comparison, most World War I files have been digitized, and so they can be examined on a researcher's own computer, making the task much easier. I decided to include an analysis of Australia's World War I Jewish army and navy personnel to my research schedule, aiming to complete the project by Anzac Day, 2015.

One issue that made this research more difficult was the fact that for many of the service records that I was researching, the files contained more than one copy of the enlistment papers. Some were clearly copies, while others were possibly completed at a different time and often one copy has a different religion stated to the apparent original. I have stated the religions as they appear in the different copies, in some case a Christian denomination and in the second copy Jewish or vice versa. Many descriptions of Judaic religion, such as 'Judith' and 'Jewing', are given in the Appendices exactly as it appears on the form.

There are nine appendices to this article. Two of them appear in this issue of the Journal. The rest will appear in the Journal in 2016, following further genealogical research into the background of those who enlisted with a religion other than Jewish. These set out statistical information that I have been able to deduce from the records. It would appear that the list of names that appeared in the *World War I Book of Honour* includes some who did not see service

outside of Australia and who therefore cannot be counted in calculating those who enlisted to serve overseas. All calculations as to numbers who served in the AIF are of those who served overseas (including German New Guinea). Without access to the government archives, Harold Boas did not have the benefit of being able to check that the names that were given to him had actually served outside of Australia. Having been able to access that information, it is included in the appendices, which include the following information:

1. A list of servicemen whose names appear in the World War I *Book of Honour* and who described their religion in their enlistment papers as 'Jewish' or some variant. (See Appendix I)
2. A list of Australian Jewish servicemen who were killed in action, or died of wounds or from illness during the course of World War I or immediately after. It will be noted that while Boas says that his records indicated that 300 were killed, this appendix reveals a number less than 200. (See Appendix II).
3. A list of servicemen whose names appear in the World War I *Book of Honour*, but who initially described their religion as other than Jewish. In respect of these servicemen, evidence has been collected to establish that they were Jewish.
4. A list of servicemen whose names do not appear in the World War I *Book of Honour* but who described their religion as Jewish in their enlistment papers and includes those who did not describe themselves as Jewish in their enlistment papers, but in respect of whom there is evidence that they were Jewish.
5. A list of servicemen whose names appear in the World War I *Book of Honour* who did not describe their religion as 'Jewish' and who claimed to be of some other religion. No evidence has been gleaned to establish that they were Jewish, but equally, there is no compelling evidence to show that they were not Jewish. This list includes as a subset, those who have been identified as having had a Jewish heritage, rather than a *halakhic* lineage.
6. A list of those who served in the Royal Australian Navy. This is an incomplete listing.
7. A list of those who served in the Gallipoli Campaign.
8. A list of other Australian Jews who served in non-Australian Imperial Units.
9. A list of enlistees whose names appear in the World War I *Book of Honour*, but who, according to their enlistment papers at the NAA, examined on line, did not serve outside Australia, or who were discharged without service because of medical unfitness or for some other reason. These did not qualify for inclusion in the AIF.

Publication of names in these appendices does not mean that the lists are final. I was able to add the name of Lionel Marks³³ to Appendix II two days after the 100th anniversary of his death on 25 April 1915.

DO THE RESULTS OF THE RESEARCH THROW DOUBT UPON ANY CONSTRUCTIONS THAT HAVE BEEN DEVELOPED TO SUPPORT THE POSITION OF JEWS IN THE AUSTRALIAN COMMUNITY?

It has been often stated that in World War I Jews in Australia volunteered to a greater extent than their statistical numbers in the Australian community. In 'Finding the Jewish Diggers of The Great War (Part 1)',³⁴ I dealt with the question of numbers – how many Jews enlisted in the Australian Forces in World War I. Australian Jewish involvement has been assumed to be the 2,304 estimate of Harold Boas. However, even with the most liberal rules for determining who is a Jew, the total involvement of Australian Jews who experienced overseas conflict, whether on the battlefield or in a support role totals far fewer than 75% of Boas' estimate.

The appendices cannot be totalled cumulatively, as there are a number of duplications of enlistment by the same person, when they re-enlisted and were allotted a new regimental number instead of resuming their initial regimental number. Again, some enlisted under another name, or with different first names, often with a different birth place, and frequently with a different religion. Some attempted to enlist on a number of occasions, and sometimes were successful on a later occasion, when perhaps the standards had been lowered following the defeat of the conscription referenda.

About 1,100 of those named by Harold Boas enlisted in the AIF, a number that is significantly less than his 1,500 estimation. In addition, some 250 additional Jewish enlistments have been discovered through examination of the enlistment records held at the NAA. Details of these enlistees in the AIF will appear in Appendix IV. At least another 130 Australian Jews enlisted in Imperial units, or received a commission in an Imperial unit. The names of soldiers who fit into this category will appear in Appendix VIII. Some also appear in the lists of the AIF, in which they originally enlisted. This makes a total of approximately 1,500.

ERRORS OF IDENTIFICATION AS HAVING BEEN JEWISH

There are a number of key aspects to be considered in terms of identifying a recruit as Jewish, as seen through specific case studies. Without access to personal files, Boas seemed to have tried to make educated guesses on the basis of Jewish sounding surnames, but this

can be very problematic. For example, I was recently asked about Perez Othniel Abramovitch who died as a result of an accident in Flanders in 1919. He is buried at Charleroi Communal Cemetery in Belgium. The Commonwealth War Graves Commission On-Line Photographic Index shows a Magen David on the tombstone. It notes: 'Died of accidental injuries 12/02/19 Aged 20 S. 2. Son of Lewis and Mary Bertha Lily Abramovitch, of Sturrock St., Brunswick, Victoria, Australia. Born at Coburg, Victoria, Australia.'³⁵ I referred to the Abramovitch brothers in 'Finding the Jewish Diggers of the Great War (Part 1)' and observed that while their father was Jewish, their mother was a Baptist.³⁶ Perez Othniel Abramovitch, like his brothers Elroi David Abramovitch and Gershom Samuel Abramovitch M.M., M.I.D. were the children of Lewis Abramovitch and Mary Bertha Lily Dalwood. Lewis was born into a traditional Jewish family. However he married Mary Dalwood, who followed the Baptist religion. It is relevant to note that Gershom was included in the World War I *Book of Honour*, and his name also appears on the Honour Boards of the Great Synagogue, Sydney and of the New South Wales Jewish War Memorial.³⁷

Gershom also volunteered in World War II, and became a Prisoner of War in Singapore. By then he was a Captain. He noted his religion as Baptist in his enlistment papers dated 21 February 1941.³⁸ He survived the war and ultimately received a Commonwealth War Grave ceremony when he was buried as a Baptist.³⁹ The fact that Gershom was a committed Baptist could not have come to the attention of his Jewish fellow Prisoners of War in Changi, as Gershom's name appears in the World War II *Book of Honour*.

One of the unintended outcomes following the publication of the World War I *Book of Honour* and of the list provided by Harold Boas is that they formed the basis upon which the Great Synagogue, Sydney and the New South Wales Jewish War Memorial created their respective World War I Memorial Boards and Boards which honoured World War I AIF service personnel. These have, in turn, been used as the reference for stating that those listed are of the Jewish religion. Some examples of these mistaken on-line references are discussed below.

FACT OR FICTION? WERE THERE 55 JEWS IN THE A.I.F WHO WERE KILLED OR DIED IN THE DARDANELLES CAMPAIGN OF WORLD WAR I?

In preparation for the Centenary of ANZAC, genealogist Kim Phillips decided to produce a CD, *The First Jewish Anzacs* (2010). In this, she identified a total of 56 Australian Jewish Anzacs who served and made the ultimate sacrifice on the Gallipoli Peninsular.⁴⁰ Subsequently, she has developed a website, *The Spirits of Gallipoli*, which tells the story of 100 Australian soldiers who are

commemorated at Gallipoli.⁴¹ The number in the first CD edition of *Spirits of Gallipoli* was 56, and this listing did not include Alexander Weingott who died in Egypt after being wounded on Gallipoli.⁴² A similar claim was made in 1995 by the *Australian Jewish News* (AJN) in a story suggesting that 55 Australian Jews died as a result of their involvement in Gallipoli.⁴³

The following names are included in *The First Jewish Anzacs*, but on further investigation, it has been ascertained that some were not Jewish while others did not have a Jewish mother: Harold Aarons, Roy Marr Bernays, Norman Samuel Block, Benjamin Cantor, Samuel Morris Ehrenberg, Charles John Falk, Henry Funkenstein, Frederick George Gabriel, Maxwell Howitz, David Harold Jude, Cuthbert Kaufmann, Theodor Hugo Lambahirt, Cyril Benjamin Levien, Michael Levine, Reginald Rosenbrock, John Reginald Shallberg and Leslie John Simons.⁴⁴ Each of these cases is discussed below, indicating how additional data that has emerged from the National Archives, together with genealogical research, proves that they were not officially Jewish, although most of them could have had some Jewish ancestry. This research has also demonstrated how difficult it can be to decide who is Jewish, particularly basing this decision on a person's surname.

Harold Aarons' parents were Matilda Kate East Aarons who died in 1927 and was buried at Footscray General Cemetery and Benjamin Aarons who died on 14 April 1935 and was also buried at Footscray General Cemetery. Benjamin was the son of Joseph Aarons & Rosetta Meyers. While he was Jewish, like many in nineteenth century Australia, he did not marry within the Jewish faith and therefore Harold and his brother Gabriel cannot be included as being Jewish in the count. Each enlisted as a Roman Catholic.⁴⁵ Trooper Harold Aarons was killed in action on 6 August 1915 and his memorial grave in the Beach Cemetery at Anzac Cove bears an inscribed cross.

Roy Marr Bernays' parents were Charles and Laura Bernays.⁴⁶ Charles was a clerk of the Queensland Parliament. Roy was an early casualty of Gallipoli, being killed in action on 27 April 1914. Charles may have had some Jewish background, as Bernays is a name with European Jewish heritage, and that is perhaps the reason Boas included him in his listings. However, Laura was not Jewish. She had been born Lilian Laura Marr of Wollongong and married Charles at Christ Church, Enmore on 21 January 1885. Charles' mother was Mary Anne Elia Borton.⁴⁷ Pte. Roy Bernays is memorialised on the Lone Pine Memorial.

Norman Samuel Block enlisted on 13 November 1914. He was born in Warrnambool, Victoria, his mother being Emily Block of Ballarat. His father was Joseph William Block, born in Ararat,

Victoria, and a jeweller by trade. Emily's mother was Emily Briggs, born in Hobart to a maltster named Harrison Briggs and his wife was Sarah, nee Smythe. While Norman's father may have been Jewish, it is doubtful whether his mother was. Norman enlisted as a follower of the Church of England.⁴⁸ He died of his wounds on 8 July 1915 and was buried at sea.

Benjamin Cantor was born in Collingwood, Victoria in May 1892 to Lewis and Annie Cantor. Benjamin enlisted on 15 August 1914 and was assigned to the Field Artillery. Sgt Benjamin Cantor was killed in action on 9 May 1915 and was buried in the Beach Cemetery on Gallipoli. His tombstone bears a cross in keeping with his declaration on his enrolment form that his religion was 'Prot'.⁴⁹ Benjamin's mother was born Elizabeth Ann Coate in 1866. Her mother was born in Limerick, Ireland.⁵⁰ The parents of Lewis, Benjamin Cantor and Rachel Cantor, nee Reuben were Jewish, but Lewis had not married within the faith.

It was a similar story with Samuel Morris Ehrenberg, who was the son of Samuel Adolph Ehrenberg and O'Connor [sic] Mary Cecelia Ehrenberg. He was born in Brunswick, Victoria and was educated at Christian Brothers (Catholic) School, South Melbourne, and St Patrick's College, Ballarat. He enlisted on 18 August 1914 in 5 Battalion⁵¹ and died of his wounds on 25 April 1915. His body was found some weeks after his death, and he was buried. However, when it came to locate the dead in 1919 and later, his body was not one that was found. Thus, he has no grave in a war cemetery. His name is inscribed on the Lone Pine Memorial. With his upbringing and education, it seems appropriate that when Sgt Ehrenberg enlisted, he described his religion as 'R/C'.⁵² Because his mother died when Sgt Ehrenberg was young, he lived with his father's sister, Golda Ehrenberg, who later was to apply for the Anzac Medal as his last surviving relative.

There is a possibility that Samuel Adolph Ehrenberg was Jewish as his father, Morris, is buried in Fawkner Jewish Cemetery in Melbourne,⁵³ but again he was among the many that was married to a person who was not Jewish, so that his children were not *halakhically* Jewish.

Charles John Falk was born in Port Adelaide and enlisted on 22 August 1914. His father was John William Falk, who was living at Yatala at the time that Charles enlisted. The National Archives file does not disclose any details about Charles' mother. The enrolment form does indicate that Charles gave his religion as 'C.E.' Private Charles Falk was killed in action on 25 April 1915.⁵⁴ He has no grave and his name is inscribed on the Lone Pine Memorial. His father, John William Falk, died on 1 July 1935 and was buried at

Cheltenham Cemetery, South Australia. Buried next to John William is Mary Sophia Falk, who died on 5 August 1913.⁵⁵

Henry Funkenstein⁵⁶ was the son of Harry Funkenstein and Mary Jane Gledhill. She died in Parramatta in 1927. Her mother was born as Jane Illingsworth on 18 July 1819 in Ossett Yorkshire.⁵⁷ Henry was killed in action on 2 May 1915, his body was never found, and he is noted on the Lone Pine Memorial. He stated his religion as Methodist on his enlistment form. However, his details appear on the bd-bd burial data website as if he had been Jewish. This is one of a number of incorrect World War I entries on this otherwise useful online research tool.

Frederick George Gabriel enlisted in the AIF on 15 February 1915. He was born in London to Mary Elizabeth Gabriel (nee Handcock) and Frederick Gabriel, who were living in Park Avenue, Crouch End, at the time of his enlistment. Pte. Gabriel was allocated to 18 Battalion and he was killed in action on Gallipoli on 22 August 1915. He had enlisted as 'C of E'.⁵⁸ He is also remembered on the Lone Pine Memorial. As to his supposed Jewishness, the maiden name of his mother (Handcock) belies that. In addition, Frederick George's brother in England married a Silvia Beckwith whose family were involved with a church.⁵⁹

Maxwell Howitz⁶⁰ was the son of David Howitz and Alice Nellie Howitz. He noted on his enlisted paper that he was 'C of E'.⁶¹ His mother was buried in the Methodist Cemetery Rookwood on 3 April 1939.⁶² Thus, the supposition is that he was not Jewish.

David Harold Jude was the son of David Jude of Yarrowie, Victoria. Yarrowie is near Ballarat, where David Harold Jude was born. When he enlisted, he stated his religion was 'Ch of Christ',⁶³ and his tombstone in Lone Pine Cemetery bears a cross. No information appears in his file as to the name of his mother.

Lance Corporal James Cuthbert Cholmondely Kaufman⁶⁴ was the son of James Cholmondely Kaufmann, a solicitor of Queen Street Melbourne and of Sarah Jane Kaufmann nee Snowball. His enlistment form indicated his religion was 'C of E'.⁶⁵ He was killed in action on 1 May 1915 and was ultimately buried in Quinns Post Cemetery. The case of Cuthbert Kaufmann is instructive.⁶⁶ A letter that appears in his file was sent by the Imperial War Graves Commission at the behest of the Director of Works to the Officer in Charge of Base Records, Victoria Barracks, Melbourne wherein the Director of Works informed Base Records that in the Final Verification Form required in the approval process for the tombstone for Cuthbert Kaufmann: 'Mr J.C. Kaufmann of 31, Princess Street, Kew, Victoria stated that he desired the cross to be engraved on the tombstone.' I would point out, however that this soldier's name

appears on the Jewish list held in this Office. 'Will you please state, therefore, whether the Star of David, or a cross, is to be engraved'.⁶⁷ Base Records replied on 21 August 1924 to the effect that they had tried several times to contact the next-of-kin, but had not succeeded, and therefore the Director of Works should proceed on the basis that Cuthbert Kaufmann had described his religion as Church of England, and a cross had been requested in the Final Verification Form.⁶⁸

Theodore Hugo Lambahirt's father was Gustav Lambahirt of Riga, Russia, and his mother was Marie Lambahirt. Theodore enlisted in Victoria on 21 January 1915 and declared in his enrolment form that he was of the Lutheran religion.⁶⁹ He was killed on 7 August 1915 and was buried in the Shrapnel Valley Cemetery. His tombstone bears a cross.⁷⁰ Confirmation that Pte. Lambahirt was Lutheran appears on the website <http://russiananzacs.net/Lambahirt/>.

Pte. Cyril Benjamin Levien enlisted in Victoria on 16 December 1914.⁷¹ He was born in Perth, Western Australia. He was killed on 28 August 1915 and is buried in Hill 60 Cemetery. His tombstone bears a cross.⁷² His parents were Claude Benjamin, a native of Perth, Western Australia, and Evelyn Ada Mary Levien of Geelong. They were married at St John's Church Fremantle by the Venerable Archdeacon Watkins. Evelyn's father was Rev. Edward Hyslop DuBois of Bombay. Her mother was Ada Mary Fox.⁷³

Pte. Michael and Sgt. Charles Levine were born in Toowoomba, Queensland and enlisted in October 1914 and March 1915 respectively. Michael was aged 27 and Charles 21. Michael was killed on 29 May 1915 and his remains are buried in Shrapnel Valley Cemetery. Michael and Charles, both of both of whom served on Gallipoli, were children of Martin Joseph and Anna Lobwein.⁷⁴ According to Michael's enrolment form, his father was then deceased, and his next-of-kin was his brother Frank. In the file held by National Archives⁷⁵ there is a letter from his sister, Mary Cutler of Kulpi, Queensland.⁷⁶ Also in the file is a paper signed 'F Lobwein' indicating that there is an older brother, Joseph Lobwein living.⁷⁷ The file does not contain any papers relating to the tombstone for Michael. The photographic series supplied by the CWGC Photographic Project shows that a cross is engraved on the tombstone. Charles' father was also named Charles Levine.⁷⁸ In their enrolment forms, both Michael and Charles indicated that their religion was 'R C'.⁷⁹ Charles died in 1930.

The *AJN* article also includes in its listing a Pte A. Lewin of 1st Battalion AIF, born in Bradford, England who is alleged to have died between 6 and 9 August 1915. I have been unable to find any such person in the enrolment papers held in National Archives.

Reginald Rosenbrock was born in Ballarat and enlisted on 24 August 1914. Pte. Rosenbrock was noted as missing on 13 May 1915 at Cape Helles and was determined to have been killed in action on that date. He has no grave and his name is inscribed on the Cape Helles Memorial. When he enlisted he indicated that his religion was 'C of E'.⁸⁰

Second Lieut. John Reginald Shallberg is a name that is included in the *British Jewry Book of Honour*, though not in Boas' *Book of Honour*.⁸¹ He died of wounds on 7 August 1915 and was buried at sea. His father was Rev. John Henry Shallberg, a Church of England Minister, and his mother was Anna Archer Bell. John Reginald noted his religion as Church of England,⁸² which he unquestionably was.

Leslie John Simons was born in Kogarah, New South Wales and enlisted in the AIF on 21 September 1914. He indicated that he was of the Protestant religion in his enrolment papers.⁸³ His mother was Annie Colliver of Campsie, who was buried in the Methodist Cemetery, Woronora on 23 September 1935. Pte. Simons died of wounds on 24 May 1915 and is buried in the Beach Cemetery on Gallipoli.⁸⁴ A cross adorns his tombstone. A copy of the Gospel of St. John was amongst his effects.⁸⁵ Leslie's younger brother, Roy Alfred Simons of Canterbury, NSW also enlisted in the AIF. Roy stated on his enrolment that his religion was 'Meth'.⁸⁶

To answer the question that I have posed in this section of the article, perhaps about 38 Jews connected to Australia died as a result of the invasion of Gallipoli in April 1915. There is an aphorism that if you repeat an untruth often enough, it can become the truth. So it is with the claims made with regard to persons named in Harold Boas' *Australian Jewry Book of Honour: The Great War 1914 – 1918* that someone was Jewish. There are 2,175 names in the book. My research, discussed in this article, has established that about one-quarter of the servicemen (and women) included in Boas' listing were more likely to have been a member of the Christian denomination, which they specified on their enlistment application, rather than Jewish. The fact that someone is included on Jewish memorials and in databases and in Jewish newspapers does not necessarily mean that they were, in fact, Jewish. These errors have been perpetuated due to erroneous assumptions of the Jewish newspapers of the day, as well as Harold Boas' list itself. This demonstrates the need for caution, and careful research, before a person is listed as Jewish on websites relating to World War I. There is also a need for re-examination of war memorials and honour boards. The step taken by VAJEX to create a memorial obelisk, which only includes Jews, should be copied in other States.

EDITOR'S NOTE

The problem of identifying whether a person is Jewish or not is a difficult one. Often, a person's father was Jewish, especially during the colonial period, when there were fewer Jewish females and intermarriage was common. However, paternal descent is not recognised in Orthodox Judaism. The issue of religious affiliation has become a major concern for Soviet Jews who migrated in the 1970s and 1990s to Israel on the basis of Jewish ancestry, but are not defined as Jews from a *halakhic* point of view. This article reveals that this was an issue also in Australian Jewish history, with a number of the volunteers being listed as Jewish, based on paternal descent, even though they were no longer Jewish.

ENDNOTES

1. Harold Boas, *Australian Jewry Book of Honour, The Great War 1914-1918* (Perth: Lamson Paragon (W.A.) Ltd, 1923) (*Book of Honour*).
2. *Ibid.*, p. 4.
3. The synagogues were included in a listing of individual benefactors and one corporation located in Sydney, Melbourne and London.
4. *Book of Honour*, p. 6
5. *Ibid.*
6. H. Boas, *The Australian Y.M.C.A with the Jewish Soldier of the Australian Imperial Force* (London: Garden City Press, 1919).
7. H. Boas and A.W. Hyman 'The Australian Jew in the Great War', *Australian Jewish Historical Society Journal (AJHSJ)*, vol. 1, pt. 4, 1940, pp. 98-105.
8. Boas, *The Australian Y.M.C.A with the Jewish Soldier of the Australian Imperial Force*.
9. *Ibid.*, p.2.
10. Harold Boas noted the inconsistency in his numbers, between the 'at least 1,500 Australian Jews who ...served abroad' (p. 6 of the General Survey) and his earlier statement in August 1919 that he 'had accumulated a list of 2,175 names' (p. 48). I have not noted any reference by him to the different tallies.
11. A listing of British Imperial units, including those of the Dominions is contained in Rev Michael Adler D.S.O. (ed.), *The British Jewry Book of Honour* (Caxton Publishing Company, London, 1922). It includes details of honours, as well as the names of the dead on a single 'imperial basis', and then lists the names of Officers and men of individual United Kingdom units, followed by listings of the Officers and men of the Dominion and colonial forces. So far as Australia is concerned, the list cannot be relied upon, as many of those included not only nominated a religion that was not Jewish but, in fact, were not Jewish.
12. Boas, *The Australian Y.M.C.A*, p.44.
13. Rev. (later Rabbi) David I. Freedman was the Australian Jewish Chaplain from late 1915 until late 1917, serving in Gallipoli and on the Western Front in Europe. He was replaced by Rev Jacob Danglow.

14. This refers to Leonard Keysor.
15. *Jewish Herald*, Melbourne, 6 July 1918.
16. Boas, *The Australian Y.M.C.A.*, p.44
17. *Ibid.*,
18. *Ibid.*, p.45
19. *Ibid* p.46
20. National Archives of Australia (NAA). Australian Imperial Force, Base Records Office. First Australian Imperial Force Personnel Dossiers 1914 -1920: Series B2455, BISHOP S, 3085201 Bishop Samuel: SERN 1117 1187: POB London England: POE Melbourne VIC: NOK F Bishop A - Private Samuel Bishop had enlisted as Church of England. He enlisted in Victoria and died of wounds on 28 August 1918. He had enlisted on 10 September 1914.
21. John S. Levi, *Rabbi Jacob Danglow* (Melbourne University Press, 1995), p.103.
22. *Ibid.*, p.85.
23. Rev. David Freedman and Rev (later Rabbi) Jacob Danglow.
24. Boas, *The Australian Y.M.C.A.*, p.48.
25. *Ibid.*
26. *Ibid.*
27. Boas' allowance of 8%. (p.49), would equal about 250 assuming a total somewhat in excess of 2,000.
28. *Ibid.*, p.49.
29. *Ibid.*, p.50
30. Russell Stern, 'The Anglo-Boer War 1899-1902 - an Australian Jewish perspective', *AJHSJ*, Vol 16, pt. 4 (2003), pp. 431-494.
31. Published by the Australian Federation of Jewish Ex-Servicemen & Women.
32. There are still more than 100 files to be examined and I need to revisit some files where there is evidence that the serviceman with a Jewish name was in fact Jewish and not Church of England.
33. National Archives of Australia ('NAA'), Australian Imperial Force, Base Records Office. First Australian Imperial Force Personnel Dossiers 1914 -1920: Series B2455, MARKS, L,8207825 Marks Lionel SERN 210. POB Melbourne Vic; POE Randwick NSW; NOK F Marks Louis Joseph.
34. *AJHSJ* Vol XXI, part 4, 2014, pp. 573-593 35.
35. Commonwealth War Graves Commission
<http://www.twgpp.org/information.php?id=3012784> accessed 11 March 2015.
36. Stern 'Finding the Jewish Diggers', *AJHSJ* Vol XXI, part 4 (2014), p.583.
37. There are more than 100 soldiers who are named on the Honour Boards of the Great Synagogue, Sydney and the NSW Jewish War Memorial whom my research has shown have been included on these Honour Boards in error.
38. NAA 2 Echelon Army Headquarters Second Australian Imperial Force Personnel Dossiers 1940 - 1947: Series B883, VX39852, 6138726 ABRAMOVITCH GERSHOM SAMUEL: Service Number - VX39852: Date of birth - 30 Mar 1896: Place of birth - ST KILDA VIC: Place of enlistment - ROYAL PARK VIC: Next of Kin - ABRAMOVITCH LUCY Enrolment Form p.1.

39. Ibid. Letter from the then Imperial War Grave Commission 17 September, 1957, p.25 concerning request for official memorial.
40. 'The First Jewish Anzacs – The Jews who served at Gallipoli, but never left its shores' was the description at the foot of the front half of the folder, which contained the compact disk under the imprint of www.spirits-of-gallipoli.com. The folder was released about 2010, as one of the pictures contained on the disk is of Peter Nash, described as a member of the 2009 Spirits of Gallipoli team, saying Kaddish (the memorial prayer for the deceased) for the Jewish soldiers at Lone Pine Cemetery.
41. Kim Phillips, 'The Spirits of Gallipoli: The Centenary of Anzacs', <http://www.spirits-of-gallipoli.com/>
42. The CD *Spirits* listing does not include those who served on Gallipoli and were wounded there, but later died of their injuries in some other country such as Egypt, Malta or England. In this article *all* who died as a result of injuries they suffered on Gallipoli are counted as victims of Gallipoli.
43. The name of Sgt Charles Stanley Whitfield is included in the *AJN* article, but as it was correctly noted in the article, he died of wounds on 17 April 1918 in France, not Gallipoli.
44. On the *Spirits* website as viewed on 17 April 2015, there were two Jewish references – Harold Boas' 1923 *Book of Honour* – which lists as Jews some hundreds of World War I servicemen in respect of whom my research has shown they were not Jewish but more likely to have been the non-Jewish religion to which they attested in in their enrolment forms. Unfortunately Harold Boas' monumental work as the YMCA's Jewish representative in World War I cannot be relied upon as a reference as to the Jewishness of any World War I Australian service person. The other reference is the *AJN* article, the subject of this article, which again is incorrect in its assignation of being Jewish to some of those named in the article. These references are the same as those listed on the compact disk. The description accompanying the complete list of names on the compact disc includes the statement: 'The men listed here have been selected by experts in this area of research as having a high chance of having Jewish ancestry. While most of these men are known to be Jewish, and their names are included on Jewish memorials around Australia, a small number have not yet been confirmed as being Jewish. Their inclusion in this list should not be taken as confirmation'.
45. National Archives of Australia (NAA), Australian Imperial Force, Base Records Office. First Australian Imperial Force Personnel Dossiers 1914 –1920: Series B2455, AARONS H, 3016305 Aarons Harold: SERN 776. POB Bendigo VIC: POE Melbourne VIC: NOK F Aarons Benjamin; p.4; AARONS G, 3016302 Aarons Gabriel: SERN 643. POB Bendigo VIC: POE Melbourne VIC: NOK F Aarons B., p.3.
46. NAA Australian Imperial Force, Base Records Office. First Australian Imperial Force Personnel Dossiers 1914 –1920: Series B2455, BERNAYS R M, 3075564 Bernays Roy Marr: SERN 908: POB Brisbane QLD: POE Sydney
47. www.dolodriscoll.co.uk/index.php?title=bernays
48. NAA Australian Imperial Force, Base Records Office. First Australian Imperial Force Personnel Dossiers 1914 –1920: Series

- B2455 BLOCK NS, 3093083 Block Norman Samuel: SERN 1507, 1574: POB Warrnambool VIC: POE Ballarat VIC: NOK M Block Emily, pp.5, 9.
49. NAA Australian Imperial Force, Base Records Office. First Australian Imperial Force Personnel Dossiers 1914 –1920: Series B2455 CANTOR B, 3202819 Cantor Benjamin: SERN 993: POB Melbourne VIC: POE Albert Park VIC: NOK F Cantor Lewis, pp.6, 10.
50. <http://members.westnet.com.au/boundy/coate/f22.html#f95>
51. NAA Australian Imperial Force, Base Records Office. First Australian Imperial Force Personnel Dossiers 1914 –1920: Series B2455 EHRENBERRY S M, 3536547 Ehrenberg Samuel Morris: SERN 725: POB Melbourne VIC: POE Albert Park VIC: NOK F Ehrenberg Samuel A.
52. *Ibid.*, p.4. To find the National Archives records for Sgt Ehrenberg one has to use the name 'Ehrenberg' or his regimental number of '725'.
53. www.bd-bd.info Grave 34708 Fawkner.
54. NAA Australian Imperial Force, Base Records Office. First Australian Imperial Force Personnel Dossiers 1914 –1920: Series B2455 FALK C J, 3547348 Falk Charles John: SERN 219: POB Adelaide SA: POE Adelaide SA: NOK F Falk John William, p.3.
55. <http://austcemindex.com/inscription.php?id=9451163> accessed 16 April 2015.
56. NAA Australian Imperial Force, Base Records Office. First Australian Imperial Force Personnel Dossiers 1914 –1920: Series B2455 FUNKENSTEIN H, 4001519 Funkenstein Henry: SERN 846: POB Glebe Point NSW: POE Randwick NSW: NOK B Funkenstein Joseph, pp.3, 8.
57. <http://www.geni.com/people/Jane-Gledhill/6000000030719479998->
58. NAA Australian Imperial Force, Base Records Office. First Australian Imperial Force Personnel Dossiers 1914 –1920: Series B2455 GABRIEL F G 4035611 Gabriel Frederick George: SERN 22: POB London England: POE Liverpool NSW: NOK F Frederick Gabriel, p.6.
59. Research by Jeannette Tsoulos, genealogical researcher for the AJHS and a key personality of the Australian Jewish Genealogical Society.
60. His family name was Horwitz, but enlisted as Howitz. https://www.militaryhistorytours.com.au/site/About_Gallipoli.php, accessed 14 March, 2015.
61. NAA Australian Imperial Force, Base Records Office. First Australian Imperial Force Personnel Dossiers 1914 –1920: Series B2455 HOWITZ M 6994889 Howitz Maxwell: Service Number - 151 and 1651: Place of Birth Sydney NSW: Place of Enlistment – Enoggera QLD: Next of kin (Mother) HOWITZ Alison N., p.3.
62. *Sydney Morning Herald*, 3 April 1939, <http://trove.nla.gov.au/ndp/del/title/35>.
63. NAA Australian Imperial Force, Base Records Office. First Australian Imperial Force Personnel Dossiers 1914 –1920: Series B2455 JUDE DAVID HAROLD 7365746 Jude David Harold: Service Number – 124: Place of Birth Ballarat VIC: Place of Enlistment Broadmeadows VIC: Next of kin (Father) JUDE David, p.3.
64. NAA Australian Imperial Force, Base Records Office. First

- Australian Imperial Force Personnel Dossiers 1914 –1920: Series B2455 KAUFMANN CUTHBERT 7361836 KAUFMANN Cuthbert: Service Number – 1329 : Place of Birth - Melbourne VIC: Place of Enlistment - Maryborough QLD: Next of Kin (Father) KAUFMANN J. C.
65. NAA Enlistment form of Cuthbert Kaufmann, No. 1329 and <https://www.aif.adfa.edu.au/showPerson?pid=159762> accessed 14 March 2015. See also <http://gnet.geelongcollege.vic.edu.au:8080/wiki/Print.aspx?Page=KAUFMANN-James-Cuthbert-Cholmondeley-1889-1915>, accessed 14 March 2015.
66. NAA File of Cuthbert Kaufmann, p.3
67. Ibid., p.23.
68. Ibid., p.31.
69. NAA Australian Imperial Force, Base Records Office. First Australian Imperial Force Personnel Dossiers 1914 –1920: Series B2455 LAMBAHIRT THEOROR 7374642 LAMBAHIRT Theoror: Service Number – 1973: Place of Birth – Rega Russia : Place of Enlistment – Melbourne VIC: Next of Kin (Brother) Lambahirt Gustav p.4.
70. War Graves Photographic Project <http://www.twgpp.org/information.php?id=3582401>
71. NAA Australian Imperial Force, Base Records Office. First Australian Imperial Force Personnel Dossiers 1914 –1920: Series B2455 LEVIEN CYRIL BENJAMIN 8195501 LEVIEN Cyril Benjamin: Service Number – 897: Place of Birth – Perth WA: Place of Enlistment – Melbourne VIC: Next of Kin (Father) LEVIEN Claude, p.4
72. War Graves Photographic Project. <http://www.twgpp.org/information.php?id=3582822>
73. <http://www.geni.com/people/Evelyn-Ada-Mary-du-Bois/6000000002662216193>
74. <https://www.aif.adfa.edu.au/showPerson?pid=175419>
75. NAA Australian Imperial Force, Base Records Office. First Australian Imperial Force Personnel Dossiers 1914 –1920: Series B2455 LEVINE MICHAEL 8195515 LEVINE Michael: Service Number - 462: Place of Birth – Toowoomba QLD: Place of Enlistment – Toowoomba QLD; Next of Kin – (Brother) LEVINE Frank P.
76. Ibid., p.19.
77. Ibid., p.42.
78. NAA Australian Imperial Force, Base Records Office. First Australian Imperial Force Personnel Dossiers 1914 –1920: Series B2455 LEVINE CHARLES 8195514 LEVINE Charles: Service Number – 1254: Place of Birth – Toowoomba QLD: Place of Enlistment – Toowoomba QLD: Next of Kin – (Father) LEVINE Charles. In a Marriage Certificate for Charles dated 2 September 1919 his father is cited as 'Henri-de-Lange Levine of the French Diplomatic Service, deceased'. The Marriage Certificate is p.5 of the file and shows that the marriage was according to the rites of the Baptist Church.
79. NAA file of Michael Levine p.3 and NAA file of Charles Levine, p.3.
80. NAA Australian Imperial Force, Base Records Office. First

Australian Imperial Force Personnel Dossiers 1914 –1920: Series B2455 ROSENBROCK REGINALD 8038157 ROSENBROCK Reginald: Service Number – 827: Place of Birth Ballarat VIC: Place of Enlistment - South Melbourne VIC: Next of Kin (Wife) ROSENBROCK E. p 6.

81. In the entry, he is referred to as 'Lieut. Shallbery, J.R.', Adler (ed.), *The British Jewry Book of Honour*, p.75.
82. NAA Australian Imperial Force, Base Records Office. First Australian Imperial Force Personnel Dossiers 1914 –1920: Series B2455 SHALLBERG JOHN REGINALD 8077850 SHALLBERG John Reginald: Service Number – Lieutenant: Place of Birth - Shepparton VIC: Place of Enlistment – Surrey Hills VIC: Next of Kin – (Father) SHALLBERG John Henry. p.3.
83. NAA Australian Imperial Force, Base Records Office. First Australian Imperial Force Personnel Dossiers 1914 –1920: Series B2455 SIMONS LESLIE JOHN 8084110 SIMONS Leslie John: Service Number – 951: Place of Birth - Kogarah NSW : Place of Enlistment - Lismore NSW : Next of Kin (Mother) - COLLIVER Mrs A, p3.
84. War Graves Photographic Project <http://www.twgpp.org/information.php?id=3581369>
85. NAA file of Leslie Simons, p.34.
86. NAA Australian Imperial Force, Base Records Office. First Australian Imperial Force Personnel Dossiers 1914 –1920: Series B2455 SIMONS ROY ALFRED 8084419 SIMONS Roy Alfred: Service Number - 67464: Place of Birth – Sydney NSW: Place of Enlistment – Holdsworthy (Holsworthy) NSW: Next of Kin – (Mother) COLLIVER Annie, p.3.

Appendix I
Names in Boas who enlisted as Jewish

SURNAME	FIRST NAMES	NUMBER	RANK	ENLISTMENT	STATE	WHERE BORN	RESIDING	AGE AT ENLISTMENT	UNIT	DISCHARGE	RELIGION	HONOURS
AARONS	Daniel Sydney		Captain	16.8.15	WA	Donald V	Subiaco	30y3m	16 Bn	3.4.20	Jewish	DSO MC & Bar
AARONS (ASHTON)	Theodore Harold		Lieut	22.3.16	Vic	Bendigo	Carlton V	21y	3 MG Bn	30.5.21	Hebrew, deleted for C of E	
AARONS	Maurice Lewis	2281	Pte	15.5.15	WA	Carlton V	Broome	34y	16 Bn	KIA	Jewish	
AARONS	Leslie	13251	Pte	23.7.15	Vic	North Melbourne		23y	14 Fld Amb	3.9.19	Jewish	
ABELSON	Coleman	2026	Pte	22.6.16	SA	Glamorganshire	East Adelaide	28y10m	43 Bn	KIA	Jewish	
ABRAHAM	Walter Shachtel	14962	Driver	31.1.17	Vic	Melbourne		36y6m	ASC	17.6.20	Jewish	
ABRAHAMIS	Benjamin	4356	Pte	30.9.15	NSW	Redfern		22y7m	2 Bn	12.6.18	Jewish	
ABRAHAMIS	Leon Joseph	65703	Pte	23.7.18	NSW	Mosgiel NSW	Coolah	19y	3 Bn	6.7.19	C of E/Hebrew	
ABRAHAMIS	John	33941	Driver	1.11.16	NSW	London	Sydney	27y9m	5 DAC	3.9.19	Jewish	
ABRAHAMIS	Robert William	7073	Pte	11.9.16	NSW	Goulburn		42y	1 Bn	7.5.18	Hebrew	
ABRAHAMIS	Manuel (Emanuel)	3103A	Pte	13.11.16	NSW	Surry Hills		27y7m	45 Bn	30.1.20	Jewish	
ABRAHAMIS	Louis Henry	11633	Driver MT	28.2.16	Vic	Sth Yarra		25y5m	28 AASC	14.6.19	Jewish	
ABRAMOVITZ	Alexander	60586	Pte	4.2.15	SA	Adelaide		19y1m	27 Bn	1.11.16	Jewish	
AFRIAT	Albert Montefiore	258	Pte	3.10.14	Vic	Finsbury	Oakleigh	31y	2 Fld Amb AAMC	30.11.15	Jewish	
ALEXANDER	Elias Bernard	7843	Cpl	12.6.15	Vic	Richmond V		22y3m	AGH AAMC	26.11.16	Jewling	
ALEXANDER	Clive Reginald		Captain	27.5.18	NSW	Bombala		23y11m	AMC	16.4.19	Hebrew	
ALEXANDER	Jessel Alexander	2872	ERW01	10.8.15	NSW	Walgett	Paddington	23y1m	17 Bn/Adm HQ	22.3.20	Jewish	MSM
ALEXANDER	Isaac Solomon	61345	Pte	17.5.18	Vic	Albert Park	Toorak	19y1m	GSG	25.5.19	Hebrew	
ALEXANDER	Nathan Marcus Adler		Major	14.11.18	NSW	Sydney		28y11m	AMC Samoa	19.8.19	Hebrew	
ALEXANDER	Maurice Mark	3847	Pte	17.7.17	WA	Melbourne	Perth	40y11m	51 Bn	17.5.19	Hebrew	
ALLEN	Bertie Horace	2619	Pte	22.2.16	Vic	Carlton V		36y6m	60 Bn	13.7.17	Hebrew	
ALLEN	Sydney Herbert		Captain	27.7.15	Vic	Carlton V		38y4m	2 AGH	27.4.17	Jewish	
ARONSON	Malcolm Philip	3	S/Sgt	3.7.15	NSW	Woolahra		27y7m	Admin HQ	22.4.19	Jewish	

Appendix I continued

SURNAME	FIRST NAMES	NUMBER	RANK	ENLISTMENT	STATE	WHERE BORN	RESIDING	AGE AT ENLISTMENT	UNIT	DISCHARGE	RELIGION	HONOURS
ANSELL	Herbert Abraham		2/Lieut	7.7.15	Vic	Hobart		36y9m	29 Bn/8 MG Coy	KIA	Jewish	
ALTON	David	10797	Lieut F/O	7.12.15	WA	Melbourne	Perth	22y10m	3 Sqn AFC	19.9.19	Jewish	
ALMAN	Israel Albert	2776	Pte	17.10.16	WA	Ballarat	Kalgoorlie	27y	44 Bn	15.8.19	Jewish	
ASCHMAN	Robert	4429	Pte	17.8.15	SA	Glasgow	Adelaide	33y1m	50 Bn	31.3.19	Jewish	
ASH	Sydney	4494	Pte	9.10.16	Vic	Portsmouth	Abbotsford	42y2m	29 Bn	9.6.18	Jewish	
ASH	Clive	4495	Pte	2.10.16	Vic	Adelaide	Abbotsford	18y2m	29 Bn5 MG Bn	8.1.20	Hebrew	
ASHER	Felix	1874	Pte	6.11.14	NSW	Port Augusta		32y	DAP	27.3.17	Hebrew	
ASHER	Samuel	2149	Pte	11.3.16	NSW	Surry Hills		21y9m	36 Bn	KIA	Hebrew	
ASHER	Rudolph	16778	S/Sgt	15.6.16	SA	Port Augusta		30y	AAMC	10.12.18	Jewish	
ASHER	John	1776	Pte	19.11.14	NSW	Central Wellington NZ	Sydney	21y4m	1 Bn	19.4.19	Jewish	
BARNARD	Lancelot Lee	495	Sgt	4.1.15	SA	Glenelg	Malvern SA	25y7m	27 Bn	6.7.19	Jewish	
BARNARD	George Jessel	71585	Gnr	13.10.18	NSW	Tamworth		34y5m	Pay Corps	14.5.19	Jewish	
BARNES (BARMES)	David	1748	A/Sgt	5.10.14	Qld	London	Brisbane	24y	11 Aust Fd Art Bde	D o W	Jewish	
BARRKMAN	Harry	3231	Pte	15.6.15	Vic	Collingwood		22y1m	14 Bn	12.9.19	Jewish	
BANNET	Nathaniel	3362	ER 2 Cpl	28.12.16	NSW	London	Sydney	22y11m	4 Div Sig	23.2.20	Jew	
BALKIND	John	4943	Pte	23.8.17	NSW	St Kilda	Sydney	23y	4 Pioneers	16.10.19	Hebrew	
BARNETT	Jacob Leon	1042	Pte	9.7.15	Vic	Collingwood		25y6m	30 Bn	15.9.15	Hebrew	
BARNETT	Frank Jessell	5036	MT Driver	22.9.15	Vic	Bendigo		25y5m	7 Bn	15.5.19	Jew	
BARNETT	Frederick Cecil	30221	Gnr	11.9.16	NSW	Potts Point		19y1m	F A Bde	20.6.19	Jew	
BARNETT	Charles	5339	Pte	15.1.16	NSW	Sydney		34y9m	45 Bn	6.2.18	Jewish	
BARNARD	Sydney Harry	6762	Pte	16.6.16	SA	Adelaide	Malvern SA	36y7m	27 Bn 48 Bn	KIA	Jewish	
BARNETT	Max Morris	4134	Pte	9.7.15	Vic	Bendigo		33y6m	1 Pioneer	21.10.19	Hebrew	
BARNETT	Maurice	6476/6712	Tpr	3.8.16 14.7.16	Vic	Melbourne		33y/32y10m	5 Bn	28.8.19	Jewish	

Appendix I continued

SURNAME	FIRST NAMES	NUMBER	RANK	ENLISTMENT	STATE	WHERE BORN	RESIDING	AGE AT ENLISTMENT	UNIT	DISCHARGE	RELIGION	HONOURS
BASSER	Maurice	5979	Pte	25.7.15	NSW	Sydney	Lithgow	24y11m	19 Bn	7.12.18	Jewish	
BASS	Louis	2417A	Pte	23.6.16	NSW	Hull	Newcastle	24y6m	34 Bn	2.5.19	Jew	
BARRINGTON	Lewis Harold	11	Pte	12.9.14	NSW	Kensington	Paddington	19y1m	13 Bn	12.12.15	Jew	
BAUMBERG	Byron	2730	Pte	23.2.17	NSW	Sydney		21y1m	Camel Corps/ Aust Provost	9.10.19	Jewish	
BEAVER	Wilfred Norman		Lieut	27.12.15	Vic	St Kilda		33y	60 Bn	DOW	Hebrew	
BEAR	Samuel	V16389	Pte	3.1.16	Vic	CarltonV		23y9m	Depot	24.4.16	Jewish	
BEACONSFIELD	Angel	19829	Pte	15.9.16	Vic	London		25y11m	AAMC	17.6.18	Jewish	
BEHREND	Oscar		Captain	17.6.18	SA	Melbourne		28y10m	AADC	7.10.19	Jewish	
BELL	Isaak	6768	Sapper	15.3.17	Vic	Krasnoyis R	Carlton V	29y11m	21 Bn/5 Bn	27.7.19	Jewish	
BELKIND	Ishai	14985	Pte	20.12.15	WA	Vilna R	Perth	20y8m	Field Coy Engineers	13.3.19	Jewish	
BENARIE	Max	4886	Pte	15.3.15	WA	Yassie Roum	Perth	21y6m	28 Bn/Aust Sig	6.6.18	Jew	
BELLINSON	Aaron	6766	Pte	22.2.17	Vic	Paris	Nth Carlton	23y1m	22 Bn	18.4.21	Jewish	
BENJAMIN	Ernest	171	Pte/2nd Class Air Mechanic	10.2.15	NSW	Napier NZ	Balmain	25y6m	2 Pioneer	25.4.19	Hebrew	MM
BENJAMIN	Edward	3002	Driver	16.7.17	Vic	Footscray	Moorooduc	20y9m	AFC	7.3.19	Jewish	
BENJAMIN	David Henry	2795	Sgt	29.6.15	NSW	Napier NZ	Balmain	37y10m	55 Bn/Pay Corps	4.1.20	Jewish	
BENJAMIN	Cyril	2098	Sgt	8.10.14	Vic	East Melbourne		34y	9 ASC	21.3.19	Hebrew	
BENJAMIN	Cyril	V82597	Cpl	5.5.19	Vic	East Melbourne		38y6m	Special Fid Coy	31.5.19	Jewish	
BENJAMIN	Barnett	2379	Cpl	19.10.15	NSW	Newtown		21y2m	Engineers/20 AASC	9.9.19	Jewish	
BENJAMIN	Aubrey	8819a	Pte	1.7.15	NSW	Sydney	Erskinville	24y3m	1 Bn/20ASC	12.9.19	Jewish	
BENJAMIN	Alfred Joseph	65950	Pte	22.7.18	NSW	Sydney	Surry Hills	30y2m	4 Bn	3.12.19	Hebrew	
BENJAMIN	Eric Louis	8772	Gnr	6.8.15	Vic	Brisbane	Melbourne	24y10m	2 DAC AASC Railway	20.2.19	Jewish	
BENJAMIN	Mark	2224	Sapper	18.10.17	SA	Adelaide		28y4m	Unit/Postal Corps	19.6.19	Hebrew	

Appendix I continued

SURNAME	FIRST NAMES	NUMBER	RANK	ENLISTMENT	STATE	WHERE BORN	RESIDING	AGE AT ENLISTMENT	UNIT	DISCHARGE	RELIGION	HONOURS
BENJAMIN	Lawrence	522/9150	Lieut F/O	17.2.15	Vic	St Kilda		20y4m	69 Aust Sqn RFC	11.6.19	Jewish	
BENJAMIN	Lewis	2321	Pte	30.12.15	SA	Adelaide		28y11m	5 Pioneer	27.4.19	Jewish	
BENJAMIN	Victor	20021	Pte	17.12.17	NSW	Balmain		20y6m	3 ACCS	24.3.20	Jewish	
BENJAMIN	Stanley Octavius	3959	Bombardier	16.2.15	NSW	Melbourne	Sydney	34y7m	4 Fd Art	D o W	Jewish	
BENJAMIN	Oswald Deronda	7978	Pte	4.10.15	Vic	Melbourne		31y3m	6 Battery FA	23.7.19	Jewish	
BERCOVITCH	Maurice	5337	Pte	16.2.16	WA	Galicia Romania	East Perth	23y	16 Bn	27.6.19	Jewish	MM & Bar
BENTWITCH	Solomon Barnet	1914	ER Sgt	12.1.15	Vic	Oreswick V		31y	6 Bn HQ Depot UK	19.4.19	Jewish	
BENTWITCH	Isidore Herbert	5972	Pte	29.11.15	NSW	Hay		34y6m	35 Bn	19.8.19	Hebrew	
BENN	Jack Joshua	1660	L/Cpl	8.2.16	Vic	London		22y9m	58 Bn 57 Bn	26.4.18	Jewish	
BENNETT	Oscar	381	2/AM	13.1.16	Vic	Carlton V		20y4m	1st Flying Sqn	21.7.19	Jewish	
BENNETT	Miriam Adelaide		S/Nurse	5.5.17	SA	Adelaide		35y	AANS	6.12.18	Jewish	
BERLINSKY	Jack	2786	Pte	6.6.16	WA	London	East Perth	23y6m	39 Bn	9.2.20	Jewish	
BERNER	Leslie	2980	Air Mechanic 2	7.1.18	NSW	Stn Melbourne	Manly	19y	AFC	4.7.19	Hebrew	
BETH	Moses	3757	Private	18.7.16	Vic	London East	St Kilda	33y4m	29 Bn	4.5.20	Jewish	
BERNSTEIN	Harry	501	Sgt	2.3.15	Vic	Alexandria Egy	Melbourne	27y1m	23 Bn	Deserted 7.5.15	Jewish	
BERNSTEIN	Fairleigh	5552	Cpl	1.8.16	Vic	Carlton V	Nth Carlton	41y11m	21 Bn/Pay Corps	25.7.19	Jewish	
BERNSTEIN	Alexander Bernadth	1620	Pte	15.2.16	Vic	Carlton	Northcote	21y7m	60 Bn	1.5.16	Judith	
BIRNBERG	Lionel	6724	Sgt	11.9.16	SA	Bakau Romania	Adelaide	37y3m	10 Bn	9.10.19	Jewish	
BIER	Eli William	9	Sgt	7.4.15	Vic	Carlton V		25y11m	67 Bn	9.3.19	Jewish	
BIER	Abraham	3356	Pte	17.5.17	Vic	St Kilda		22y10m	57 Bn	19.6.18	Hebrew	
BICKART	Joseph	9387	Captain	8.7.15	Vic	Ballarat		19y5m	2 Fd Amb	3.12.19	Jew	
BLAUBAUM	Otto	26212	Major	2.9.15	Tas	St Kilda	Launceston	26y8m	Fld ArtDental Corps AMC	8.6.18	Jewish	
BLAUBAUM	Ivan		Hon. Capt	28.6.16	Vic	Melbourne	Seymour	24y	2 AGH	31.3.21	Jewish	

Appendix I continued

SURNAME	FIRST NAMES	NUMBER	RANK	ENLISTMENT	STATE	WHERE BORN	RESIDING	AGE AT ENLISTMENT	UNIT	DISCHARGE	RELIGION	HONOURS
BLASHKI	Roy Hector		Gnr	10.7.15	NSW			21y4m	1 FAB	KIA	Jewish	
BLASHKI	Bertie Henry	33274	CSM	11.10.16	Vic	Lilydale V		23y2m	21 FA Bde	25.4.19	Jewish	
BLAINE	Cedric Norman	290	Pte	17.2.15	Vic	Sth Yarra		25y7m	23 Bn	13.1.16	Jewish	
BLACKMAN	Samuel	N94704	Pte	30.9.18	NSW	Bucharest	Coogee	23y	Depot	18.11.18	Jew	
BLACK	Ernest	1516	Pte	27.11.14	SA	Newcastle Eng	Adelaide	18y7m	10 Bn mu	3.8.16	Jewish	
BLACK	Emanuel	1310	Pte	7.12.14	SA	Newcastle Eng	Adelaide	21y	10 Bn mu	20.6.16	Hebrew	
BLOOM	Arthur Arron	2031	Pte	19.7.15	Qld	Woodford Q		31y1m	25 Bn	16.10.17	Jewish	
BLOOM	Alfred	6723	Pte	27.3.16	WA	Carlton V	East Perth	22y11m	11 Bn	19.1.19	Jewish	
BLOCH	Henry Scharrer	8496	Gnr	30.9.15	Vic	Deloraine	Queen St Melb	18y11m	6 FAB	16.4.19	Jewish	
BLOCH	Felix Louis	34944	Captain	17.1.17	Vic	Deloraine	Elwood	19y1m	6 Army Bde AFA	KIA	Jewish	
BERNER	Leslie	2980	Air Mechanic 2	7.1.18	NSW	Sth Melbourne	Manly	19y	AFC	4.7.19	Hebrew	
BLOOM	Gerald Abraham	28121	L/Cpl	5.9.16	NSW	Sydney		19y	7 FAB	19.7.19	Jew	
BLOOM	Julius Sydney	1817	Sapper	3.7.15	NSW	Paddington		23y8m	17 Bn	KIA	Jewish	
BLOOM	Henry Montague	18861	Pte	11.1.17	Qld	Toowoomba		43y6m	3 Aust Lt Rly Operating Coy	22.7.18?	Jewish	
BLOOMFIELD	Louis		Pte	15.7.15	Vic	London	Melbourne	30y6m	mu	28.2.16	Jewish	
BLOUSTEIN	Solomon	230	Pte	21.10.14	SA	Adelaide		40y4m	9 LH	17.8.15	Hebrew	
BLOUSTEIN (BUXTON)	Herbert (+Morris)	614	Pte	21.8.14	Vic	Ballarat		21y	5 Bn	31.1.19	Hebrew	MSM
BOAS	Harold		Hon Lieut	1.5.18	WA				YMCA Rep	19.12.19		
BOOK	Louis	N75002	Pte	12.1.17	NSW	Wellington NZ	Sydney	38y8m	AMC m u	12.10.17	Jewish	
BOLGRAAF	John Nathan	N86071		28.2.18	NSW	Groningen	George St Nth	34y11m	m u	19.10.18	Jewish	
BORTZELL	Samuel	1140		30.1.15	NSW	Irkousk R	Surry Hills	21y4m	17 Bn	11.9.18	Jewish	
BORTNOSKI	Louis Jacob	6217	Pte	17.4.16	VIC	London	Carlton V	28y3m	AMC	14.5.18	Jewish	

Appendix I continued

SURNAME	FIRST NAMES	NUMBER	RANK	ENLISTMENT	STATE	WHERE BORN	RESIDING	AGE AT ENLISTMENT	UNIT	DISCHARGE	RELIGION	HONOURS
BOWSON	Abraham	7372	Pte	10.2.17	NSW	Poland	Newtown	32y11m	3 Bn	22.8.18	Jewish	
BRAHAM	Marcus Phillip	2460	Driver	24.3.14	VIC	Winchelsea		22y10m	ASC, 5 Div Train	9.11.20	Jewish	
BRAHMS	Vivian	1879	Pte	28.12.15	Qld	London	Valley	38y	42Bn44 Bn	29.9.19	Jew	
BRAHMS	Herbert	2771	Pte	6.3.16	WA	London	Perth	43y 2m	44 Bn	21.11.19	Jewish	
BROON	Hyman	9713	Pte	30.7.15	NSW	Kierson R	Sydney	38y3m	Dermatological Hosp	5.4.16	Russian Jewish	
BROMBERG	Julius Maurice	6730	Pte	19.7.16	WA	Perth		18y4m	16 Bn	28.3.19	Jewish	
BRODZIAK	Cedric Errol Meyer		Major	3.9.14	NSW	Double Bay	Bondi	24y9m	3 Bn 3MGBn	KIA	Jewish	DSO MID
BRODZKY	Vivian	3109	Pte	22.11.16	Vic	Kew	St Kilda	24y6m	37 Bn	3.10.19	Hebrew	
BRITAIN	Samuel	314A	Pte	9.6.16	Vic	Vilna Poland	Flinders lane	21y11m	11 MG Coy	19.12.17	Jewish	
BRESSLER	Jack	3498	Pte	2.7.17	Vic	Carlton V	St Kilda	29y2m	60 Bn	22.2.19	Jewish	
BRESSLER	Jack	V65131	Pte	5.1.16	Vic	Carlton V		27y9m	HOME	6.6.17	Jewish	
BREITMAN	George	4965	Pte	27.8.15	NSW	Chechelnik R	Sydney	19y	3 Bn	Illness	Jewish	MM
BRANDT	Clement Alphonse		Pte	8.10.15	Vic	Geelong		36y1m	MU	15.6.16	Jewish	
BRANDT	Clement Alphonse	6924	Pte	30.3.17	Vic	Geelong		37y6m	23 Bn	5.4.18	Jewish	MM
BUCHNER	Hyman	5059	Pte	12.1.16	Vic	Lodz Poland	Ivanhoe	23y5m	60 Bn	13.7.19	Jewish	
BROWNE	Sylvester Henry	56	Saddler Sgt	22.8.14	NSW	Brisbane	Croydon	26y10m	1 LH	24.2.19	Jewish	
BROWNE	Roy George	370	Pte	25.4.16	NSW	Croydon		22y1m	AMTS	29.4.18	Jewish	
BUTTEL	Mark Albert	1030	Pte	28.9.14	NSW	Paddington	Redfern	19y2m	13 Bn	2.3.20	Hebrew	
CARSON	Arthur	18652	Pte	16.7.17	NSW	Cheshire	Sydney	25y3m	AMC	25.12.19	Jewish	
CARO	Phillip		Lieut	20.10.15	NSW	Dubbo		37y8m	1 Mining	23.3.20	Jewish	MBE
CARO	Martin	6058	Cpl	4.7.16	TAS	Bourke	Hobart	31y9m	Pay Corps	25.6.19	Jewish	
CARO	George Alfred	14028	Pte	17.3.16	Vic	St Kilda		22y9m	3 CCS	2.7.19	Jewish	
CAPLAN	Joe	6043	ER Cpl	21.6.16	NSW	Russia	Coogee	23y4m	19Bn3 Bn	19.5.20	Jewish	

Appendix I continued

SURNAME	FIRST NAMES	NUMBER	RANK	ENLISTMENT	STATE	WHERE BORN	RESIDING	AGE AT ENLISTMENT	UNIT	DISCHARGE	RELIGION	HONOURS
CANTOR	Stanley Jacob		Captain	1.5.15	WA	NR	Perth	27y	1 AGH	13.9.16	Hebrew	
CLIFFORD	Leslie	1211	Sgt	15.10.14	WA	Dublin	Perth	28y	16 Bn	13.12.18	Jewish	
CLIFFORD	Dudley Lionel	1290	ER Sgt	29.10.14	WA	Dublin	Perth	26y2m	2 Statnry Hosp	17.2.19	Hebrew	
CHERRY	Jack	3555	Pte	4.11.15	NSW	Stamford Hill	Paddington	24y4m	59 Bn	20.4.19	Hebrew	
CHAIN	Isaac	5067	Pte	26.11.15	NSW	Odesa R	Forest Lodge	37y4m	4 Bn	29.5.18	Hebrew	
COEVORDEN	Marcus	2452	Pte	2.5.16	NSW	London	Paddington	24y8m	1 Bn Pioneers	13.8.18	Jewish	
COHEN	Alfred	3128	Pte	21.10.16	Qld	London	Sth Brisbane	39y6m	48 Bn	30.10.18	Jew	
COHEN	Alfred	797A	Pte	16.7.15	Vic	Fitzroy	Nth Carlton	26y8m	29 Bn	4.5.20	Jewish	
COHEN	Alexander	6739	Pte	2.8.16	WA	Sydney	Nth Perth	18y9m	16 Bn	DoW	Jewish	
COHEN	Alroy Matiland		Captain	1.12.15	NSW	Darlinghurst		34y7m	4Bn 56 Bn	16.11.19	Jewish	
COHEN	Alfred Alexander	3280	Pte	12.7.15	Vic	North Fitzroy		28y	6 Bn	20.2.19	Hebrew	
COHEN	Bernard David	3025	ER SQMS	8.8.16	NSW	Darling Point	Manly	26y1m	Adm HQ	20.1.20	Jewish	
COHEN	Benjamin Charles	4087	Pte	18.11.15	NSW	Paddington	Redfern	22y7m	19 Bn	8.9.17	Synagog	
COHEN	Austin Lewis	5072	Pte	4.1.16	NSW	Woolloomooloo		21y2m	4 Bn	26.4.19	Jewish	
COHEN	Arthur Francis		Captain	26.7.15	NSW	Sussex	Darling Point	32y2m	2nd Tunnel	26.7.19	Hebrew	MID MC
COHEN	Colyn Adrian Keith		Lieut	1.4.16	NSW	Darlinghurst		20y	33 Bn	30.8.18	Jewish	
COHEN	Clive Phillip	3027A	Cpl	23.10.16	NSW	Darlinghurst	Cremorne	35y	34 Bn	4.7.19	Jew	
COHEN	Celian Lawrence	20024	Cpl	26.11.17	NSW	Paddington		19y	AMC	13.12.19	Hebrew	
COHEN	Ernest	16331	L/Cpl	2.11.16	Vic	London		50y1m	AMC	15.6.18	Jewish	
COHEN	Ernest	1721	Tpr	9.9.15	NSW	Fitzroy		26y	7 Regt ALH/AA Postal	5.5.19	Jewish	
COHEN	Eliot Tamworth	2883	Sgt	14.3.16	NSW	Tamworth		31y6m	7 ALH	18.9.19	Hebrew	
COHEN	David	20920	Gunner	25.10.15	Qld	Kangaroo Point		22y11m	8 Bge FA	16.8.19	Jewish	
COHEN	David	3136	Pte	19.9.16	WA	Perth	Nth Perth	24y11m	51 Bn/AUST Corps HQ	6.10.19	Hebrew	

Appendix I continued

SURNAME	FIRST NAMES	NUMBER	RANK	ENLISTMENT	STATE	WHERE BORN	RESIDING	AGE AT ENLISTMENT	UNIT	DISCHARGE	RELIGION	HONOURS
COHEN	George	6300A	Pte	18.10.16	WA	Melbourne	Perth	34y10m	27 Bn/28 Bn	dow	Jewish	
COHEN	Harold Francis		Captain	14.7.15	NSW	Haberfield		27y7m	Engineers	27.1.16	Jew	
COHEN	Harold Edward		Lieut Col	21.8.15	VIC	Melbourne	Malvern	33y10m	7 Bde AFA	13.8.19	Jewish	CMG DSO MID
COHEN	Harold	54170	Driver	30.4.18	NSW	Cootamundra	Burradoo	18y7m	5 AMT Coy	25.2.20	Jew	
COHEN	Karl Morris	4153	Sgt	27.3.15	NSW	West Maitland		40y8m	6 Fd Coy Engineers	25.7.19	Jewish	Croix de Guerre (Belgium)
COHEN	Joseph Henry	397	T/Sgt	8.3.15	Vic	Ballarat		26y	14 Fd Amb	8.8.19	Jewish	
COHEN	Joseph Alfred	35	Pte	29.11.15	NSW	Hull	Armidale	35y3m	33 Bn	6.6.16	Jewish	
COHEN	Joseph Alfred	5967	Sapper	10.8.16	Qld	Hull	Armidale	36y	Tunnelling	16.10.17	Hebrew	
COHEN	Joseph	5341/5665	Pte	13.7.15	Vic	Manchester	Carlton	22y	8 Bn/59 BN	2.10.17	Jewish	
COHEN	Joseph	1630	Pte	21.2.16	Vic	Carlton V	Balaclava	26y11m	59 Bn	KIA	Jewish	
COHEN	John	3500	L/Cpl	9.9.15	Vic	Melbourne	Princes Hill	21y2m	23Bn	KIA	Jewish	
COHEN	John	1578	Artificer Cpl	18.9.14	NSW	London	Darlinghurst	32y11m	DA Park	3.4.18	Hebrew	
COHEN	John	1333 2212	Pte	19.11.14	Vic	Carlton V		30y	6 Bn	26.10.18	Hebrew	
COHEN	Henry	6540	Pte	20.11.16	NSW	Bristol	Surry Hills	21y4m	19 Bn	KIA	Hebrew	
COHEN	Henry	3024	Cpl	3.8.15	Vic	Auburn Vic		21y11m	8 Bn	13.8.17	Jewish	
COHEN	Lyon Livingstone	216 2546	SSM	26.8.14	NSW	Surry Hills NSW		20y	1 Bn/8 Bn	13.7.19	Jewish	
COHEN	Louis	69399	Pte	9.5.18	Vic	Sydney		18y7m	GSG	24.12.18	Jewish	
COHEN	Louis Jacob	2346	L/Cpl	31.7.15	NSW	San Francisco	Waterfall	35y3m	20 Bn/56 Bn	17.12.19	Jew	
COHEN	Lipman	3359	Sapper	21.8.16	NSW	London	Watsons Bay	18y2m	2 Div Sig	22.12.19	Jew	
COHEN	Leslie	2126	Pte	5.7.15	NSW	Melbourne	Nth Carlton	26y	19 Bn/22 bn	13.8.17	Jew	
COHEN	Leslie Albert	3978	Pte	6.9.15	NSW	Paddington	Darlinghurst	22y4m	20 Bn	8.11.16	Jewish	
COHEN	Oram Edward Murray Purcell	29254	2/Lieut	27.2.16	NSW	Elizabeth Bay		21y1m	AMC/117 Howitzer/12 FAB		Jewish	MM
COHEN	Norman Sidney	1684	Pte	18.5.15	VIC	Albert Park	Exhibition St	21y1m	21 Bn/24 Bn/22 Bn	24.6.17	Jewish	

Appendix I continued

SURNAME	FIRST NAMES	NUMBER	RANK	ENLISTMENT	STATE	WHERE BORN	RESIDING	AGE AT ENLISTMENT	UNIT	DISCHARGE	RELIGION	HONOURS
COHEN	Neville Kingsbury Purcell	5324	Pte	10.9.15	NSW	Elizabeth Bay		25y7m	19 Bn	18.5.19	Jewish	
COHEN	Myer	16795	Driver	9.5.16	WA	Perth		19y6m	AMC/1 Div MT Coy	16.10.19	Hebrew	
COHEN	Sydney Lionel (Sydnie)	2392	Lieut	20.9.15	NSW	London	Darling Point	33y5m	55 Bn	8.8.19	Jewish	
COHEN	Sydney Israel	3378	Pte	9.9.16	NSW	Melbourne	Glebe	27y4m	55 Bn	KIA	Jewish	
COHEN	Sydney Hubert	34720	Gnr	21.11.16	NSW	Darlinghurst		30y11m	FA	17.9.19	Jewish	
COHEN	Sidney	276	Pte	6.1.16	WA	Fitzroy	Perth	30y6m	4 MG	16.3.17	Jewish	
COHEN	Sidney	2895	Pte	21.12.15	NSW	London	Darlinghurst	26y6m	30 Bn	5.9.19	Hebrew	
COHEN	Samuel Mendel	S14803	Air Mech 2	9.5.18	Vic	Melbourne		26y6m	AFC	24.12.18	Jewish	
COHEN	Russell Cecil	3711	Pte	15.7.15	VIC	Mayfield	Melbourne	21y4m	8 Bn	10.3.19	Jewish	
COHEN	Victor Joseph	18918	Pte	31.3.17	Vic	Perth	East Prahran	22y5m	AMC	14.11.19	Jewish	
COHEN	Victor	3026	Pte	11.9.16	NSW	Melbourne	Paddington	18y1m	35 Bn	27.4.19	Jew	
COHEN	Victor	6294	Pte	18.10.16	Vic	Kyneton	Auburn V	24y8m	21 Bn	21.12.17	Jewish	
COLLEY	Arthur Wellesley	477	Pte	9.1.16	WA	Sydney	Mt Lawley	27y7m	44 Bn	17.10.19	Jewish	
CORRALL	Joseph	1904	Pte	19.6.15	Vic	Birmingham	St Kilda Rd	38y6m	21 Bn	17.6.19	Jewish	
COPPLESON	Victor Marcus		Major	7.10.15	NSW	Sydney		22y7m	AAMC - 4th Tropical	19.12.19	Jewish	
COPPEL	Elias Godfrey	7854	Pte/Gnr	9.6.15	Vic	Sth Yarra		18y9m	AGH/2DAC	22.6.19	Jewish	
COPELAND	Norman	12419	Driver MT	26.1.15	Vic	Fitzroy		22y4m	MT Coy	12.1.20	Jewish	
COPELAND	George	6240	Pte	20.7.15	Vic	Fitzroy		26y7m	6 Bn	4.10.17	Jewish	
COPELAND (VAN-KOPPELEN)	Charles Louis	4082	Pte	20.12.15	Vic	Fitzroy		30y4m	22 Bn	21.8.16	Jewish	
COOPERSMITH	Hyman	6787	Pte	14.3.17	Vic	London	Carlton V	19y	23 Bn	8.7.18	Jewish	
COOPER	Harry	3706	Pte	5.7.15	Vic	Kovno	Melbourne	23y2m	3 Bn/8 Bn	21.1.19	Jewish	
CONROY (LEVENE)	David (Abraham David)	708	Pte	27.8.14	NSW	Glasgow	Sydney	22y	4 Bn	KIA	Jewish	
COLLINS	Solomon George	3044	Pte	6.8.15	NSW	London	Paddington	44y	4 Bn	26.1.17	Jewish	

Appendix I continued

SURNAME	FIRST NAMES	NUMBER	RANK	ENLISTMENT	STATE	WHERE BORN	RESIDING	AGE AT ENLISTMENT	UNIT	DISCHARGE	RELIGION	HONOURS
COLLINS	Harold Emanuel	619	Master Mechanic (W.O.2)	15.9.14	NSW/ Vic	Malvern	Paddington	22y5m	Field Amb/AFC	18.2.20	Jew	MSM
COLLINS	Arthur	1594A	Pte/Gunner	17.5.15	Qld	New Farm Q		20y11m	1 AGH/14 FAB	11.7.19	Jewish	
COLLEY	Reuben Harold Woolf	6014	Pte	27.3.16	WA	Peckham Rye UK	West Perth	33y10m	11 Bn	21.12.17	Jewish	
CRAWCOUR	Maurice Emanuel Ralph	1183	Gnr	17.8.14	Vic	Melbourne		19y10m	6 Bty FA	21.1.17	Jewish	
CRAWCOUR	Maurice Emanuel Ralph	39732	T/2/Cpl	27.2.18	Vic	Melbourne		23y4m	2 FAB AA Ord Corps	8.4.20	Jewish	
CRAWCOUR	Isaac	16661	Pte	22.3.16	NSW	Melbourne	Sydney	25y8m	AMC	20.3.19	Jewish	
CRAWCOUR	Sydney		Captain	29.11.18	Vic	Melbourne		24y	AMC	7.9.20	Jewish	
CROMER	Samuel	6309	Pte	21.10.16	WA	Riga R	Geraldton	30y1m	27 Bn	1.4.20	Jewish	
CROKER	Edward		Pte	2.8.15	WA	Goldingen, Courland		25y4m	Depot	27.10.15	Hebraic	
CROOT	Alexander	6057	Pte	27.6.16	NSW	Manor Park	Paddington	21y7m	22 Bn	5.3.18	Jewish	
CROOK	Louis	2622A	Pte	23.7.15	Qld	Russia	Townsville	26y6m	9 Bn	28.8.19	Jewish	
CYFER	Harry	951	Pte	14.9.14	NSW	Surry Hills		21y	2 Bn mu	2.5.15	Jew	
DANIELS	Sophia		S Nurse	5.6.17	Vic	Dunedin		45y	AAMC	29.11.18	Jewish	
DANIELS	Mark	94249	Pte	9.9.18	NSW	London		18y2m	Depot	3.12.18	Jew	
DANGLOW	Jacob		Major	1.5.18	Vic	London		37y5m	Chaplain		Hebrew	
DALMER	Frederick	4357a	Pte	5.6.16	NSW	Stockholm	Liverpool St Syd	37y3m	35 Bn	4.1.20	Jewish	
DA COSTA	Isadore	32365	Pte	26.5.16	Vic	Carlton V		18y5m	14 FAB	23.9.19	Jewish	
DA COSTA	Daniel	5670	Pte	20.12.14	Vic	Carlton V		21y9m	8 Bn	13.2.19	Jew	
DAVIS	William Emile		Captain	6.3.16	Vic	Darlinghurst	East Melbourne	45y3m	39 Bn	24.10.17	Jewish	
DAVIS	Reuben	6072	Pte	4.9.16	Qld	Taree	Hamilton	22y4m	9 Bn	3.5.19	Jew (RC crossed)	
DAVIS	Oscar Harry	4099	Pte	12.10.15	Vic	Prahran	Narnagoon	36y4m	Cyclists	8.9.19	Hebrew	
DAVIS	Mark		Lieut	1.3.16	NSW	Echuca	Bondi	33y9m	17 Bn	31.12.18	Hebrew	

Appendix I continued

SURNAME	FIRST NAMES	NUMBER	RANK	ENLISTMENT	STATE	WHERE BORN	RESIDING	AGE AT ENLISTMENT	UNIT	DISCHARGE	RELIGION	HONOURS
DAVIS	Jacob Henry	5010	Pte	24.9.17	Vic	Balarat	Carlton	40y1m	29 Bn	14.3.20	Jewish	
DAVIS	Gerald de Vahl	19380	Sgt	2.3.17	NSW	Melbourne	Darlinghurst	19y11m	Sig Service 6 LH	1.5.19	Jewish	
DAVIS	Frank John	20	Cpl	10.4.15	Vic	Albert Park		21y7m	1 AGH 1 Fd Amb	6.6.19	Jew	
DAVIS	Alexander	3823	Pte	12.7.15	Vic	West Melb	Sth Northcote	25y4m	22 Bn	KIA	Jewish	
DAVIS	Cyril Brasnoff	1870	Pte	17.1.17	NSW	Hawkesburn		18y6m	4 LH	24.9.19	Hebrew	
DAVIS	Cyril	7832	Pte	30.1.17	NSW	Bondi		18y2m	1 Bn	20.3.19	Hebrew	
DAVIS	Clyde Isaac		Captain	1.3.17	NSW	Paddington		26y3m	AMC - 5 Fd Amb	25.5.19	Jewish	
DAVIS	Cedric Fernand	3044	Pte	16.11.16	NSW	Katoomba	Cremorne	21y10m	33 Bn	22.3.18	Jewish	
DAVIDS	Louis Edward	180	a/Bomb	24.8.14	NSW	London	Sydney	34y	1 FAB	16.10.15	Hebrew	
DENNISON	Harry	7079	Pte	15.5.16	NSW	West Kensington UK	Millers Point	25y1m	1 Bn	20.2.18	Jewish	
DENNERSTEIN	William	14861	Pte	17.6.15	Vic	Albert Park		19y2m	AMC Details	28.12.19	Jewish	
DENNERSTEIN	Alexander	260	Pte	16.2.16	Vic	Brunswick	Thornbury	18y6m	37 Bn	17.8.19	Hebrew	
DE GROEN	Lyonal S	3638	Pte	2.10.15	NSW	Wooloomooloo		18 y	18 Bn	16.10.17	Jewish	
DEGARVILLER	Emil	1630a	Pte	21.5.15	Qld	Belfort Fr	Brisbane	27y1m	25 Bn AMT Coy	3.12.19	Jew	
DONIGER	Samuel	2687	Pte	1.6.15	Qld	Manchester	Brisbane	26y7m	15 Bn	7.6.16	English	
DONIGER	Harry	2912	Pte	15.11.15	NSW	Manchester	East Sydney	25y11m	30 Bn	17.7.18	Jewish	
DIMDORE	Samuel	9683	Pte	3.8.15	NSW	London	Sydney	24y9m	8 Fd Amb	19.6.19	Jewish	
DREWITT	George Edward	29	2/Lieut	21.8.14	Qld	Kandy	Mt Morgan	29y	2 LH/10 FAB	28.6.18	Hebrew/C E	
D'VORETSKY	Frank	2571a	Gnr	11.6.15 6.11.15	WA	Russia	Brookton	25y	4 Div Art	22.10.16	Hebrew	
EILENBERG	Emanuel Gordon	8117	ER Cpl	15.7.15	Vic	E Melbourne		27y8m	2 AGH 4 Fd Amb	27.10.19	Jewish	
EDWARDS	Alan Sydney	7	Pte	17.8.14	NSW	Bondi	Cremorne	19y9m	4 Bn	26.7.16	Jewish	
EDWARDS	Alan Sydney	N60358	Sapper	1.12.16	NSW	Bondi	Cremorne	20y1m	Depot	3.10.17	Jewish	
EMANUEL	Herbert Louis	8360	Pte	9.7.15	NSW	Sydney	Double bay	25y9m	1 Fd Amb 5 Fd Amb	19.9.19	Jewish	

Appendix I continued

SURNAME	FIRST NAMES	NUMBER	RANK	ENLISTMENT	STATE	WHERE BORN	RESIDING	AGE AT ENLISTMENT	UNIT	DISCHARGE	RELIGION	HONOURS
ELSNER	Hubert Clive	8140	Pte	31.7.15	Qld	Brisbane		21y9m	ASC	15.1.20	Jewish	
ELLITT	Simeon	7576	Gnr	8.9.15	NSW	Manchester	Woollahra	19y9m	5 FA Bde	23.1.17	Jewish	
ELLISON	Hyman Hirsch Norman	29267	Gnr	6.5.16	NSW	Surry Hills		20y11m	117 Howitzer Battery/3 Army FAB	18.9.19	Jewish	
ELLIS	Victor Barnard	53717	Hon Cpl	19.2.18	NSW	St Kilda	Wandlin V	36y7m	13 Bn	17.11.19	Jewish	
ESSERMAN	Ernest	26426	Driver	8.5.16	NSW	Goran R	Bathurst St Syd	39y2m	DAC	17.4.18	Jew	
EPSTEIN	Mark	V29098	Pte	21.3.16	Vic	Prahran		27y	Citizens Army	7.8.16	Jewish	
ETTINGOVE	Samuel	V74029	Gnr	6.2.18	Vic	Liadi R	East St Kilida	21y1m	FA reinforcement	Died	Jewish	
FELS	Schija	1126	Pte	3.11.14	NSW	Warsaw R	Sydney	25y6m	13 Bn	26.4.16	Jewish	
FELDT	Samuel	3379	Pte	20.6.16	WA	Sydney	Perth	25y	51 Bn	6.11.19	Jewish	
FELDT	Mark	2164	Pte	18.3.16	NSW	Sydney	Paddington	21y5m	56 Bn	15.5.19	Hebrew	
FELDT	Israel	4113	Pte	9.12.15	NSW	London	Darlinghurst	35y4m	19 Bn	26.9.19	Jew	
FELDT	Abraham	2163	Pte	18.3.16	NSW	Sydney	Paddington	23y8m	56 Bn	29.3.19	Hebrew	
FELDMAN	Israel	3158	Pte	1.6.16	WA	Odessa R	Perth	25y10m	51 Bn	11.3.18	Jewish	
FARCHY	Lazare	1506	Cpl	26.10.14	NSW	Bucharest	Darlington	35y6m	1 Bn	4.9.16	Jew	
FADER	Mervyn Abraham	34739	Gnr	7.12.16	NSW	Melbourne		26y8m	FA	2.10.18	Jewish	
FINEBERT	Emile	9101	Pte	23.12.15	WA	Tyrean Sea	Perth	18y11m	AMC	12.6.16	Jewish	
FINK	Gordon	674	Pte	28.9.14	WA	Melbourne		29y10m	16 Bn	KIA	Jew	
FINKLESTEIN	Harry	540	Pte	19.3.15	NSW	Blackpool	Sydney	20y6m	20 Bn	KIA	Hebrew	
FINE	Aaron Harry	3767	Pte	26.8.15	NSW	London	Sydney	19y8m	2 Bn	29.12.15	Jewish	
FERSTAT	Able	20129	Driver	29.1.16	WA	Perth		18y5m	8 FAB	22.9.19	Jewish	
FERSTAT	Aaron	1997	QMS	17.2.15	WA	Ramleh	Geraldton	19y	16 Bn	19.11.16	Hebrew	
FERNANDEZ	Albert	6715	Pte	3.8.15	NSW	Auckland	Sydenham	35y3m	8 Fd Amb 2 AGH	30.1.18	Hebrew	
FISCHER	Percy	5819	Pte	12.7.16	NSW	Sydney	Argyll St	35y7m	20 Bn	1.2.18	Jewish	

Appendix I continued

SURNAME	FIRST NAMES	NUMBER	RANK	ENLISTMENT	STATE	WHERE BORN	RESIDING	AGE AT ENLISTMENT	UNIT	DISCHARGE	RELIGION	HONOURS
FLEGELTAUB	Travers	2881	Pte	23.8.15	NSW	Ballarat	Croydon	27y	55 Bn 14 Fd Amb	23.8.19	Jewish	
FLEGELTAUB	Bertram	1539	Pte	24.11.14	WA	Melbourne	Perth	30y7m	11 Bn Camel Corps	5.12.19	Hebrew	
FLEGELTAUB	Amos	1002	Sapper	20.9.15	WA	Stawell	Perth	41y9m	1 Mining	3.6.19	Jew	
FRANKENBURG	Edward	4786	Pte	31.1.17	SA	Pt Adelaide	Adelaide	38y5m	48 Bn	23.12.18	Jewish	
FRANKEL	Simie	2027	Cpl	16.8.15	Vic	Nth Melbourne		23y1m	24 Bn	KIA	Jewish	
FRANKEL	Alan Philip	382	Pte	3.3.16	Qld	Brisbane		21y7m	4 Cyclists 49 Bn	20.8.19	Jewish	
FRANK	Ernest	676	Pte	7.7.15	Vic	Bloemfontein	Melbourne	31y6m	1 Div Fld Bakery	31.7.19	Jewish	
FREIMAN (FREEMAN)	Nathaniel Bernard	880	Lieut	31.1.16	Vic	Sydney	Footscray	20y	38 Bn AFC	20.7.19	Hebrew	
FREEMAN	Arthur	53020	Pte	2.2.18	NSW	London	Ballina	21y2m	41 Bn	6.2.20	Jewish	
FREEDMAN	David Isaac	Chaplain Major		6.10.15	WA	Mt Lawley		41y6m		18.7.18	Jewish	MID
FREEDMAN	Abe	7244	Pte	31.7.16	NSW	J'burg	Sydney	25y1m	13 Bn	D o W	Jewish	
FREDMAN	Leonard Walter	907	Gnr	10.1.17	Vic	St Kilda		24y10m	36 Heavy Artil Gp	12.4.19	Jew	
FREDMAN	Leonard Walter	86021	Pte	1.7.19	NSW	St Kilda		27y5m	German Repatriation	26.1.20	Jewish	
FREDMAN	Henry Simeon	1218	Pte	17.11.14	Vic	St Kilda		24y9m	14 Bn mu	13.4.16	Hebrew	
FREADMAN	Zavel Ephraim		2/Lieut	23.12.16	Vic	Carlton V		22y	4 Sqn AFC	Killed Accident	Hebrew	
FREADMAN	Ernest	14017	Cpl	17.3.16	Vic	Adelaide	Hawksburn	27y8m	3CCS	2.9.19	Jewish	
FRANK	Ernest	676	Pte	7.7.15	Vic	Bloemfontein	Melbourne	31y6m	1 Div Fld Bakery	31.7.19	Jewish	
FROMER	Harry	1504	Pte	8.5.15	Vic	Abbotsford V		19y5m	24 Bn	KIA	Jewish	
FRIEDLANDER	Wilfred John	20956	Gnr	26.7.15	Qld	Hammermith	Sth Brisbane	25y4m	10FAB	4.9.19	Jewish	
FRIEDLANDER	Barnett	3501	Sgt	8.8.15	NSW	Stepney	Sydney	29y	53 Bn	3.10.19	Jewish	
FRIEDMAN	Leslie Harold	108	Cpl	10.4.15	Vic	Albury	Melbourne	23y11m	AMC Details 5 FAB Anzac HQ AFA	8.10.18	Jewish	

Appendix I continued

SURNAME	FIRST NAMES	NUMBER	RANK	ENLISTMENT	STATE	WHERE BORN	RESIDING	AGE AT ENLISTMENT	UNIT	DISCHARGE	RELIGION	HONOURS
FRYBERG	Louis	4490	F/O Pilot. 2Lieut	5.11.15	Vic	Bendigo		19y	7 Bn/65 Bn30Sqn AFC	11.11.18	Jew	MM
FRYBERG	Horace Hymn	2304	Pte	13.12.14	Vic	Carlton V		19y9m	6 Bn	24.5.16	Hebrew	
GARCIA	George Maurice	37551	ER Sgt	8.1.17	Vic	Sydney	Malvern	28y7m	10 FAB	5.3.20	Jewish	
GARCIA	Lou	323	2/Lieut	24.9.14	Vic	Fitzroy		21y9m	14 Bn	15.6.17	Jewish	
GILD	Samuel	4243	Sgt	29.3.16	SA	Adelaide		24y5m	32 Bn	3.8.19	Hebrew	
GERSON	Julius	19425	Pte	30.10.17	Qld	London	Sth Brisbane	41y3m	AMC Details	14.7.20	Jewish	
GERSHEN	Morris	7742	Pte	12.6.17	WA	Ploek	Kalgoorlie	30y1m	Aust Base Reception	16.12.19	Jewish	
GHANANBURGH	Cyril Wilson	52292	Pte	24.1.18	Tas	J'burg	Queenstown	36y	40 Bn	3.2.19	Jewish	
GILBERT	Mark	8865	Driver	6.10.15	Qld	Manchester		22y	22 Howitzer Bde mu	23.2.17	Jew	
GLANCE	Alfred Maurice	2470A	L/Cpl	20.4.15	Vic	Nth Melbourne		19y11m	29 bn/MG Coy Details	12.6.19	Hebrew	
GLANCE	Albert	3465	Pte	6.8.15	WA	West Melb	Geraldton	29y7m	16 Bn	10.9.17	Jew	
GLASSER	Hymn	387	Pte	10.2.16	Tas	Sydney	Launceston	22y11m	40 Bn	24.5.19	Hebrew	
GLICK	Harry Wolfe	6425	Pte	4.9.16	WA	Liverpool UK	Perth	19y6m	28 Bn	11.1.21	Jewish	
GLICK	Montague Barend	3976	Pte	27.12.16	Vic	London	Brunswick	31y4m	51 Bn	16.12.19	Jewish	
GLOVER	Rauben	2058	Pte	28.4.16	NSW	Leichhardt	Woy Woy	18y6m	33 Bn 1 AGH	16.8.20	Hebrew	
GLUCK	Leopold Joel	42	Pte	17.8.14	WA	London	Perth	32y2m	11 Bn	KIA	Jewish	
GOLDBERG	Claude	118	Pte	21.2.16	Vic	South Yarra	St Kilda	20y	39 Bn	27.2.19	Jewish	
GOLDBERG	Sidney (Godfrey)	21033	Pte	2.5.18	NSW	London	Annandale	21y7m	10 Sea Transport (Mental)	28.10.19	Jewish	
GOLDBERG	Joseph	62312	Pte	11.5.18	SA	Warsaw R	Adelaide	28y8m	27 Bn	9.3.20	Jewish	
GOLDBERG	Joseph	5591	Pte	16.2.16	Vic	Darlinghurst	Coleraine	29y6m	22 Bn	13.10.19	Jewish	
GOLDBERG	John	3055	Pte	5.1.17	NSW	Grodno	Dubbo	26y7m	36 Bn	26.6.18	Hebrew	
GOLDEN	Robert	10931	Artificer	9.2.16	NSW	Riga	Sydney	36y	2 Amm Sub Park	4.10.19	Jewish	

Appendix I continued

SURNAME	FIRST NAMES	NUMBER	RANK	ENLISTMENT	STATE	WHERE BORN	RESIDING	AGE AT ENLISTMENT	UNIT	DISCHARGE	RELIGION	HONOURS
GOLDENBERG	Leon Shalman	2291	Pte	22.5.16	Vic	Orneo	Abbotsford	19y3m	46 Bn	2.9.19	Jewish	
GOLDENBERG	Abraham	8867	Pte	16.7.15	Vic	Parkville		27y5m	5 Fd Amb	3.9.19	Jewish	
GOLDMAN	Louis	1704	Pte	3.2.16	Vic	London	Albert Park	28y6m	2 Pioneers ADUS	28.10.19	Jewish	
GOLDRING	Leslie	227	S/Sgt	24.8.14	NSW	Woolahra		19y	Div Artillery 3rd Echelon	30.3.19	Jewish	
GOLDRING	Harold William		Lieut	27.8.14	NSW	Sydney		24y1m	3 Bn	22.8.16	Hebrew	
GOLDRING	Gordon	140	Pte	17.9.14	Qld	Sydney	Townsville	29y	15 Bn	KIA	Jewish	
GOLDRING	Eric George		Lieut	27.8.14	NSW	Sydney	Woolahra	22y10m	3 Bn	22.8.16	Hebrew	
GOLDSTEIN	Leon	1548	Sig	23.11.14	WA	Carlton V	Broome	22y	16 Bn mu	19.5.16	Jewish	
GOLDSTEIN	Leon		Pte	2.8.16	WA	Melbourne	Nth Perth	23y8m	HQ	8.1.17	Jewish	
GOLDSTEIN	Frank	6153	Pte	19.6.16	NSW	Rezshen R	Sans Souci	29y4m	23 Bn	4.4.19	Jewish	
GOLDSTEIN	Emanuel	5025	Pte	31.4.17	NSW	London	Sydney	27y	30 Bn mu	3.4.18	Jewish	
GOLDSTEIN (GOLDING)	Daniel Hopetoun	3746	Hon Sgt	28.6.17	NSW	Sydney	Enmore	18y3m	54 Bn 5 Div AAVC	29.11.19	Hebrew	
GOLDSTEIN	Alexander		Major	17.4.15	WA	Melbourne	Subiaco	25y5m	4 Sanit Section AMC	28.7.19	Hebrew	
GOLDSTEIN	Aaron	3118	Cpl	12.7.15	Vic	Nth Melbourne	Nth Carlton	25y	8 Bn	6.7.19	Hebrew	
GOLDSTEIN	Phillip	16565	2/Cpl	23.3.16	NSW	Stepney	Sydney	23y	1 Div Sigs	10.10.19	Jewish	
GOLDSTEIN	Percy Hirsch		Captain	13.8.15	NSW		Cremorne	23y11m	17 Bn 55 Bn	26.4.20	Jewish	
GOLDWATER	Nathaniel Isaac	333	Cpl	19.8.14	NSW	Sydney		20y2m	4 Bn	D o W	Jew	
GOLDSTONE	Aaron	887	L/Sgt	20.3.16	Vic	Fitzroy	Collingwood	23y7m	37 Bn	KIA	Jewish	
GOLDSTONE	Lewis	6249	Pte	8.12.15	Qld	London	Brisbane	44y10m	9 Bn	30.4.18	Jewish	
GOODMAN	David Walter	4501	CSM	25.4.15	NSW	Preston Lances	Gunnedah	30y2m	4 Bn mu	20.7.18	Jewish	
GOODRICH	Arthur	525	Driver	24.8.14	NSW	Mile End	Sydney	37y	2 FAB	29.3.19	Jewish	
GOODMAN	Mark	2045	Pte	13.9.15	NSW	London	Forest Lodge	19y1m	30 Bn mu	20.3.18	Jewish	
GOODMAN	Isaac Bernard	1384	S/Sgt	6.5.18	Vic	Wellington NZ	E St Kilda	41y11m	N & M E F	11.12.19	Jewish	

Appendix I continued

SURNAME	FIRST NAMES	NUMBER	RANK	ENLISTMENT	STATE	WHERE BORN	RESIDING	AGE AT ENLISTMENT	UNIT	DISCHARGE	RELIGION	HONOURS
GOULD (GOLD)	Nat (Nathan)	53585	Pte	26.2.18	NSW	London	South Kensington	24y7m	53 Bn	19.9.19	Jewish	
GOULD	Bernard	20469	Sapper	16.11.16	NSW	Limerick	Broken Hill	18y	1 Sig Corp	23.7.19	Jewish	
GOULD	Bernard	2178	Pte	18.5.16	NSW	Limerick	Broken Hill	18y1m	50 Bn	21.7.16	Jewish	
GREEN	Israel	4223B	Pte	7.8.16	NSW	Auburn	Centennial Park	18y2m	1 Bn Pioneers	26.7.19	Jew	
GREEN	Louis Henry Samuel	2157	Pte	26.11.16	NSW	Sydney		22y4m	7 LTMB 5MGBn	6.7.19	Jew	
GREEN	Joseph	53582	Pte	2.4.18	NSW	London	Pitt St	21y2m	56 Bn	15.7.19	Jewish	
GREEN	Matthew Sidney	5377	Pte	3.1.16	NSW	Surry Hills		21y	13 Bn 1 Anzac Cyclists	24.5.18	Hebrew	
GREEN	Simon	3342	Pte	7.8.16	NSW	Forest Lodge	Centennial Park	20y10m	1 Bn Pioneers	13.12.19	Jew	
GREEN	Samuel Matthew	9609	Pte	4.11.15	NSW	Sydney		21y	Fld Amb	26.9.20	Hebrew	
GREEN	Samuel	3291	Sgt	1.7.15	Vic	London	Melbourne	28y9m	46 Bn	3.12.19	Hebrew	
GREENBERG	Joseph Samuel	415	Pte	10.5.15	NSW	Leeds	Sydney	21y6m	19 Bn17 Bn	15.4.19	Jewish	
GREENBERG	Isaac	4776	Pte	15.8.15	Old	Whitechapel	Brisbane	32y2m	15 Bn	1.5.20	Jewish	
GREENBERG	Harry	530	Lieut	31.10.14	NSW	Sydney	Woollahra	23y10m	Anzac Sig Squad	10.10.19	Hebrew	
GREENBAUM	Samuel Eric	3109	Pte	16.7.15	Vic	Windsor V	Toorak	25y	8 Bn	18.7.19	Jewish	
GUINSBERG	Alfred	4649	Pte	8.7.15	Vic	Malvern		21y3m	18.2.16	Deserter	Jew	
GUINSBERG	Alfred	2019	Pte	4.6.15	Vic	Carlton V	Malvern	21y3m	23 Bn	6.7.19	J faith	
GUBBAY	Joseph Manasseh	2308	Pte	6.5.16	NSW	Sydney	Hamilton	27y5m	36 Bn	KIA	Jewish	
GROUSE	Reginald Charles	1827	T/Sgt	25.3.16	NSW	West Kensington UK	Hurlstone Pk	26y3m	36 Bn	KIA	Jew	
GROSS	Donald Alfred	21055	Pte	25.4.18	NSW	South Yarra	Sydney	21y	AMC Sea Transport	8.1.19	Jewish	
GROSS	Donald Alfred	V67692	Pte	16.7.17	Vic	South Yarra	Middle Brighton	20y8m	amc mu	10.8.17	Jewish	
GROSS	Alan Isidor		Pte	28.5.15	Vic	Brisbane	Middle Brighton	22y1m	4 Depot Bn mu	5.11.15	Jewish	
GROENWOUDE	Arthur	15806	Pte	18.1.16	NSW	East Islington	Sydney	28y11m	2 Fd Amb	18.9.19	Jewisj	

Appendix I continued

SURNAME	FIRST NAMES	NUMBER	RANK	ENLISTMENT	STATE	WHERE BORN	RESIDING	AGE AT ENLISTMENT	UNIT	DISCHARGE	RELIGION	HONOURS
GRINBLAT	Samuel	275	Cpl	10.5.15	Vic	Jerusalem	Ballarat East	22y8m	Hospital Ship Details	9.2.17	Jew	
GRIMISH	Leopold Julien	9958	L/Cpl	29.7.15	NSW	Charters Tower	Sydney	29y1m	AMC - 3 AGH	13.4.20	Jewish	
GRIMISH	Joseph Jones	3032	RQMS	9.11.15	NSW	Brisbane	Neutral Bay	25y1m	6 ALH	11.9.19	Jewish	
GRIMISH	Jacob Phillips	1139	Pte	10.9.14	Qld	Brisbane		25y6m	9 Bn	9.8.16	Jewish	
GRIMISH	Barney Bernard	1748A/1761A	Cpl	11.1.15	NSW	Brisbane	Sydney	21y3m	9 Bn	KIA	Jew/Jewish/Hebrew	
GREIF	Philip	7777	Pte	17.7.15	WA	Fremantle		26y10m	11 Bn	30.4.19	Hebrew	
GREENWALD	Samuel	6314	Sapper	20.11.15	NSW	Leichhardt	Mosman	23y5m	Fid Coy Eng 4 Div Sigs	20.3.19	Jewish	
GREENSTEIN	Wolfe	60562	Pte	10.6.18	NSW	Odessa	Canterbury	18y6m	2 Bn	20.9.19	Jewish	
GREENBERG	William	6057	Pte	9.10.16	NSW	Sydney	Surry Hills	21y2m	23 Bn	4.11.19	Jew	
GREENBERG	Phillip	5829	MT Driver	21.2.16	Vic	Melbourne	Brunswick	32y4m	22 Bn 2 MT	31.3.20	Jewish	
GUSS	Simon Joseph	14173	Driver	30.10.16	NSW	London	Balmain	23y9m	32 ASCAnzac Mid Div	8.8.19	Jew	
GUSS	Harry	21253	Sapper	1.8.17	NSW	Sheffield	Balmain	21y4m	5 Sig Troop	16.9.19	Jewish	
HAINS	Ivan Coronel		Captain	10.8.15	NSW	Port Adelaide	Gilgandra	26y5m	MD Transport	8.10.17	Jewish	
HAINS	Harold Joseph	578	Pte	23.2.15	SA	Port Adelaide	Pennington	25y5m	2 AGH	12.7.19	Jewish	
HAINS	Clarence Louis	1136	Sgt	16.6.15	SA	Port Adelaide		20y5m	9 LH	9.11.17	Hebrew	
HAIMSON	David	563	Pte	25.2.15	Vic	Odessa	Bendigo	23y1m	23 Bn	15.4.15 Deserter?	Hebrew	
HAIFF	Saul	3166	Pte	1.4.16	NSW	Odessa	Surry Hills	28y6m	53 Bn	24.4.19	Jewish	
HAMMELL	Wilton	14561	Pte	12.3.17	NSW	London	Moore Park	25y1m	ASC Pay Corps	15.6.20	Jewish	
HAMBURGER (HAMILTON)	Simon	62	Cpl	29.2.16	Vic	Ballarat	Bendigo	21y1m	38 Bn	15.7.19	Jewish	
HALLENSTEIN	Dalbert Isaac Morris		Lieut	16.1.15	Vic	Heidelberg G	St Kilda	21y5m	5 Bn 5 MG Bn	KIA	Jewish	
HAINS	Sidney Joseph		Pte	13.9.15	Vic	Port Adelaide	Fitzroy V	21y10m	mu	30.12.15	Jewish	
HAINS	Philip	14634	ER S/Sgt	13.9.15	SA	Port Adelaide		39y9m	23 FAB Pay Corps	14.3.20	Jewish	

Appendix I continued

SURNAME	FIRST NAMES	NUMBER	RANK	ENLISTMENT	STATE	WHERE BORN	RESIDING	AGE AT ENLISTMENT	UNIT	DISCHARGE	RELIGION	HONOURS
HAINS	Morris	2150	Pte	23.5.15	NSW	Port Adelaide	Sydney	21y5m	3 Bn	KIA	Jew	
HANSMAN	Edgar Emanuel	883	2 Air Mech	25.9.16	NSW	Redfern		24y4m	4 Sqn AFC	Illness	Jew	
HANSMAN	Hyam Joseph	2578	Pte	4.9.16	NSW	Sydney	Randwick	27y3m	37 Bn	KIA	Jewish	
HARLEM	Ellis	2611	Sapper	26.4.16	Vic	Marogul V	E St Kilda	18y	60 Bn 5 Div Sigs	8.1.20	Jewish	
HARLEM	David Emanuel	2707	2 Air Mech	4.1.18	Vic	Melbourne	St Kilda	21y1m	AFC	28.11.19	Jewish	
HARLEM	Bertram Julius	6825	pte	19.2.17	Vic	Warrnambool	St Kilda	25y1m	21 Bn 6 Bn	22.4.19	Jewish	MM
HARLAP	Lion	1098	Tpr	5.3.15	WA	Odessa	Perth	21y8m	10 LH Provost Corps	29.3.19	Jew	
HARBERT	Gershun	2173	Pte	27.4.15	NSW	Warsaw R	Sydney	27y5m	4 Bn 59 Bn	Miss KIA	Jewish	
HARRIS	Abraham	3406	Pte	5.6.17	Vic	Cape Town	Chancery Lane Syd	35y10m	59 Bn3 FAB	14.3.19	Hebrew	
HARRIS	Charles David	13789	Pte	19.9.15	NSW	Brisbane		26y	AMC	14.11.19	Jewish	
HARRIS	Bernard Maurice	1592	Pte	17.5.15	Qld	Nth Brisbane		20y11m	1 AGH	30.10.18	Synag	
HARRIS	Edgar Owen	15	Driver	8.4.15	NSW	Darlinghurst		28y3m	4 LH DSC	4.2.18	Hebrew	
HARRIS	Herbert Jacob	2954	Sapper	15.3.16	NSW	Glebe Point		25y3m	6 LH 2 Sig Troop	27.12.19	Hebrew	
HARRIS	Frank Alan	39344	Gunner	9.2.17	Qld	Sydney	Enmore	33y4m	AFA	27.11.19	Jewish	
HARRIS	Joel Marks	35040	2 Lieut	4.12.16	Vic	Brunswick		22y11m	AFC	23.7.19	Hebrew	
HARRIS	Louis	4454	Pte	5.2.16	Vic	London	West Geelong	29y2m	22 Bn	22.3.19	Jew	
HARRIS	Phillip Lawrence	1375	Lieut	1.10.14	NSW	Deniliquin	175A George St	24y10m	AASC 23 Bn	4.8.19	Jewish	
HARRIS	William Keith	4811	Bdr	12.4.15	NSW	Darlinghurst	Enmore	29y6m	1 FA Bde 1 DAC	5.4.19	Jewish	
HART	Harry Julian	1227	Pte	19.5.16	NSW	Brewarrina		30y8m	17 Bn	6.9.18	Jewish	
HART	Harry	14324	Pte	3.7.16	Vic	Spitalfield	Melbourne	32y2m	AMC Details 1 AAH	27.11.17	Hebrew	
HART	Harry	2785	ER Cpl	16.6.16	Vic	Carlton V		21y9m	58 Bn	20.10.19	Jewish	
HART	Cecil Hubert Aaron	310	Cpl	8.8.14	NSW	Bathurst		21y	N & M E F	4.3.15	Hebrew	
HART	Cecil Hubert Aaron	1943	Sgt	30.3.15	NSW	Bathurst	Lithgow	22y9m	18 Bn	KIA	Hebrew	

Appendix I continued

SURNAME	FIRST NAMES	NUMBER	RANK	ENLISTMENT	STATE	WHERE BORN	RESIDING	AGE AT ENLISTMENT	UNIT	DISCHARGE	RELIGION	HONOURS
HART	Joseph	3131	Pte	31.8.15	WA	London	East Fremantle	29y2m	28 Bn	2.11.17	Jewish Church	
HART	John	6465	Pte	22.5.16	Vic	London	Fitzroy V	18y	7 Bn	Appendicifits	Jewish	
HART	Joel Henry	6582	A/Sgt	27.1.17	Qld	Northampton	Brisbane	44y10m	AMC Details	12.9.20	Jewish	
HART	Henry Louis	2715	Sapper	26.4.15	NSW	Manly		23y6m	7 Fd Coy Eng	10.10.19	Jewish	
HAUB	George Jacob		Pte	14.7.18	NSW	West Wyalong		23y		15.8.18	Jewish	
HATFIELD	Edward Kozminky		Lieut	20.6.17	NSW	Redfern	Paddington	30y11m	60 Bn	27.9.19	Hebrew	
HATFIELD	Albert Victor		2 Lieut	9.1.16	WA	Newtown	Cottesloe Beach	27y3m	46 Bn	9.5.20	Jewish	
HART	Maurice	1946	Pte	22.11.15	NSW	Ballarat	Swanston St	37y6m	60 Bn pmu	20.11.16	Hebrew	
HART	Lionel	3104	Pte	18.5.16	WA	Woolwich	West Perth	22y9m	57 Bn	31.12.19	Jewish	
HERMAN	Maurice Phillip	4370	Pte	25.9.16	NSW	Paddington		24y1m	30 Bn	KIA	Jewish	
HERMAN	Louis Cyril	8072	L/Sgt	26.7.15	Vic	Carlton V		32y9m	18 ASC 5 Div Train	15.7.19	Jewish	
HERMAN	Joseph	3800	Pte	10.7.15	Vic	Fitzroy		33y	4 Div HQ	1.8.19	Jewish	
HERMAN	Harold Ellis	1706	Pte	18.5.15	NSW	London	Waverley	22y3m	17 Bn	DOW	J	
HERMAN	Eric	1770	Pte	6.1.15	Vic	Sydney	Ascot Vale	22y3m	7 Bn 4 Div HQ	30.4.19	Jew	
HERMAN	Albert Ernest	16165	Pte	21.3.16	Vic	Hay	St Kilda	38y11m	4 Fd Amb	14.9.19	Jewish	
HENLEIN	Max Basil	6265	Pte	21.2.16	Qld	Townsville		18y	9 Bn	13.6.18	Jewish	
HIMMELHOCH	Albert	17115	Gnr	4.1.16	NSW	Sydney		32y1m	1 FA Bde	31.3.19	Hebrew	
HOFFMAN	Wolfe	2224	Pte	20.3.15	WA	Podol R	Perth	22y4m	16Bn/9FA	11.4.19	Jew	
HINES	Mark George	47	Pte	19.7.15	Qld	London	Sth Brisbane	21y10m	31 Bn	17.3.19	Jewish	
HIELMAN	Randolph	4138	pte	10.11.15	NSW	Manly	Penhurst	18y11m	19 Bn	4.10.17	Hebrew	
HIELMAN	Norman Nathan	2635	L/Opl	3.8.15	NSW	Darlinghurst	Penshurst	21y4m	4 Bn	16.10.17	Jewish	In UK Book of Honour
HIELMAN	Harold	2617	T/Opl	18.7.17	NSW	Stammore		20y	AFC	28.8.19	Hebrew	
HICKMAN	Leonard	400	Pte	8.2.15	Vic	Melbourne	Carlton	20y8m	2 Pioneer	5.11.19	Jewish	

Appendix I continued

SURNAME	FIRST NAMES	NUMBER	RANK	ENLISTMENT	STATE	WHERE BORN	RESIDING	AGE AT ENLISTMENT	UNIT	DISCHARGE	RELIGION	HONOURS
HUSSIES	Walter Robert	6625	Sapper	3.12.15	Qld	Hull	Rockhampton	26y7m	6 Fd Coy 21 Bn	7.2.18	Jewish	
HUMBERTA	Jud Harris	16053	Gnr	4.1.16 17.5.17	NSW	Manchester	Randwick	24y	AAMC/FA Bde	27.12.19	Jew	
HUMBERTA	Abe Harris	30925	Gnr	1.9.16	NSW	Cheetham	Coogee	29y10m	TMB	26.6.18	Jew	
HORWITZ	Myer	7281	2/Lieut	1.4.17	WA	Carlton V	Perth	22y10m	11 Bn	6.2.20	Jewish	
HORWITZ	Harry	313	Pte	29.8.14	NSW	Klerksdorp SA	Sydney	38y	1 Bn MU - discharged Albany	31.10.14	Hebrew	
HONIG	Max	3551	Pte	9.8.15	WA	Minsk	Kalgoorlie	25y1m	mu	8.1.16	Jew	
HONEY	Samuel	10652	Gnr	30.12.15	NSW	Bethnal Green	Forest Lodge	28y11m	AMC FAB	12.1.20	Jew	
HYAMS	William	5359	Pte	11.3.16	Vic	Melbourne	North Carlton	29y5m	24 Bn	KIA	Hebrew	
HYMAN	Eric Montague		Major	24.3.15	NSW	Tamworth	Mosman	29y10m	12 LH	21.11.19	Jewish	DSO MID
HYMAN	Arthur Wellesley		Major	12.9.14	NSW	Tamworth	Neutral Bay	34y3m	7 LH 51 Bn	16.1.20	Jewish	MID OBE
IKIN	James Edison	14904	Pte	17.3.17	NSW	Hobart	Randwick	44y3m	ASC	25.3.19	Jewish	
HYMAN	Joseph	3925	Driver	10.9.15	WA	Linehouse	Perth	25y9m	14 FAB	1.5.19	Jewish	MSM
ISAACS	Laurence David		MH	2828	ER Sgt	1.7.15	Vic	Auckland	25y		Jewish	
ISAACS	Harry	V71777	Pte	19.11.17	Vic	Riga	West Melbourne	28y8m		8.12.17	Jewish	
ISAACS	Bertram Woolf	V60737	Pte	1.2.17	Vic	Fitzroy		45y	mu	16.2.17	Jewish	
ISAACS	Aubrey	6337	Pte	30.10.16	NSW	Petersham	Sydney	30y7m	19 Bn	20.6.17	Jewish	
ISAACS	Nellie		Senior Nurse	22.8.16	Vic	Melbourne	Balaclava	40y	AMC AANC	23.1.19	Jewish	
ISAACS	Myer Joseph	1288	Sapper	22.6.15	NSW	Ultimo	Marrickville	30y4m	1 Mining/ 3Tunneling	17.6.19	Jewish	
ISRAEL	Leslie Phillip	W2409	Lieut	13.9.15	NSW	Waverley	Woolahra	23y4m	19 Bn	20.9.18	Jewish	
ISRAEL	Henry	2543	Lieut	21.6.15	Vic	Sydney	Albert Park	22y7m	6 Bn	28.11.20	Jewish	DCM
ISRAEL	Gershon	867	Gnr	28.10.16	NSW	London	Leichhardt	21y6m	36 Heavy Artillery	7.8.19	Jewish	
ISRAEL	Arthur Charles	1351	Pte	12.1.15	NSW	Maitland		28y5m	2 Bn mu	17.6.15	Jewish	

Appendix I continued

SURNAME	FIRST NAMES	NUMBER	RANK	ENLISTMENT	STATE	WHERE BORN	RESIDING	AGE AT ENLISTMENT	UNIT	DISCHARGE	RELIGION	HONOURS
ISRAEL	Alec	3076	Pte	17.11.16	NSW	Spittfields	Leichhardt	23y10m	33 Bn	KIA	Jew	
ISEN	Bennett	14402	Driver	19.3.17	NSW	South Brisbane	Maroubra	24y3m	ASC	1.4.19	Jewish	
ISRAEL	Reuben	2936	ER Cpl	7.7.16	SA	Middle Park	Hyde Park SA	23y6m	50 Bn	4.4.20	Jewish	
ISRAEL	Norman Joseph	2389	Sgt	1.6.15	Vic	Sydney	Albert Park	19y2m	6 Bn 58 Bn	24.4.19	Jewish	
ISRAEL	Morris Samuel	595	2/Cpl	4.11.14	Vic	East Melbourne		19y6m	3 Sigs	28.10.19	Hebrew	MM MID
ISRAEL	Louis Mark Cynal	22649	Spr	26.9.17	Vic	St Kilda		18y	4 Div Sig Coy	8.9.17	Jewish	
ISAACSON	Isidor		Major	24.5.16	Vic	Stawell	St Kilda	52y7m	3 Div Train	26.5.17	Hebrew	
ISAACSON	Isidor		Major	26.4.19	Vic	Stawell	St Kilda		Special - POW Guard	8.4.20	Hebrew	
ISAACSON	Arnold	5488	Lieut	22.8.14	Vic	Stawell	St Kilda	33y4m	4 Div Train	2.3.20	Jewish	
ISAACS	William Woolf	4138	Sgt	17.12.15	Vic	Fitzroy	St Kilda	21y	22 Bn	KIA	Hebrew	
ISAACS	Samuel	4838	L/Cpl	8.12.15	Vic	Fitzroy	St Kilda	19y6m	7 Bn	22.6.19	Jewish	
JACOBS	Frederick Mitchell	15343	Pte	23.5.17	Vic	St Kilda		20y10m	Aust Corps HQ	29.9.19	Jewish	
JACOBS	Emmanuel (Martin Edward)	4807	Pte	17.5.16 (21.2.17)	SA	East London (SAf)	Adelaide	18y11m (16y10m)	32 Bn50 Bn	27.9.18	hebrew	
JACOBS	David	4359	L/Cpl	13.12.15	SA	London	Carrington St	18y9m	27 Bn 5 Fd Amb	28.2.18	Hebrew	
JACOBS	Charles Norman	26762	Gnr	8.2.16	Vic	Geelong		20y3m	1 DAE 14 FAB	6.11.19	Jewish	
JACOBS	Charles John		Lieut	2.3.15	Vic	Melbourne	St Kilda	27y11m	21 Bn	27.8.18	Jew	
JACOBS	Charles Arthur	6378	Cpl	17.6.15	Vic	Melbourne		23y6m	4 Div MT Coy	25.10.19	Jewish	
JACOBS	Arthur Abraham (Adrien)	66	Sgt	10.8.14	SA	Kilburn		22y2m	10 Bn	KIA	Jewish	
JACOBS	Harold Leslie		Lieut	28.2.16	Vic	Geelong		25y1m	FAB	25.9.19	Jewish	MC
JACOBS	Montague Melbourne	2363	Tpr	30.11.15	WA	St Kilda	Nth Perth	27y9m	10 LH	30.8.19	Jewish	
JACOBS	Mark	2286	Pte	22.7.15	Vic	London	St Kilda	18y4m	22 Bn	15.7.19	Jewish	
JACOBS	Louis William	1772	Pte	4.3.15	Vic	Ballarat		25y	7 Bn	D o W	Jew	
JACOBS	Lionel	7853	CQMS	15.6.15	Vic	Gloucester	Melbourne	28y1m	10 AASC 1 Anzac Cyclist	15.2.19	Jewish	

Appendix I continued

SURNAME	FIRST NAMES	NUMBER	RANK	ENLISTMENT	STATE	WHERE BORN	RESIDING	AGE AT ENLISTMENT	UNIT	DISCHARGE	RELIGION	HONOURS
JACOBS	Herbert Sydney		Hon. Captain	21.9.14/ 11.3.18	Vic	Melbourne	St Kilda	21y11m	AAMC	15.10.15 21.12.19	Jewish	
JACOBS	Herbert	1685	Pte	14.1.15	WA	Sydney	Nth Perth	35y7m	16 Bn	20.8.16	Jewish	
JACKS	Abraham	3387	Pte	31.7.15	Qld	Stockport		20y2m	49 Bn	KIA	Jewish	
JACOBSON	Louis	3718	L/Cpl	3.11.15	NSW	Waverley	Burwood	25y	18 Bn	28.8.19	Hebrew	
JACOBSON	Albert Henry	25	L/Cpl	25.2.15	NSW	Waverley	Annandale	28y	1 LH RegtAASC Details	10.8.19	Hebrew	
JACOBSON	Albert Edward	833	Driver	10.2.16	WA	Melbourne	Mt Lawley	26y	44 Bn	22.8.19	Jewish	
JONAS	Benjamin	225	Cpl	25.4.16	NSW	Ballarat	Riley St	43y9m	Admin HQ	Died	Jewish	
JONSEN	William Sydney	8730	Pte	15.7.15	NSW	Glebe Pt		31y	7 Fd Amb	24.4.19	Jewish	
JONSEN	Otto Carl	8731	T/Cpl	16.7.15	NSW	Glebe Pt		21y7m	7 Fd Amb GBD	12.9.19	Jewish	MM
JONES	Benjamin George	14262	L/Cpl	18.12.16	NSW	London		32y2m	AVRP	8.10.19	Jewish	
JONES	Albert Cosman	48	Pte	24.8.14	NSW	Paddington		22y8m	1 FAB mu	31.7.17	Jewish	
JOSEPH	Albert	2736	Driver	22.10.14	Vic	Coolgardie	E St Kilda	19y9m	12 FAB	15.2.18	Jew	
JOSEPH	Benjamin Aaron	666	Pte	20.8.14	Vic	Broken Hill	Brighton V	20y	ASC 65 Bn DSC	24.1.19	Jew	
JOSEPH	Elias Frederick	10629	Driver	24.1.16	NSW	Sydney	Darlinghurst	35y6m	ASC	24.9.18	Jewish	
JOSEPH	Frank Rintel	6399	Pte	29.2.16	NSW	Balacava	Coogee	27y2m	17 Bn 38 Bn	7.7.20	Jewish	
JOSEPH	Joseph Davis DePass	1055	Pte	24.7.15	VIC	Melbourne	Sth Melbourne	18y4m	31 Bn	KIA	Jewish	
JOSEPH	Isaac	8760	Pte	10.7.15	Vic	Brighton Eng	Queen St Melb	18y8m	2 Fd Amb 6 Fd Amb	5.10.18	Synagogue Jewish	
JOSEPH	Horace Mahratta	20051	Pte	19.6.16	NSW	Darlinghurst		28y8m	AAMC Dental	13.12.19	Jewish	
JOSEPH	Herbert Lionel	3332	Pte	29.7.15	NSW	Birmingham	Sydney	39y2m	3 Bn mu	26.8.16	Jewish	
JOSEPHSON	Joseph	6758	Pte	30.8.16	NSW	Vilna R	North Sydney	29y6m	1 Bn	15.2.19	Jew	
JOSEPH	Walter Solomon	24368	ER Sgt	2.7.15	VIC	Collingwood	Caulfield	26y9m	8 FAB	6.2.20	Hebrew	
JOSEPH	Sydney Alfred	6522	Pte	16.3.16	VIC	Melbourne	Hawkesburn	23y3m	7 Bn	KIA	Hebrew	
JOSEPH	Morris Cedric Clair	2794	Pte	9.3.16	vIC	Ballarat	Richmond	25y2m	58 Bn	4.4.19	Hebrew	

Appendix I continued

SURNAME	FIRST NAMES	NUMBER	RANK	ENLISTMENT	STATE	WHERE BORN	RESIDING	AGE AT ENLISTMENT	UNIT	DISCHARGE	RELIGION	HONOURS
JOSEPH	Marks	6643	Pte	14.11.16	NSW	London	Surry Hills	22y10m	17 Bn	25.3.19	Jew	
JUDELL	Cedric	2392	ER S/Sgt	22.3.15	SA	Ooroo SA		19y11m	50 Bn 4 Fld bk- ery Admin HQ	8.4.20	Jewish	
KARMEL	Ellis Morris	7021	Pte	17.10.16	VIC	Prahran	E St Kilda	26y	7 Bn	1.3.19	Hebrew	
KALIK	Louis	1783	Pte	21.11.16	VIC	Gelaty Roman	Hyde Pk Syd	27y3m	18 LTMB mu	1.2.18	Jewish	
KEESING	Herbert	1790	Pte	20.5.15	NSW	Auckland	Newtown	29y7m	20 Bn	15.4.16	Jewish	
KEESING	Gordon Samuel		Captain	2.12.15	NSW	Auckland	Sydney	27y7m	Field Co Engineers 4 Div Engineers	6.2.20	Jew	MID
KESSEL	Izard	4450	Cpl	14.9.15	NSW	Sleaki Col SA	Paddington	34y9m	1 Bn	NR	Hebrew	DCM
KERSH	Abraham	54066	Pte	28.4.18	NSW	Sydney	Glebe	26y1m	Defective Vision	3.3.19	Hebrew	
KLEIN	Joseph	2133	Pte	26.7.15	Qld	Essex	Sth Brisbane	21y3m	26 Bn	KIA	Jewish	
KIVOVICH (CARMICHAEL)	Yur (Victor Michael)	2690	Pte	16.8.15	NSW	Kerson R	Newtown	25y	Anzac Mtd Div	21.1.17	Jewish	
KIRSCH	Abraham	N84349	Pte	19.11.17	NSW	Nowra	Glebe	25y8m	Pioneers mu	15.1.18	Jewish	
KIRK	Reuben	3529	Pte	13.11.15	NSW	London	Glebe	26y6m	8 Fd Amb mu	22.12.17	Hebrew	
KINO	Walter Philip	38642	Gnr	20.8.16	WA	Manchester	Perth	22y8m	AFA	28.2.19	Jewish Church	
KING	Thomas	62	L/Sgt	24.8.14	NSW	London	Sydney	26y2m	1 Fd Amb	26.1.19	Jew	
KOPIT	Abraham	3833	Cpl	24.7.15	Vic	Cairo	Fitzroy V	27y5m	5 Bn	15.6.17	Jewish	
KOPIT	Abraham	3833	Cpl	7.12.17	Vic	Melbourne	Middle Park	29y	Base Records	6.5.18	Jewish	
KOMESAROFF	Peter	1684	Pte	8.1.16	NSW	Melbourne	Fitzroy V	23y10m	56 Bn	21.1.19	Synagogue	
KOHN	Charles	3174A	Pte	23.11.16	VIC	Wellington NZ	St Kilda	22y	67 Bn	14.9.18	Jewish	
KLOOT	Phillip	3539	Pte	1.4.15	VIC	London	Melbourne	29y9m	5 Bn	31.12.19	Hebrew	
KOSKY	Joseph John	3937	Pte	28.6.15	WA	Jamieson V	East Perth	35y11m	16 Bn	31.12.15	Jew	
KOSKY	Joseph John	4465	Pte	22.1.16	SA	Jamieson	East Perth	37y6m	4 Pioneers mu	1.8.17	Jew	
KOTT	Maxwell	6460	ER WO 1	28.2.16	WA	Fremantle		24y9m	Pay Corps Admin HQ	18.12.19	Hebrew	
KRANTZ	Samuel Harold	2281	L/Opl	20.3.16	WA	Odessa	Perth	28y	43 Bn	10.9.19	Jewish	MM

Appendix I continued

SURNAME	FIRST NAMES	NUMBER	RANK	ENLISTMENT	STATE	WHERE BORN	RESIDING	AGE AT ENLISTMENT	UNIT	DISCHARGE	RELIGION	HONOURS
KRANTZ	Albert	935	Pte	2.2.15	NSW	Novoharolowska R	Sydney	22y8m	17 Bn	5.4.20	Hebrew	
KRAUSMAN	Nathan	463	Pte	10.1.16	NSW	Galatz R	Glebe	42y8m	3 Pioneer	25.1.18	Gew	
KOZMINSKY	Maurice Edward	4649	2/Lieut	10.5.15	VIC	Melbourne		30y4m	7 Bn	D o W	Jewish	
KOZMINSKY	Clifford Samuel	19838	Pte	8.3.16	VIC	Melbourne	St Kilda	24y	AMC	17.10.18	Jewish	
KRESNER	Henry	7714	Gnr	14.8.15	NSW	Liverpool UK	Randwick	34y4m	5 Fd Art Bde	26.7.19	Jewish	
KRUG	David	978	Pte	21.2.16	WA	Perth		23y11m	44 Bn	KIA	Jewish	
KURTZ	David Mark	11154	a/Sgt	11.1.15	SA	Sydney	Glenelg	25y	AMC 9 Fd Amb	28.10.19	Jewish	
LAKOVSKY [LAKE]	David	1304	Gnr	28.12.17	NSW	Ekatrinaslor R	Broken Hill	19y11m	36 Aust HA Grp	23.8.19	Jewish	
LAMPERT	David	2176	Pte	9.3.15	Vic	London	Geelong	21y6m	5 Bn	25.9.16	Hebrew	
LASKER	Robert Sydney	9959	A/Cpl	16.8.15	NSW	Hamilton NSW		20y	2 AGH	27.3.17	Hebrew	
LANGLEY	John Bernard Louis	718	Pte	10.8.15	NSW	Double Bay		19y8m	18 Bn	12.1.16	Jewish	
LANGLEY	Jacob Nathan	31532	Gnr	1.9.16	Vic	West Melb		20y6m	14 FAB	30.3.19	Jewish	
LANGFORD	Louis	3836	Pte	26.7.15	VIC	Liverpool Eng	Sth Yarra	29y1m	59 Bn	25.10.17	Jewish	
LANDSLER	Edwin Laurence	3336	pte	5.8.15	NSW	Hampstead	Stannmore	22y	53Bn	KIA	Jew	
LANDES	Samuel	5661	Pte	15.11.15	NSW	Newtown		20y	AMC 19 Bn	1.1.19	Hebrew	
LAZARUS	Alfred	1892	Driver	10.8.15	Vic	Melbourne		26y	4 LH 4 MG	3.8.19	Hebrew	
LAWRENCE	Norman Isidore	2942	Pte	3.7.16	WA	Fitzroy		23y3m	48 Bn	27.2.19	Hebrew	
LAWRENCE	Keith Francis	6436	Pte		WA		NAA File Missing		AMC		Hebrew	MM
LAZARUS	Edward Percy	888	Sgt	3.7.15	VIC	St Kilda		35y2m	AN & M E Force	21.5.17	Jewish	
LAZARUS	Isaac	1578	Pte	9.12.14	Vic	Fitzroy		21y11m	7 Bn	KIA or DoW	Jew	
LAZARUS	Samuel Clement	V74945	Pte	18.3.18	VIC	Perth	St Kilda	19y8m	Depot	24.12.18	Hebrew	
LAZARUS	Robert	3868	Pte	8.7.15	VIC	Richmond V		31y7m	8 Bn	2.8.17	Jewish	
LAZARUS	Myer	2379	Gnr	4.5.16	NSW	Kiama		22y2m	1 pioneers FAB 4 LH AA Pay Corps	12.11.18	Jewish	
LAZARUS	Mairfed Philip	1599	T/Sgt	18.10.15	VIC	Hawthorn		22y6m		2.11.19	Jewish	

Appendix I continued

SURNAME	FIRST NAMES	NUMBER	RANK	ENLISTMENT	STATE	WHERE BORN	RESIDING	AGE AT ENLISTMENT	UNIT	DISCHARGE	RELIGION	HONOURS
LAZARUS	William	2351	Pte	17.7.16	VIC	Carlton V	Albert Park	23y1m	38 Bn	3.12.18	Jewish	
LAZER	Lionel	7531	Pte	23.7.17	VIC	Sydney	Carlton	18y	25 Bn	KIA	Jewish	
LAZER	Henry Joseph		Lieut	7.3.16	NSW	Glen Innes		21y6m	33 Bn	KIA	Hebrew	
LAZARUS	Zadea	31204	Sgt	18.9.16	NSW	Rushtutter Bay		21y6m	4 DAC 11 FAB	10.9.19	Jewish	
LEEDMAN	Charles Herbert Leopold		Captain	28.2.16	VIC	Sydney	Shackleton Siding WA	25y	AMC	10.7.19	Hebrew	MC & Bar
LEBOVICH	Morris	7002	Pte	31.10.16	NSW	Odessa	North Sydney	21y6m	2 Bn	DOW	Jewish	
LEBOVITZ	Elias	908	Driver	7.4.15	WA	Lemberg Austria	Perth	26y3m	28 Bn Camel Corps	5.10.17	Jew	
LEVEN	Harry	2706	Gnr	14.8.15	WA	Reichnag R	Perth	21y3m	4 DAC mu	28.12.17	Russian Jew	
LENNEBERG	Harry Gordon	6383	Pte	24.10.16	VIC	Southport	Sth Yarra	33y9m	22 Bn	13.10.19	Hebrew	
LENNEBERG	Frank Benjamin	7264	Pte	26.10.16	WA	Southport	Perth	21y7m	16 Bn	Pneumonia	Jewish	
LENZER	Simeon	69290	Pte	6.8.18	VIC	Melbourne	East Melb	25y3m	GSG	31.12.18	Hebrew	
LENTZ	Leon	2828	Pte	31.10.16	NSW	Sydney	Cummock	18y	34 Bn	18.9.19	Jewish	
LEVI	Herman Solomon	N72746	Pte	30.3.17	NSW	Sydney	Surry Hills	39y4m	MTS	25.3.18	Hebrew	
LEVEY	Harold Hyman	4643	Pte	7.9.15	VIC	London	Melbourne	33y4m	14 Bn	21.4.19	Jewish	
LEVI	Norman Leslie	14991	MT Driver	8.1.17	VIC	St Kilda	Malvern	30y1m	AMT COY	25.12.19	Jewish	
LEVI	Kaith Maurice		Captain	14.1.15	WA	Melbourne	Perth	24y3m	1 AGH	KIA	Jewish	MID
LEVINSOHN	Harold Alexander	2707	Pte	25.7.15	NSW	Woolahra	Neutral Bay	18y4m	17 Bn	12.5.19	Jewish	
LEVINSON	Benjamin	6342	Pte	26.9.16	Qld	Manchester	Ipswich	36y	25 Bn	21.5.18	Jewish	
LEVINSKI	Jules	2927	Pte	6.7.15	VIC	Widawa R	Melbourne	22y5m	14 Bn	5.9.19	Jewish	
LEVY	Cedric George	1750	L/Cpl	30.8.15	Qld	Brisbane		18y5m	2 AGH	13.6.18	Jew	
LEVY	Austin	1793	Driver MT	9.5.17	VIC	Perth	St Kilda	18y2m	AFC	18.11.19	Jewish	
LEVY	Arthur	6349	Pte	3.12.15	NSW	Kovno R	Sydney	35y5m	13 Bn	12.8.17	Hebrew	
LEVY	Albert	505	Sgt	10.1.16	VIC	Ascot Vale	St Kilda	20y8m	39 Bn	KIA	Jewish	MM

Appendix I continued

SURNAME	FIRST NAMES	NUMBER	RANK	ENLISTMENT	STATE	WHERE BORN	RESIDING	AGE AT ENLISTMENT	UNIT	DISCHARGE	RELIGION	HONOURS
LEVOI	Joris Philip	2850	L/Sgt	1.5.15	VIC	Wellington NZ	St Kilda	22y	59 Bn5 Pioneer	18.10.18	Jewish	
LEVY	Emanuel	96573		5.11.18	NSW	Sydney		18y7m		Age Incorrect	Jewish	
LEVY	Elias	4812	Pte	15.11.15	SA	London	Adelaide	28y9m	50 Bn	D o W	Jewish	
LEVY	Edgar Wellington	5314	Pte	22.9.15	VIC	Melbourne		22y1m	2 Signal Coy/ Pioneers	19.5.18	Jewish	
LEVY	Douglas Alexander	18892	Cpl	31.1.16	NSW	West Maitland		21y2m	1 FAB/3 Bn	24.5.18	Jewish	
LEVY	David	7087	Pte	24.10.17	VIC	Surry Hills	Nth Carlton	23y5m	18 Bn	24.8.18	Jewish	
LEVY	Coleman	25562	Pte	27.1.16	NSW	Surry Hills		21y4m	55 Bn	D o W	Hebrew	
LEVY	Clarence Henry	2904	Pte	4.8.16	VIC	Hokitika NZ	Prahran	24y10m	2 Pioneer Bn	20.10.19	Jewish	
LEVY	Frank	114	L/Cpl	15.2.15	WA	Canonbury UK	Broome	27y2m	28 BnCamel Corps	KIA	Jewish	
LEVY	Harold (Harry)	7365	Pte	1.2.16	WA	London	Kalgoorlie	37y7m	11 Bn	KIA	Jewish	
LEVY	Godfrey Israel	1726	ER Sgt	23.5.15	NSW	Sydney		21y6m	17 Bn	15.8.19	Jewish	
LEVY	George Newman	7000	Pte	6.10.16	WA	London	Perth	23y9m	11 Bn	KIA	Jewish	
LEVY	George	3980	Pte	4.3.15	VIC	London	Birchip V	21y5m	28 Bn 1 Pioneers	5.2.18	Jewish	
LEVY	Jack Marks	174	ER Cpl	18.2.15	VIC	Melbourne	Sth Yarra	21y3m	Army Ordnance Corps/AAPC	29.11.18	Jewish	
LEVY	Herbert Abraham	3179	Pte	15.3.16	VIC	Richmond V	Auburn	21y10m	60 Bn	30.5.19	Hebrew	
LEVY	Henry	6274	Pte	19.4.16	NSW	Fitzroy	Paddington	34y8m	1 Bn	13.5.18	Jewish	
LEVY	Leonard Henry Jaques	7515	Pte	1.12.16	WA	Melbourne	Perth	27y6m	6 Bn	19.10.18	Hebrew	
LEVY	Leon	2209	Pte	9.3.16	NSW	Sydney	Coogee	24y3m	56 Bn	KIA	Jewish	
LEVY	Louis	1141	Pte	17.8.14	NSW	Sydney		19y9m	3 Bn	7.3.16	Jewish	
LEVY	Lionel Harold	2870	Pte	31.7.15	NSW	Sydney	Anmandale	28y9m	53Bn	KIA	Jewish	
LEVY	Michael Samuel	115	L/Cpl	14.12.15	NSW	Surry Hills	Croydon	31y7m	35 Bn	1.5.19	Jewish	
LEVY	Michael	60243	Pte	5.6.18	NSW	Narrandera	Beecroft	19y7m	1 Bn	28.11.19	Hebraic	
LEVY	Reuben	121	S/Sgt	17.8.14	VIC	Darlinghurst	Carlton	21y10m	AAMC Dental	24.1.19	Jewish	

Appendix I continued

SURNAME	FIRST NAMES	NUMBER	RANK	ENLISTMENT	STATE	WHERE BORN	RESIDING	AGE AT ENLISTMENT	UNIT	DISCHARGE	RELIGION	HONOURS
LEVY	Theodore Harold	61	Captain	12.4.15	VIC	Coleraine		21y4m	Amb Details 1 GH Provost Corps	15.3.20	Jew	
LEVY	Sidney Montefiore	27041	Gnr	7.12.15	Tas	Sydney	Hobart	33y6m	13 FA	12.11.18	Hebrew	
LEVY (ADAMS)	Sidney	V82981	Cpl	25.8.19	Vic	Hokitika NZ	Prahran	28y8m	Home Service	10.11.19	Jewish	
LEVY	Sidney	226	Cpl	27.11.17	VIC	Hokitika NZ	Prahran	27y		28.12.18	Jewish	
LEVY	Sidney	2956	Pte	31.7.16	VIC	Hokitika NZ	Prahran	25y9m	2 Pioneer Bn	26.11.17	Jewish	
LEVY (ADAMS)	Sidney		Gnr	11.5.16	VIC	Hokitika NZ	Prahran	25y6m	FA Bde	7.6.16	Jewish	
LEVY	Roy Leonard	15535	Pte	5.1.16	NSW	W Maitland	Paddington	31y3m	3 Au Fd Amb	D o W	Jew	
LEWIS	Allan Maurice	1749	Pte	26.8.15	Qld	Toowoomba		20y	AGH 6 Fd Amb	9.3.20	Jewish	
LEWIS	Bernard	6581	Pte	23.11.16	NSW	London	Surry Hills	33y1m	17 Bn	16.10.18	Hebrew	
LEWIS	Julian	20043	Pte	26.11.17	NSW	Sydney		21y6m	AMC	11.11.19	Jewish	
LEWIS	Mark	77	L/Cpl	24.8.14	NSW	Sydney		19y	1 FAMB	23.1.19	Jewish	
LEWIS	Morris		Captain	30.12.15	WA	Bendaron Mon	Perth	23y	44 Bn	11.4.20	Jewish	
LIEFMAN	Louis David	147	Driver	18.8.14	Vic	Melbourne	Carlton	19y2m	14 fa	4.1.18	Jewish	
LEWIS	Verdi	3589	Pte	30.6.15	VIC	Moana		26y10m	57 Bn	5.5.19	Jewish	
LEWIS	Simon Henry	2627	Pte	26.6.15	VIC	London	Princes Hill	21y3m	60 Bn	22.1.18	Jewish	
LEWIS (REMOVITCH)	Richard (Morris)	424	Sapper	14.2.16	WA	London	Redfern	28y9m	1 Tunnelling	8.7.19	Jewish	
LEWIS	Reuben	6582	Pte	3.4.16	NSW	London	Narrabri	25y8m	17 Bn	31.7.18	Hebrew	
LIPMAN	Leo Benjamin	948	ER WO 1	20.8.14	NSW	Newcastle		24y3m	3 Bn Admin HQ	15.4.19	Jewish	
LIPMAN	Hyman	18654	Pte	25.5.17	NSW	London	East Sydney	31y1m	AMC	24.10.18	Hebrew	
LIPMAN	Augustus	13266	Driver	25.9.16	NSW	Newcastle		37y1m	AMT - 5 Div Supply	12.1.20	Jew	
LIPMAN	Arthur Alfred		Lieut	8.11.15	NSW	Grafton		24y	52 Bn	6.7.19	Hebrew	
LIPMAN	Alfred Emile	12632	Pte	10.1.16	SA	Adelaide		18y3m	11 Fd Amb	23.9.19	Jewish	
LIPERT	Lewis	56103	Pte	2.1.18	SA	Aberdeen Sc	Adelaide	18y1m	ADUS	16.9.18	Hebrew	

Appendix I continued

SURNAME	FIRST NAMES	NUMBER	RANK	ENLISTMENT	STATE	WHERE BORN	RESIDING	AGE AT ENLISTMENT	UNIT	DISCHARGE	RELIGION	HONOURS
LOBASCHER	Lewin David		2 Lieut	30.8.15	WA	Carlton V	Victoria Ave Perth	23y8m	32 Bn	16.2.20	Jewish	MM
LITTMANN	Solomon	2403	Pte	6.5.15	WA	London	Perth	23y	11 Bn51 Bn	D o W	Jewish	MM
LISSNER	Hyman	3282	L/Sgt	16.10.15	Vic	London	Melbourne	25y10m	1 Pioneer	10.10.19	Jewish	
LIPSTINE	Eric John Simon	3384	Tpr	27.2.17	Qld	Rockhampton		18y	5 LH	4.9.19	Jewish	
LIPSHUT	Louis		Lieut	9.5.16	Vic	Melbourne	St Kilda	27y6m	66 Bn	26.3.18	Jew	
LIPSHUT	David	2547	Pte	1.7.15	NSW	London	Carlton V	44y8m	29 Bn	20.2.18	Jewish	
LIPMAN	Samuel	2608	Pte	21.3.16	NSW	London	Surry Hills	23y3m	33 Bn	11.2.19	Jewish	
LOFFMAN	Phillip	3510	Pte	9.8.15	WA	London	East Perth	25y6m	16 Bn	3.6.19	Jewish/ Protestant	
LOEWENTHAL	Athol Vyvian	11283	Pte	15.1.16	NSW	Lamence NSW		26y6m	ASC/3 Div Train	30.9.19	Hebrew	DSO MID
MARGOLIN	Eliazar Lazar		Major	1.10.14	WA	Collie		39y6m	16 Bn	18.3.18	Jewish	
MARCUS	Reuben	732	Pte	7.7.15	Vic	Capetown	Melbourne	37y3m	31 Bn	W & M	Jewish	
MANDELZON	Harry	658	Pte	9.3.15	WA	Yass Roumania	Perth	24y1m	28 Bn	KIA	Jew	
MANDELSON	Henry	484	Pte	15.7.15	Qld	Lismore	Brisbane	21y7m	4 MG 8 Bn	4.9.19	Jewish	
MANDELSON	Cyril Nathan	3972	Gnr	15.2.15	NSW	Sydney	Darlinghurst	28y11m	FA	14.4.17	Jewish	
MALATZKY	Louis	931	Cpl	12.4.15	WA	Scone	Leonora	21y4m	28 Bn 7 MG	10.6.19	Hebrew	
MALATZKY	Herbert	219	Pte	7.1.15	Vic	Perth	Windsor	18y	21 Bn7 MG	26.10.17	Jewish	
MAGODRICK	David	4190	Pte	30.12.15	NSW	North Shore		27y6m	20 Bn 62 BN	25.5.19	Jewish	
MARKER	Henry Arthur	4418	Pte	13.9.15	NSW	Glebe		24y3m	1 Bn	5.4.18	Jewish	
MARKS	Benjamin	28	Gnr	8.2.15	Vic	Carlton V		30y7m	22 Bn 5 FAB	10.9.19	Jewish	
MARKS	Asher	3756	Pte	28.9.15	WA	London	Perth	32y5m	51 Bn	25.9.19	Jewish	
MARKS	Alfred George	658	L/Cpl	18.8.14	Vic	Melbourne	St Kilda	29y	5 Bn	D o W	Hebrew	
MARKS	Adelina		Staff Nurse	1.12.16	NSW	Ballarat	Sydney	36y7m	AMC 14 AGH 6 F Amb 16 Fd Amb	15.4.19	Jewish	
MARKS	Edward Percy	5633	Pte	13.5.15	Vic	St Kilda		18y7m		18.7.19	Hebrew	

Appendix I continued

SURNAME	FIRST NAMES	NUMBER	RANK	ENLISTMENT	STATE	WHERE BORN	RESIDING	AGE AT ENLISTMENT	UNIT	DISCHARGE	RELIGION	HONOURS
MARKS	David	V25838	Gnr	3.3.16	Vic	Fitzroy	Windsor	33y5m	FAB mu	29.9.16	Hebrew	
MARKS	Cyril Moss	5729	Pte	9.3.16	Vic	Albert Park	St Kilda	18y3m	58 Bn/Aust Employ Coy	24.4.19	Jewish	
MARKS	Cecil Solomon	2681	Pte	29.11.15	Vic	East Melbourne		39y9m	2 Pioneers	9.2.19	Jewish	
MARKS	George Moss	2394	Sgt	19.5.15	NSW	London	Sydney	23y9m	1 Bn	22.7.19	Jew	
MARKS	James George	1128	Cpl	4.3.15	Vic	St Kilda		25y2m	28 Bn HQ	4.7.19	Jewish	
MARKS	Marcus Leslie	7888	Pte	15.7.15	Vic	Carlton V		26y5m	1 Fld Amb	KIA	Jewish	
MARKS	Lionel	413	L/Sgt	22.9.14	VIC	Melbourne	St Kilda	32y6m	13 Bn	KIA	Jew	
MARKS	John Harris	3547	Pte	16.10.16	NSW	Melbourne	St Kilda	23y7m	Pioneers Sigs 59 Bn	6.9.19	Hebrew	
MARKS	Reginald Harold	49	Driver	22.8.14	NSW	Carlton V	Nth Fitzroy	20y	LH Fd Amb/1 Fd Amb	22.2.19	Jewish	
MARKS	Raymond	1922	2 A Mech	8.11.16	NSW	Ballarat	Stannore	27y8m	AFC	9.12.20	Jewish	
MENDELSON	Harris		Captain	28.3.17	Vic	St Kilda		22y	AMC	16.4.20	Jewish	MC
MENDELSON	Berrol Lazar		Lieut	5.6.15	NSW	?	Mosman	24y2m	17 Bn 55 Bn	KIA	Jewish	
MEINRATH	Julian Eric	3864	Pte	11.12.16	NSW	Brisbane	Petersham	23y9m	1 Pioneer Bn	8.8.19	Jewish	
MAYER	Robert	965	Pte	26.8.14	NSW	Fremantle	Brisbane St	19y	1 Bn mu	28.1.16	Jewish	
MAYER	Robert	6606	Pte	11.12.16	WA	Warsaw	Lake St Perth	22y5m	28 Bn	15.9.19	Hebrew	
MARZAN	William	2873	Pte	9.11.16	NSW	Havre FR	City Rd Sydney	28y	33 Bn	KIA	Jewish	
MARX	Harold	2435	Pte	2.5.16	Vic	London	Melbourne	23y8m	59 Bn - Deserter	20.9.16	Jewish	
MARSDEN	Arthur Edward	10440	S/Sgt	1.4.16	NSW	Murrumburrah		22y8m	AMC Details	10.4.19	Jewish	
MENDELAWITZ	Abraham	4086	Pte	15.5.16	WA	Melbourne	Newcastle St Perth	22y9m	32 Bn	10.9.19	Jewish	
MENDEZ	Isaac	3347	Pte	3.7.17	NSW	Waterloo	Surry Hills	19y2m	36 Bn	22.3.18	Jewish	
MENDES	John Lewis	16336	Pte	2.11.16	Vic	Middle Park		21y9m	2 AHS Kanowna	18.6.18	Jewish	
MEYER	Reginald Victor	20561	Pte	30.11.17	SA	Kent Town SA		20y6m	AAMC	26.2.20	Jewish	
MEYER	Cyril Bernard		Lieut	6.6.15	NSW	Darlinghurst	Double Bay	34y	13 Bn	16.10.18	Jewish	

Appendix I continued

SURNAME	FIRST NAMES	NUMBER	RANK	ENLISTMENT	STATE	WHERE BORN	RESIDING	AGE AT ENLISTMENT	UNIT	DISCHARGE	RELIGION	HONOURS
MERSKY	Joseph	8146	Pte	23.8.15	Qld	Dottof, Grodno	Brisbane	33y8m	AASC Field Bakery	6.8.19	Jew	
MENSER	Leslie Maurice	2525	L/Cpl	3.4.16	NSW	Sydney	Paddington	27y	55 Bn	D o W	Jewish	
MICHAELIS	Frank Moritz	31586	Gnr	23.8.16	Vic	St Kilda		24y2m	FA Bde	Meningitis	Jewish	
MICHAELIS	Allan	N90109	Pte	24.5.18	NSW	Sydney	Elizabeth Bay	18y11m		?	Jewish	
MICHAEL	Reginald Samuel	69118	Pte	29.5.18	Vic	Geelong		21y8m		24.12.18	Jewish	
MICHAEL	Norman B	12808	Driver	4.5.16	Vic	Geelong		22y1m	ASC	16.8.18	Jewish	
MICHAEL	Lewis	2924	Pte	11.9.16	NSW	Surry Hills	Redfern	25y1m	58 Bn	26.10.19	Jew	
MICHAEL	Cyril	12807	Driver	15.5.16	Vic	Geelong		23y4m	ASC, 3 Div Train	1.2.19	Jewish	
MEYERS	Leslie Hyam	2184	Pte	1.7.15	NSW	Brisbane	Darlinghurst	22y11m	19 Bn	24.4.19	Jewish	
MEYERS	Frederick Harman		Pte	8.11.14	Vic	Brisbane	Albert Park	28y	?	?	Hebrew	
MEYERS	Errol Solomon		Major	28.10.14	Qld	Sth Brisbane		26y 5m	11 Fd Amb	27.11.19	Jewish	
MICHAELSON	Jack Frank	55507	Pte	26.12.17	Vic	Northampton	Queens Road	24y7m	6 Bn	17.10.19	Jewish	
MICHELSON	Morris	4646	Pte	24.8.15	NSW	Middlesborough	Carlton V	37y7m	Anzac Corps School	28.1.18	Jewish	
MIRLS	Theodore	2179	Pte	5.5.15	NSW	Maryborough	Centennial Pk	31y	2 Bn	7.9.16	Jewish	
MIRLS	Roy Lewis	3532	Lieut	5.4.15	Qld	Sandgate		20y5m	7 Fd Amb11 Fd Art	26.5.19	Jewish	
MIRLS	Arthur	371	Cpl	30.6.15	Qld	Sandgate	Teneriffe	23y3m	31 Bn	7.2.18	Jewish	
MINOR	David	6051	Pte	3.3.16	NSW	Ylna R	Sydney	22y	1 Bn	KIA	Hebrew	
MILLS	John	3184	Driver	6.7.15	Vic	London	Nth Fitzroy	21y11m	60 Bn59 Bn	9.9.19	Jewish	
MILLINGEN	Hubert Stanley	1688	Pte	26.7.15	Qld	New Farm Q	Sth Brisbane	26y7m	14 Fd Amb Admin HQ	10.5.19	Jewish	
MILLINGEN	Cedric	1599	L/Sgt	4.1.15	NSW	Townsville	Sydney	25y1m	55 Bn AAMC 14 Fd Amb	22.8.19	Hebrew	MID
MILLINGEN	Arthur Claude	1874	Pte	31.12.15	Qld	Townsville	Glen Eagle Q	28y3m	42 Inf Bn	14.7.18	Hebrew	
MILLER	Joseph	3984	Sgt	9.10.15	Vic	Leeds	Perth	34y	21 Bn	M KIA	Jewish	MID
MILEWSKI	Harold	35645	Gnr	8.2.17	NSW	Adelaide	Coogee	22y6m	1 FAB	11.9.19	Jew	

Appendix I continued

SURNAME	FIRST NAMES	NUMBER	RANK	ENLISTMENT	STATE	WHERE BORN	RESIDING	AGE AT ENLISTMENT	UNIT	DISCHARGE	RELIGION	HONOURS
MITCHELL	Karl Arthur	64081	Tpr	31.5.18	NSW	Manly	Manly	21y1m	7 LH	19.8.19	Jewish	
MITCHELL	Ernest Meyer	2042	Lieut	2.10.16	NSW	Sydney	Neutral Bay	41y8m	1 MG Bn	4.9.19	Hebrew	
MITCHELL	Clive Harry	18588	Sapper	10.4.17	NSW	Glebe Point	Manly	22y3m	3 LH Sig Tp	11.6.19	Jewish	
MITCHELL	Alan David	1323	Pte	20.11.14	NSW	Glebe	Manly	22y11m	1 Bn	DOW	Jew	
MITCHELL	Albert	671	Pte	23.3.15	Vic	Mile End	Russell St	24y7m	24 Bn	26.10.19	Hebrew	
MORRIS	Frank David	2436	Sgt	2.3.15	WA	Sydney	Kalgoorlie	24y	AMC	31.3.18	Jew	
MORRIS	Alfred Levy	7118	Pte	12.10.16	Vic	Adelaide	East St Kilda	26y11m	14 Bn	3.11.17	Jewish	
MORRIS	Roy Albert	4352	Cpl	13.9.15	SA	Port Adelaide	Nth Unley	27y2m	27 Bn	4.11.18	Jewish	
MORRIS	Michael	3547	L/Cpl	13.7.15	Vic	Glenferrie	E St Kilda	19y2m	8 Bn	3.8.19	Jewish	
MORRIS	Lewis George	5307	Pte	28.6.15	SA	Melbourne	Rose park	33y6m	AMC	1.2.20	Jewish	
MORRIS	Jack	3000	Pte	31.7.16	NSW	Stepney	Sydney	21y1m	1 Pioneer Bn	2.4.19	Jew	
MOSES	Harry Ernest	7438	Driver	14.6.15	NSW	Potts Point		27y10m	15 ASC	12.2.18	Jewish	
MOSES	Hamilton Leslie	497	Cpl	19.1.16	WA	Hamilton NZ	Perth	35y4m	44 Bn	KIA	Jew	
MOSS	Aubrey Moton	167	Captain	18.8.14	Vic	Carlton V	E St Kilda	27y5m	3 FAB 2 Pioneer 41 Bn	20.3.20	Hebrew	
MOSS	Alfred Michael	21025	Pte	22.4.18	NSW	Melbourne	Waverley	44y1m	1 AHS	5.6.19	Jewish	
MOSS	Edward Elias	1585	pte	15.12.14	NSW	Bungendore	Sydney	44y	4 Bn	DOW	Jewish	
MOSS	Louis	301	Pte	22.9.14	NSW	Melbourne	Newtown	43y1m	13 Bn	21.3.17	Jewish	
MOSS	Lewis	2397	1/AM	26.8.15	NSW	Redfern	Paddington	18y7m	AFC	3.8.19	Jewish	
MOSS	John		2/Lieut	8.5.16	WA	Dunedin	Perth	38y5m	11 Bn	KIA	Jewish	
MOSS	Henry	7768	Pte	7.1.18	NSW	Spitalfield	Surry Hills	39y6m	35 Bn	12.2.19	Jewish	
MOSS	Nathaniel	13667	Sapper	23.4.17	WA	Bugeidiora NSW	Hay St Perth	49y	Tunnelers	15.11.17	Jewish	
MYERS	Henry Mark	58605	Gunner	16.5.18	NSW	Adelaide	Kensington	22y4m	AFA - 55 Bn	28.2.20	Hebrew	
MYERS	Henry Mark	S12251/3 744	Pte	26.6.17	NSW	Adelaide	Kensington	21y6m	Under Regulation	25.9.17	Hebrew	

Appendix I continued

SURNAME	FIRST NAMES	NUMBER	RANK	ENLISTMENT	STATE	WHERE BORN	RESIDING	AGE AT ENLISTMENT	UNIT	DISCHARGE	RELIGION	HONOURS
MYERS	Henry Mark	N73214	Pte	19.4.17	NSW	Adelaide	Kensington	21y4m	Inefficient	15.6.17	Hebrew	
MYER	Nahum	28342	Lieut	8.6.16	Vic	Smolensk	Bourke St	19y2m	2 FAB	19.3.20	Jewish	
MYERS	Isaiah Myer	1148	Pte	1o.4.17	Vic	Adelaide	Nth Fitzroy	19y11m	5 Mob Vet	13.9.19	Jewish	
MYERS	Harry Malden	54549	Gunner	16.2.18	NSW	Waggett	Manly	19y2m	12 Army Bde AFA	10.9.19	Jewish	
MYERS	Isaiah Myer		Recruit	3.7.15	Vic	Adelaide	Nth Fitzroy	18y3m	Depot mu	30.11.15	Jewish faith	
MYERS	Ralph	96	Cpl	8.4.16	Vic	Fitzroy		24y5m	10 MG Coy	18.1.18	Hebrew	
MYERS	Mark	3848	Pte	15.8.15	NSW	Surry Hills		23y1m	4 Bn	KIA	Jewish	
MYERS	Lewis	3157	Pte	4.8.15	Qld	Brisbane		20y6m	25 Bn Aust Base Recn Camp	2.1.20	Jewish	
MYERS	Lewis	2387	Pte	3.3.16	NSW	Surry Hills	Coogee	22y7m	1 Bn Pioneers	20.3.18	Hebrew	
MYERS	Joseph Lazarus	6519	ER2 Cpl	26.4.16	NSW	Sydney		18y5m	4 Bn	3.4.20	Hebrew	
MYSLIS	Moss	1044	ER 2 Cpl	15.1.17	WA	Sorrento	Perth	25y1m	Railway Corps AA Pay	7.8.20	Hebrew	
MYSLIS	Henry Samuel	902	Pte	17.8.14	WA	Sorrento	Perth	21y3m	AASCArztac Provost	13.3.19	Jewish	
NATHAN	Lewis	18323	Pte	5.10.15	NSW	Sydney	Woollahra	24y1m	AMC	14.5.17	Hebrew	
NATHAN	Harold	3325	Pte	31.7.15	NSW	Melbourne	Elizabeth St M	25y11m	18 Bn mu	13.8.16	Jewish	
NATHAN	George Aaron	3410	Pte	1.7.15	NSW	Melbourne	Moore Pk Rd	20y10m	4 Bn mu	15.9.16	Jewish	
NATHAN	Edward	2829	Pte	2.11.16	NSW	Surry Hills	Woollahra	28y1m	34Bn 2 Bn	30.11.19	Jewish	
NATHAN	Bertram	6553	S/Sgt	12.11.15	Vic	Port Melbourne	Albert Park	24y10m	4 FA AIF HQ	24.3.20	Jewish	
NATHAN	Arthur Joseph	33159	A/Bomdier	31.10.16	Vic	Sydney	St Kilda	24y2m	2 FAB/1 DAC mu	29.6.19	Jewish	
NATHAN	Alfred	4909	Pte	1.3.16	Vic	London	Melbourne	21y4m	8 Bn/60 Bn	KIA	Jewish/Hebrew	
NATHAN	Louis Percy		Hon.Captain	12.6.15	Vic	Melbourne	Windsor	35y2m	22 Bn	26.4.20	Jewish	
NATHAN	Richard	2368	Pte	6.4.16	NSW	London	Glen Innes	25y5m	33 Bn	9.11.19	Jewish	
NARR	Richard	13851	Pte	14.9.15	NSW	London	Sydney	28y7m	11 Fd Amb	13.11.19	Jewish	
NAPTHALI	Walter	12213	L/Sgt	27.9.15	SA	Dunedin	Carlton V	30y	5 FAB	4.7.18	Hebrew	

Appendix I continued

SURNAME	FIRST NAMES	NUMBER	RANK	ENLISTMENT	STATE	WHERE BORN	RESIDING	AGE AT ENLISTMENT	UNIT	DISCHARGE	RELIGION	HONOURS
NABLE	Harry	7768	Pte	19.2.17	NSW	Nth Carlton	Dulwich Hill	32y2m	1 Bn	7.12.18	Jewish	
NELSON	Clarence Leslie	250	QM & Hon Capt	16.7.15	NSW	Cobborah	Leichhardt	33y7m	30 Bn5 Div Base Depot	3.6.20	Hebrew	
NELSON	Arthur Percy	112	V Sgt	27.10.14	NSW	Sydney	Glebe Rd	34y11m	1 Vet Sec	23.1.19	Jewish	
NELKEN	Ferdinand Adrian	6322	Pte	23.3.16	Vic	Sydney	Collins St	18y3m	7 Bn mu	21.6.18	Jewish	
NIMEANSKI	Coleman Frederick	9406	Pte	1.10.15	NSW	London	William St Syd	21y8m	21 ASC	25.8.19	Jewish	
NIMEANSKI	Martin	11266	Pte	19.1.16	NSW	London	William St Syd	26y	ASC Train13 DUS	22.12.19	Jewish	
NEUSTADT	Julius Leonard	1142	Sgt	6.5.15	Vic	Woollahra	St Kilda Road	24y9m	23 Bn HQAIF Cairo	31.12.17	Jewish	
NETTER	Henry	725	Pte	12.2.16	SA	Adelaide	College Park	31y6m	43 Bn	25.5.19	Jewish	
NYMAN	Soloman	5400	Pte	25.2.16	Vic	Fitzroy	Carlton	35y6m	24 Bn	30.4.19	Jewish	
NYMAN	Abraham	7021	Pte	1.11.16	NSW	Fitzroy	Newtown	26y3m	2 Bn	KIA	Jewish	
NYMAN	Abraham	297	Pte	27.1.15	NSW	Fitzroy	Newtown	24y7m	2 Bn	15.7.16	Jew	
NYEMAN	George	3104	Pte	13.7.15	Vic	Fitzroy	Newtown	33y9m	4 Pioneer	27.2.18	Hebrew	
NYEMAN	Charles	3882	Pte	9.7.15	Vic	Fitzroy		26y4m	8 Bn	Miss KIA	Jewish	
OPITZ	Horace	11881	Gunner	13.7.15	Vic	Carlton V	Nth Melbourne	19y3m	FAB	10.8.18	Jewish	
ORNSTEIN	Phineas Samuel		Hon. Captain	1.5.16	Vic	Camberwell	E St Kilda	32y10m	39 Bn	4.4.18	Jewish	
ORMISTON	Gerald	7106	Bombard	12.7.15	Vic	Brixton	St Kilda	19y4m	6 Army FABAC	28.3.19	Jew	
ORMISTON	Clifton	782	Cpl	21.12.15	Tas	London	St Kilda	21y2m	39 Bn	26.2.19	Jew	
ORBUCK	Louis	1650	Lieut	2.2.16	Vic	Carlton V	Swanston St	21y	37 Bn	8.8.19	Jewish	
OVERMAN	Edward	6090	Pte	6.3.16	WA	Ballarat	Perth	23y9m	11 Bn	16.7.17	Jewish	
PARKER	Benjamin Abraham	161	Pte	12.8.14	NSW	Sydney	Annandale	27y	ANMEF	4.3.15	Hebrew	
PARKER	Benjamin Abraham	86354	Pte	9.9.19	NSW	Sydney	Surry Hills	35y1m	Special Service	6.4.20	Hebrew	
PARKER	Benjamin Abraham	2179	Pte	23.5.16	NSW	Sydney	Surry Hills	31y	56 Bn	7.10.18	Hebrew	
PARKER	Benjamin Abraham	377	Pte	4.11.18	NSW	Surry Hills		34y2m	ASC (not for O/S)	4.7.19	Hebrew	

Appendix I continued

SURNAME	FIRST NAMES	NUMBER	RANK	ENLISTMENT	STATE	WHERE BORN	RESIDING	AGE AT ENLISTMENT	UNIT	DISCHARGE	RELIGION	HONOURS
PAYTON	Frank	4200	Pte	29.12.15	WA	Riga R	Geraldton	23y3m	28 Bn	10.4.19	Jewish	
PERLSTEIN	Edward Philip	69091	Pte	10.4.18	Vic	Coogardie	Fitzroy	19y6m	Special Service	24.12.18	Jewish	
PERLSTEIN	Angelo	6803	Bombard	26.7.15	Vic	Melbourne	Elwood	25y11m	4 FA B	16.5.18	Jew	
PHILLIPS	Arthur Herbert	6858	Pte	14.5.17	NSW	Dubbo	Rose Bay	23y	17 Bn	15.5.19	Hebrew	
PESMANY	Thomas	12041	Pte	16.8.15	NSW	Warsaw	Sydney	21y	9 Fd Amb	10.2.20	Jewish	
PHILLIPS	Clive	3227	Pte	4.12.16	Vic	Warracknabeal	Collins St	24y9m	AMC Details	27.3.19	Jewish	
PHILLIPS	Elias Adrian		Lieut	23.12.16	NSW	East Sydney	Darlinghurst	25y7m	AFC 34 Bn	15.1.20	Jewish	
PHILLIPS	John Alfred	927	Lieut	24.2.15	Vic	St Kilda	Windsor V	19y8m	23 Bn 7 Fd Amb	20.9.19	Jewish	MID
PHILLIPS	Jacob Nathan	91907	Pte	12.6.18	NSW	Sydney	Guildford	34y6m	GSR	31.12.18	Hebrew	
PHILLIPS	Fennel	2099	Sgt	8.10.14	Vic	Warracknabeal		32y	18 Depot U Supp	2.3.19	Hebrew	
PHILLIPS	Morris	3103	Sgt	18.8.15	NSW	Manly		19y4m	56 Bn	2.7.19	Jewish	DCM
PHILLIPS	Philip David	22561	2/Cpl	31.1.16	Vic	Armadale		18y10m	25 Howitzer/3 Sig	1.6.19	Hebrew	MM
PIRANI	Carl Simeon	218	Pte	3.9.14	WA	St Kilda		26y2m	16 Bn mu	30.10.15	Jewish	
PINTO	Reuben	4443	Pte	4.1.16	WA	Glasgow	Perth	21y7m	48 Bn	12.4.19	Jewish	
PINCUS	Frank Fabian	5427	Pte	16.12.14	Vic	Fitzroy		18y10m	AASC	21.10.15	Jew	
PINCUS	Frank Fabian	V50901	Pte	17.1.16	Vic	Fitzroy		19y10m	AMC	16.5.17	Jew	
PINCUS	Cecil	V18459	Pte	7.12.15	Vic	Fitzroy		24y8m	mu	12.2.16	Jew	
PIMENTEL	Morton Parker	15938	Pte	4.7.16	SA	Philadelphia	Adelaide	31y	AAMC	30.11.17	Jewish	
PHILLIPS	Walter	2898	Pte	31.5.15	NSW	Melbourne	Collingwood	44y1m	1 Bn	28.8.17	Jewish	
POLLOCK	Louis	4775	Pte	15.2.16	Vic	Bendigo	Collingwood	23y2m	21 Bn	30.5.18	Jew	
POLLOCK	Emanuel	2747	Pte	2.8.15	Vic	Windsor V	Fitzroy	20y2m	23 Bn	6.6.19	Jewish	
PLATKIN (PLATT)	Haim Samoilovich (Edward)	37448	Gunner	1.2.17	NSW	Rogatchev R	Sydney	39y7m	FAB	29.5.18	Jewish	
PIZER	Edward	5433	Pte	7.2.16	Vic	London	Geelong	21y	14 Bn	KIA	Hebrew	

Appendix I continued

SURNAME	FIRST NAMES	NUMBER	RANK	ENLISTMENT	STATE	WHERE BORN	RESIDING	AGE AT ENLISTMENT	UNIT	DISCHARGE	RELIGION	HONOURS
PROOSOV (PRUSS)	Isaac	705	2 a m	6.9.16	NSW	Viebsk R	Paddington	31y	68 AFC	16.5.19	Jewish	
RAPHAEL	Fredrick Felix John	1590	Pte	10.5.15	Vic	Melbourne	East Brunswick	22y	21 Bn	KIA	Jew	
RABINOVITCH	Eliezer Hurst	17708	Pte	25.10.16	SA	Sydney	Pt Adelaide	20y4m	AMC 9 Fd Amb	D o W	Hebrew	
RABINOVITCH	Bezelle	1798	Pte	4.1.15	Vic	Sydney	Balaclava	18y	8 Bn 59 Bn	KIA	Jew	
PYKE	Goodman Joel	336A	Lieut	24.8.14	NSW	Paddington		24y	3 Div Train	7.3.19	Syn	
REDAPPLE	Coppell	V18522	Pte	24.1.16	Vic	Nth Carlton	Nth Fitzroy	24y9m	mu	24.3.16	Jew	
RAPPEPORT	Samuel	2659	Pte	25.3.16	Vic	Nicapor R	Sydney	26y10m	43 bn	7.3.19	Jewish	
RAPPEPORT	Joshua	Q16513	Pte	29.12.16	Qld	Sydney	East Brisbane	21y9m	MG Coy	28.3.17	Jewish	
RAPKE	David	7571	Artificer	24.1.16	Vic	Collingwood	Windsor V	23y7m	AMTS	12.10.19	Hebrew	
RICHARDS	Clifford Sydney	18530	Cpl	20.10.15	NSW	Narrandera	Bondi	20y1m	5 FAB	KIA	Jewish	
ROSEMAN	Sydney	21128	Spr	18.7.17	Vic	Sydney	St Kilda	18y	Div Sig Coy mu	9.3.18	Jewish	
ROSEMAN	Abraham	1328	Pte	28.2.16	Vic	Collingwood	St Kilda	21y6m	37 Bn	30.4.19	Hebrew	
ROSEBERG	Maurice	7541	Sapper	7.5.17	NSW	Manchester	Marrickville	21y3m	Electrcal & Mechan	17.12.19	Jewish	
ROMAIN	Hyam Anidjar	6893	T/CSM	14.3.17	Vic	London	South Yarra	23y10m	24 Bn	13.2.19	Hebrew	
ROSENBERG	Julius Myer	4737	Pte	7.1.16	WA	Adelaide	Kalgoorlie	21y9m	2 Pioneer	30.8.19	Jewish	MM
ROSENBERG	Adolph	2431	Driver	18.9.14	Qld	Valley		19y6m	10 ASC ASC Details 5 Div Train	2.5.19	Jewish	
ROSENBAUM	Dudley	3446	ER Cpl	18.6.16	Vic	Surrey Hills	East St Kilda	18y2m	58 Bn	10.6.20	Jewish	
ROSEN	Morris Louis	20104	Gunner	11.1.16	WA	Mt Lawley		21y10m	8 FAB	1.4.20	Jewish	
ROSENBERG	Mark	1678	Tpr	17.4.15	NSW	Broken Hill		24y2m	7 LH	KIA	Hebrew	
ROSENTHAL	Morris	7780	Pte	2.4.17	WA	London	Perth	37y11m	51 Bn	12.4.19	Jewish	
ROSENTHAL	Joseph	10385	Pte	25.1.16	WA	Carlton V	Perth	24y10m	2 Fld Amb	22.8.19	Jewish	
ROSENTHAL(L)	Jack Lewis	2047	Tpr	21.11.16	NSW	Newtown		34y4m	12 LH	6.10.19	Jewish	
ROSENTHALL	Arthur Kingston	50	Pte	15.9.14	NSW	Newtown		32y2m	1 LH FA	illness	Jewish	

Appendix I continued

SURNAME	FIRST NAMES	NUMBER	RANK	ENLISTMENT	STATE	WHERE BORN	RESIDING	AGE AT ENLISTMENT	UNIT	DISCHARGE	RELIGION	HONOURS
ROSENGARTEN	Leopold Jubille Gersham	9495	Lieut	16.9.15	SA	Malvern SA		18y3m	6 FA Bde	9.9.19	Jewish	
ROSENGARTEN	Leopold	10241	Pte	29.9.15	SA	Port Melbourne	Adelaide	25y	AMC - Shooobra	1.9.16	Jewish	
ROSENGARTEN	Arnold Leslie	10244	Pte	24.1.16	SA	Adelaide		21y7m	AMC - Shooobra	24.3.18	Hebrew	
ROSENWAX	Charles Henry	2236	Pte	7.1.16	NSW	Carlton V	Dubbo	28y4m	19 Bn	KIA	Jewish	
ROSENTHAL	Samuel		Lieut	20.7.15	Vic	Melbourne		33y8m	58 Bn	KIA	Jewish	
ROSENTHAL	Samuel	116	S/Sgt	12.1.15	WA	Hastings Eng	Perth	26y4m	11 Bn Pay Corp	5.7.20	Jewish	
ROTHBERG	Max	21859	Sapper	18.6.17	Vic	Bessarabia	Carlton	30y	Fld Coy Engineers	19.11.19	Jewish	
ROTHBERG	Harry	7370	L/Cpl	22.7.15	Vic	Nth Melbourne		23y7m	2 ACCS	22.8.19	Jewish	
ROTHBAUM	Harry Isaac	2442	Pte	31.7.15	WA	London	Westonia	29y	4 M G	8.2.20	Heb	
ROTH	Karl Chaskel	537A	Sgt Dispen	20.5.15	Vic	Deniliquin	Sth Yarra	44y11m	22Bn 4 Fd Amb	26.6.16	Jewish	
RUSCHIN	Leopold	1389	Pte	6.5.18	Vic	Carlton V		32y5m	N & ME Force	16.10.19	Jewish	
RUSCHIN	Leopold	1132	Pte	9.10.14	Vic	Carlton V		29y11m	14 Bn	17.4.16	Hebrew	
RUBINOWICH	Lewis Judah	18729	Pte	25.4.17	Vic	Ballarat	St Kilda	21y4m	AMC	15.5.19	Jewish	
RUBINOWICH	Hyman Samuel			24.1.18	NSW	Colac	St Kilda	24y	Unfit	30.1.18	Jewish	
RUBINOWICH	Hyman Samuel	2128	Pte	20.4.15	Vic	Colac	St Kilda	22y4m	8 Bn mu	5.7.15	Jewish	
ROTHSTEIN	Maurice	6388	Pte	5.3.15	WA	Buriad Roumania	Perth	21y7m	16 AASC	Deserted 16.3.15	Jew	
SABER	Kenneth Woolf	1406	ER 2 Cpl	9.10.14	Vic	Nth Adelaide	Toorak	22y6m	14 Bn	9.3.20	Jewish	
SABER	Kenneth Woolf	6479	Pte	22.11.16	Vic	Nth Adelaide	Toorak	24y8m	23 Bn	18.4.17	Jewish	
SACKLOVE	Barney	712	Pte	19.3.15	Vic	Vitebsk R	Melbourne	23y3m	24 Bn	29.6.19	Hebrew	
SABER	Alan Maurice	V80090	Pte	11.9.18	Vic	Adelaide	Toorak	20y10m	Recruit Depot	24.12.18	Hebrew	
SABER	Alan Maurice	5414	Pte	11.2.16	Vic	Nth Adelaide	Toorak	18y3m	21 Bn	3.11.17	Hebrew	
SACKS	Simon (Charles)	4341	Sapper	26.10.15	WA	London	Nth Perth	22y	13 Fd Coy	KIA	Jew	
SAUNDERS	Albert Barnett	147	Pte	17.8.14	Vic	Carlton V		23y8m	7 Bn	22.6.17	Jewish	

Appendix I continued

SURNAME	FIRST NAMES	NUMBER	RANK	ENLISTMENT	STATE	WHERE BORN	RESIDING	AGE AT ENLISTMENT	UNIT	DISCHARGE	RELIGION	HONOURS
SAUNDERS	Abe	6627	Pte	7.6.16	NSW	Birmingham	Haberfield	21y	17 Bn	9.8.19	Jewish	
SATINOVER	Jacob	2531	Cpl	15.5.15	WA	Newcastle	Perth	25y6m	16 Bn/48 Bn	9.9.19	Jewish	
SARFATY	Alfred	5022	Sapper	27.9.15	NSW	Clapton		31y8m	1 Fd Coy	4.7.17	Jew	
SAPHIR	Abraham	2450	Pte	20.3.15	WA	Leon Fr	Perth	34y	11 Bn	25.1.17	Jew	
SANDERS	Frederic Roy	7901	Pte	17.6.15	Vic	East Melbourne		28y6m	6 Fd Amb	20.7.19	Jewish	
SANDERS	Algernon Benjamin	7902	Pte	23.6.15	Vic	East Melbourne		30y10m	6 Fd Amb	1.7.19	Jewish	MM
SANDER	Cyril	2640	Cpl	10.4.16	NSW	Ashburton NZ	Neutral Bay	26y3m	33Bn/30 Bn	20.6.19	Hebrew	
SAMUELS	Louis	11408	Gnr/Lieut	29.9.15	NSW	Surry Hills		24y5m	1st Bde FA	15.11.19	Hebrew	MC
SAMUELS	Harry	12728	Pte	8.5.16	NSW	Sydney		25y1m	ASC	10.2.19	Jewish	
SAMUEL	Rudolph Meyer	19078	Pte	5.6.17	NSW	Auckland	Paddington	42y8m	AMC	10.4.18	Jewish	
SAMUEL	Edward	3911	Pte	6.7.15	Vic	Glasgow	Melbourne	27y9m	59 Bn	KIA	Jewish	
SAMUEL	Aubrey George	1132	Pte	24.8.14	NSW	Sydney	Bondi	22y	1 FA Bde Camel Corps/ASC	6.2.19	Jewish	
SAMINS	Abe	35587	Gnr	3.10.16	NSW	England	Randwick	21y1m	6 Fd Art	17.9.19	Jewish	
SALOM	Bertram Philip	2736	ER Sgt	24.7.16	SA	Glenelg	Black Forest SA	37y5m	Admin HQ	10.8.20	Jewish	
SALEK	Louis	3154	Pte	17.3.15	Vic	Wellington NZ	Melbourne	23y11m	4 Fld Coy Engineers/8 Sanitation Sec	2.12.18	Hebrew	
SAFFAR	Morris	132	Pte	20.3.16	WA	Voin R	Perth	32y7m	51 Bn	10.3.19	Jewish	
SAUNDERS	Samuel Archie	6831	Sgt	5.1.15	NSW	Nth Adelaide	Sydney	27y	ASC/14 MG Coy	DOW	Jewish	
SAUNDERS	Montifore David	2630	Pte	24.7.16	WA	Melbourne	Perth	34y10m	44 Bn	29.12.17	Jewish	
SAUNDERS	Harry	1005	Cpl	15.2.15	NSW	Birmingham	Woolahra	21y1m	17 Bn	16.4.19	Jewish	
SCHOENHEIMER	Rudolph Sydney	1662	Sgt	11.5.15	Old	Sth Brisbane		24y	2 ASH Conv Depot AMC	30.10.19	Jewish	
SCHNEIDER	Abraham	1185	Pte	22.9.14	NSW	(East) London	Sydney	19y2m	4 Bn	22.4.16	Hebrew	
SCHNEIDER	Abraham	N75482	Pte	6.3.17	NSW	East London	Sydney	21y6m	mu	7.3.17	Hebrew	

Appendix I continued

SURNAME	FIRST NAMES	NUMBER	RANK	ENLISTMENT	STATE	WHERE BORN	RESIDING	AGE AT ENLISTMENT	UNIT	DISCHARGE	RELIGION	HONOURS
SEELIGSON	Joseph Henry	4130	Pte	15.5.16	WA	Toowoomba	Cottesloe Bch	26y	32 Bn	16.10.18	Jewish	
SEELIGSON	Camillo Cyrus	2865	Pte	6.3.16	WA	Brisbane	Cottesloe Bch	22y1m	48 Bn	25.2.18	Jewish	
SCOTT	Henry Louis	33065	Gunner	1.4.16	NSW	West Sydney		25y6m	10 FAB	10.4.19	Jewish	
SELIG	Reginald Reuben	21295	Gunner	22.11.15	Qld	Newtown		26y2m	1 FA	23.12.19	Jewish	
SELIG	Oscar Moritz	3917	Pte	30.8.15	NSW	Dungog	Balmain	20y9m	13 Bn	21.3.19	Hebrew	MM
SELIG	Maurice	5665	Pte	22.11.15	NSW	Newtown		21y6m	19 Bn/3 BN	28.12.19	Hebrew	
SHAPPERE	Cyril Solomon		Lieut	7.9.15	NSW	Sydney		24y5m	3 Bn	DOW	Jewish	
SHAPIR	Reuben	1053	Pte	12.9.14	Vic	Korrunburra V		19y10m	8 Bn	20.10.14	Hebrew	
SHAPIR	Reuben	3925	Pte	6.7.15	Vic	Korrunburra V	Fitzroy	19y7m	21 Bn/24 Bn	17.1.20	Jewish	
SHARP	Samuel Sydney	19102	Sapper/Pte	20.7.17	NSW	London	Randwick	24y11m	Engineer Det/46 Bn	27.3.19	Jewish	
SHERMAN	Leslie	5108	Pte	1.2.16	NSW	Sydney	Woollahra	20y10m	33 Bn	KIA	Jew	
SHERICK	Joseph	6880	Pte	10.3.17	WA	London	Fremantle	22y	28 Bn	1.4.20	Jewish	
SHINBERG	Izzie	2139	Pte	8.7.15	Vic	Carlton V		23y6m	29 Bn/58 Bn	15.5.19	Jewish	
SHUTER	Samuel Charles	3646	L/Cpl	20.7.15	Vic	Fitzroy		28y4m	22 Bn/58Bn	3.8.17	Hebrew	
SHUTER	Samuel Charles	377	Pte	12.9.14	Vic	Melbourne		27y7m	14 Bn	13.10.14	Hebrew	
SHONTHALL	Isodore	7774	Pte	9.11.17	NSW	Sydney		22y10m	2 Bn	25.5.19	Hebrew	
SHMITH	Arthur Herman	16203	Driver	20.11.17	Vic	Sydney	St Kilda	18y2m	5 MT Coy	8.7.19	Jewish	
SILVERSTONE	Neville Rothschild	63914	Sapper	18.1.18	NSW	Parkes	Merrylands	18y2m	Wireless	31.12.18	Jewish	
SILVERSTONE	Francis	6248	Pte	26.7.15	NSW	London	Merrylands	44y	AMC Details	2.3.18	Israelite	
SILVERSTON	Lewis Israel		2/Lieut	2.12.15	WA	Dunedin	Perth	30y3m	28 Bn	16.7.17	Jewish	
SILVERMAN	Myer	1259	Pte	10.12.14	Vic	Fitzroy		23y6m	14 Bn	10.2.16	Hebrew	
SILVERMAN	Joseph	1994	Pte	12.4.16	WA	London	Perth	26y11m	AMC	DOW	Hebrew	
SILVERMAN	Abraham	2815	Pte	18.8.15	NSW	Radim Pol	Hurlstone Pk	22y1m	20 Bn	KIA	Jewish	

Appendix I continued

SURNAME	FIRST NAMES	NUMBER	RANK	ENLISTMENT	STATE	WHERE BORN	RESIDING	AGE AT ENLISTMENT	UNIT	DISCHARGE	RELIGION	HONOURS
SILVER	Harold Ivan	2881	Pte	11.11.16	NSW	Liverpool UK	Centennial Pk	21y2m	35 Bn	8.4.18	Jew	
SILBERTHAU	Henry	6311	Pte	20.3.16	NSW	Melbourne	Newtown	22y9m	1 Bn	3.9.18	Jewish	
SILBERTHAU	Rudolph Samuel	6312	Pte	3.3.16	NSW	Melbourne	Newtown	21y6m	1 Bn	KIA	Jew	
SIMMONS	Daniel Mendoza Brixton	N36470	Pte	8.7.16	NSW	Brixton	Sydney	31y8m	8 Bn	6.10.16	Jewish	
SIMMONS	Daniel Mendoza Brixton	3979	Pte	20.8.15	NSW	Brixton	Sydney	30y1m	3 Bn	17.1.16	Jewish	
SIMMONS	Daniel Mendoza Brixton	6152	Pte	10.10.16	HMAT Marathon	Brixton	Sydney	31y4m	26 Bn	20.12.17	Jew	
SIMMONS	Aubrey Mitchell	14015	Cpl	24.7.15	Vic	Ballarat		23y10m	Casualty Clearing	5.3.20	Jewish	
SIMMONS	Leon	50157	Pte	27.11.17	Vic	Whitechapel	Carlton	19y3m	22 Bn	4.3.19	Hebrew	
SIMMONS	Israel	4905	Pte	30.9.15	Vic	Adelaide	Carlton	19y	6 Bn/57 Bn	3.12.18	Jewish	
SIMONS	Samuel	566	Pte	7.9.14	NSW	Sydney		24y3m	13 Bn	4.3.16	Hebrew	
SIMONS	Samuel	86102	Pte	31.7.19	NSW	Sydney		29y1m	Special Escort	1.3.20	Jewish	
SIMON	Oscar	105	Pte	22.8.14	Qld	South Fitzroy	Brisbane	22y8m	9 Bn	DoW	Jewish	
SIMMONS	Victor Ephraim	12402	L/Cpl	6.9.15	Vic	Adelaide	Middle Park	27y5m	10 Fd Amb	19.9.19	Jewish	
SIMONSON	Paul William	2247	Captain	19.9.15	Vic	Brighton V	Auburn	19y9m	22 Bn	14.2.20	Jewish	MID OBE
SLOMAN	Louis	558	L/Cpl	9.9.14	NSW	London	Newtown	24y2m	18 Bn 45 Bn	4.3.19	Jewish	
SINGER	Samuel	1621	Pte	27.11.14	NSW	London	Surry Hills	21y1m	2 Bn	KIA	Jewish	
SINGER	Lewis	3432	Pte	7.9.15	NSW	London	Surry Hills	21y	3 Bn/2 Bn	9.7.19	Jew	
SOLNICK	Ernest Lawrence	1999	Pte	8.7.15	Vic	Burnley	Carlton	18y	23 Bn	KIA	Jewish	
SOLNICK	Alexander Isidor	50	Air Mechanic	30.6.15	Vic	Albert Park		22y4m	AFC	13.9.16	Jewish	
SOEFF	Samuel			8.1.15	NSW	Sanli R	Sydney	26y4m	Depot	16.1.15	Jewish	
SOEFF	Samuel	3450	Pte	22.12.16	NSW	Sanli R	Pitt St	28y	54 Bn	6.6.17	Jewish	
SOLOMON	Alfred Henry	34830	Cpl	10.11.16	NSW	Sydney		21y3m	FA	23.1.20	Jewish	

Appendix I continued

SURNAME	FIRST NAMES	NUMBER	RANK	ENLISTMENT	STATE	WHERE BORN	RESIDING	AGE AT ENLISTMENT	UNIT	DISCHARGE	RELIGION	HONOURS
SOLOMON	Albert Yuba	1096	Cpl	11.9.14	SA	Norwood	North Adelaide	19y	16 Bn	31.5.16	Jewish	
SOLOMON	Albert Yuba			7.8.16	SA	Adelaide		22y6m	Home Service	15.8.16	Jewish	
SOLOMON	A Y	2902	Cpl	6.12.16	SA	Adelaide		22y10m	6/43Bn	19.12.17	Jewish	
SOLOMON	Emanuel	11406	Gnr	6.10.15	NSW	Sydney		25y2m	1 FAB	9.9.18	Jewish	
SOLOMON	Harry Octavius	321	Pte	22.9.14	NSW	Paddington		32y9m	13 Bn	18.1.16	Hebrew	
SOLOMON	Harris Lewis		Pte	22.6.15	Vic	Sydney	Northcote	22y6m	5 Bn mu	29.10.15	Jewish	
SOLOMON	Harold Isaac		Lieut	21.10.15	Vic	Glennelg	Albert park	35y6m	25 Bn	8.9.19	Jewish	
SOLOMON	John	1411	L/Cpl	16.11.14	NSW	Sydney	Bondi	33y6m	13 Bn	KIA	Jewish	
SOLOMON	Melbourne	31183	Gnr	8.5.16	NSW	St Kilda	Sydney	35y4m	DAC	25.9.19	Jew	
SOLOMON	Lewis (Louis) Victor	214	L/Cpl	19.8.14	Vic	Norwood	Melbourne	19y	2 Fd Amb AMC	24.1.19	Jewish/Hebrew	
SOLOMON	Morton	1367	Pte	19.7.15	WA	Pittsburgh	Perth	21y8m	32Bn	KIA	Hebrew	
SOLOMON	Morris	1071	L/Cpl Driver	17.4.15	NSW	Carlton Vic	Newtown	21y3m	4 Div Signal	8.5.20	Hebrew	
SOLOMON	Sidney Norman	1267	Sgt	10.2.15	NSW	Sydney	Darlinghurst	24y7m	18 Bn	24.8.18	Hebrew	
SOLOMON	Sidney Gordon	6101	L/Cpl	25.4.16	SA	Nth Adelaide		29y11m	27 Bn	12.10.19	Jewish	
SOLOMON	Percy Montefiore	1004	Pte	25.2.15	NSW	Adelaide	Glebe	36y4m	17Bn mu	18.9.16	Jewish	
SOLOMON	Percy Montefiore	86206	Pte	8.8.19	NSW	Adelaide	Artamon	40y9m	Special Service	5.2.20	Jewish	
SPEAR	Ernest Emanuel	239	Pte	5.7.15/24.1.16	Vic	London	Melbourne	21y	1 Sqn AFC	22.7.20	Jewish	
SPANJER	Henry	418	WO1	22.8.14	Qld	London	Toowoomba	24y2m	Bn/Army Ordnance	9.8.21	Jew	
SIMONSEN	Martin	1419	Pte	7.11.14	Vic	St Kilda		35y11m	7 Bn 14 Bn	14.10.18	Jewish	
SOLTAN	William	1810a	Pte	26.4.15	NSW	Redfern	Paddington	18y10m	17 Bn2 Pioneer Bn	13.10.19	Hebrew	
SOLTAN	Harry	3947	Pte	25.7.15	NSW	Redfern		18y1m	2 Pioneer Bn	8.10.19	Jewish	
SOLOMONS	Solomon	976	CQMS	26.1.15	Vic	Wodonga	Richmond V	29y6m	21 Bn	16.11.18	Jew	MM
SOLOMONS	Maurice	3415	Pte	31.5.16	NSW	Surry Hills		18y1m	19 Bn	14.5.19	Jewish	

Appendix I continued

SURNAME	FIRST NAMES	NUMBER	RANK	ENLISTMENT	STATE	WHERE BORN	RESIDING	AGE AT ENLISTMENT	UNIT	DISCHARGE	RELIGION	HONOURS
SOLOMONS	Leslie Emanuel	20831	Spr	25.9.16	SA	Adelaide		22y9m	Canteens	24.9.19	Jewish	
SOLOMONS	Judah Henry	304	Sgt	19.8.14	NSW	Surry Hills		19y8m	4 Bn	16.10.18	Jewish	
SOLOMONS	Jack	N95261		11.10.18	NSW	Surry Hills	Randwick	18y2m	Depot	Consent refused	Jewish	
SOLOMON	Victor	15765	Driver	21.3.16	NSW	Moore Park		36y3m	Fd Coy Engineers	7.11.19	Hebrew	
SOLOMON	Sydney John	7101	Cpl	14.8.16	SA	London	Adelaide	49y3m	10 BN	20.6.17	Jewish	
SPRINGER	Simon	6884	Pte	23.5.17	NSW	Melbourne	Sydney	34y	19 Bn/35 Bn	Died as POW	Hebrew	
SPIEGEL	Jack	6566	Pte	5.8.16	Qld	London	Brisbane	22y1m	15 Bn	22.7.20	Hebrew	
STEINBERG	Isadore	2218	Pte	30.7.15	Qld	Perth	Queen St Brisbane	19y4m	9 Bn	KIA	Jewish	
STEIN	Peter	5107	Pte	24.9.17	Vic	London	Carlton	19y3m	29 Bn	21.2.19	Hebrew	MID
STEIGRAD	Max	7561	TempCSM	23.8.15	NSW	Jaffa	Summer Hill	23y 3m	ASC/Camel Transport Corps	9.5.18	Jewish	
STEENBOM	Harold Moses	53556	Pte	11.2.18	NSW	Sydney	Centennial Park	19y10m	AIF Depots	14.11.19	Jew	
STERN	Norman Nathan	W16882	Pte	7.10.18	WA	Lyon	Kalgoorlie	24y4m	Depot	24.12.18	Jewish	
STERN	Jacob	2255	Pte	20.3.15	WA	Jerusalem	Perth	26y2m	6 Bn	???	Jew	
STERN	Bernard	1848	2/Cpl	19.11.14	Vic	London	Melbourne	21y5m	8 ASC 12 FAB	1.8.20	Hebrew/Jew	MM
STEINBERG	Laurence Solomon	2887	Pte	16.10.16	WA	Sydney	Perth	24y8m	44 Bn	25.11.19	Hebrew	
SUSSMAN	Maurice	1240	Temp WO2	16.6.15	NSW	Taree		23y	6 ALH/3 FAB	3.8.19	Jewish	
SUSMAN	Harold Stainfeld		Lieut	14.3.16	Vic	Ballarat		31y3m	33 Bn	22.11.17	Jewish	
STERNHEIM	Alfred	2904	Pte	29.6.15	Vic	London	Melbourne	19y2m	57 Bn	29.10.18	Jewish	
STERNBERG	Simeon Herman	7903	Cpl	11.8.15	Vic	Latrobe Tas	Jerilderie	28y7m	6 Fd Art	2.8.19	Jewish	
STERNBERG	Simeon Herman	2040	WO2	28.2.21	VIC	Latrobe Tas	William St Melb	34y2m	N & MEF	9.5.21	Jewish	
STERNBERG	Oscar Joel		Lieut	8.2.16	Vic	Latrobe Tas	Melbourne	30y10m	3rd Tunneling	22.1.20	Hebrew	
SYMONS	Emanuel	2371	Pte	15.7.15	Vic	Richmond	Mildura	23y11m	22 Bn	KIA	Hebrew	

Appendix I continued

SURNAME	FIRST NAMES	NUMBER	RANK	ENLISTMENT	STATE	WHERE BORN	RESIDING	AGE AT ENLISTMENT	UNIT	DISCHARGE	RELIGION	HONOURS
SYMONDS	Lionel	N90479	Pte/Gnr/A Sgt	30.5.18	NSW	Surry Hills	Bondi	20y4m		Rejected	Hebrew	MM
THOMAS	Henry Lamert	2466		20.9.15	NSW	Orange	Toronto	18y	30Bn/2 FAB	17.8.19	Jewish	
TOPAL	Henry	591	A/Cpl	11.6.17	NSW	London	Ashfield	27y	AAMC -ANMEF		Jewish	
TRAGER	Samuel	74967	Pte	3.11.15/	NSW	Nicoleev R	Kelvingrove Qld	21y1m/	Camel Corps	5.12.15/	Jew	
TORTSAN	Max	3957/6127	Pte	26.8.15/ 17.5.16	NSW	Capetown	Sydney	19y10m/ 20y2m	2ndBn/ 1st Bn	29.12.15/ 27.11.19	Jewish	
TURNER	Joseph Alexander	3894A	Pte	26.8.15	WA	Singapore	Perth	20y1m	11 Bn	4.1.20	Jew	
TRIGGER	Samuel	909	Driver	17.8.14	WA	Manchester	Perth	35y2m	4 AASC	21.12.17	Jewish	
TREWEEKE	Lewis Cohen Hosking	853	Gnr	28.10.16	NSW	Sydney		22y	36 AHArt	28.5.19	Jewish	
TRENN	Lionel Harold	3317	Tpr	18.4.17	NSW	Sydney		18y3m	1st LH	24.5.19	Jewish	
VISBORD	Jacob	2109	Pte	12.6.15	VIC	Melbourne	St Kilda	30y5m	24 Bn	25.8.17	Jewish	
VICTORSEN	Talbot George	41	MT Driver	5.12.14	SA	Clare		28y11m	1 MT Coy	18.4.19	Jewish	
VICTORSEN	Louis Charles	3641	Pte	4.11.16	SA	Clare		35y9m	6 Pioneer	6.10.19	Jewish	
VICTORSEN	Ernest Max	5457	Pte/Driver	6.4.15	NSW	Sydney		28y7m	1st LH FA/5 Fd Amb	1.3.19	Jewish	
VICTORSEN	Ernest Max	552	Pte	11.8.14	NSW	Mosman	Mosman	28y	C Coy ANMEF	18.1.15	Jewish	
VICTORSEN	Albert Joseph	85	Sapper/ Driver	21.8.14	SA	Clare		32y	3d Fd Coy	2.10.16	Jewish	
VERNON	Michael Hyams	53826	Pte/ MTDriver	11.4.18	NSW	London	Nimmitabel	31y6m	13 Bn/MT	1.11.19	Hebrew	
VAN-GELDER	Sidney Joseph	3961	Pte	7.5.15	NSW	London	Sydney	25y10m	2nd Bn	14.6.17	Jewish	
VAN - EMDEN	Jacob	6897	Pte	7.5.17	NSW	Hilversum	Sydney	30y	19th Bn	30.5.19	Jewish	
VAN DER VELDE	Benjamin	3244	Pte	6.9.15	WA	London	Perth	19y	11 Bn/Postal Corps	1.5.18	Jew	
VANDENBERG	Joachim	5467	Pte	21.1.16	NSW	Barnawatha	Sydney	42y10m	4Bn	1.12.17 1.4.20 (Desertion)	Jewish	
WACHMAN	Simon Daniel	826	Pte	10.2.16	WA	Dublin	Perth	24y	44 Bn		Jewish	

Appendix I continued

SURNAME	FIRST NAMES	NUMBER	RANK	ENLISTMENT	STATE	WHERE BORN	RESIDING	AGE AT ENLISTMENT	UNIT	DISCHARGE	RELIGION	HONOURS
WACHMAN	Robert	4451	Cpl	25.11.15	WA	Dublin	Perth	21y8m	16 Bn/48 Bn	KIA	Jewish	
WACHMAN		6653/ 86781	Sgt/Pte	28.2.18/ 2.3.18	NSW	Dublin	Bega	27y3m	21 GSR	17.1.19	Jewish	MM
WALTERS	Philip	6763	Sgt	5.3.17	WA	Petrograd	Perth	22y5m	28 Bn	16.9.19	Jewish	
WALTERS	Jack	1066	Sgt	21.6.15	WA	London	Menzies	15y8m	32 Bn	6.5.20	Hebrew	
WALTERS (ROSWALSKI)	Isidore	6835	Pte	17.7.16	WA	Lozon R	Perth	23y6m	11 Bn	15.8.19	Jewish	
WAXMAN	Samuel	5905	Pte	7.8.16	Vic	Warsaw	Carlton	20y	24Bn	16.10.19	Jewish	
WAXMAN	Ernest Cecil	4250	L/Cpl	4.10.15	Vic	Melbourne	Brunswick	23y11m	21 Bn	16.12.19	Jewish	MM
WAXMAN	Clive Raymond	3969	Sgt	30.6.15	Vic	Melbourne	Queen St	18y	22 Bn	14.11.19	Jewish	
WATCHMAN	Nathan	1881	Pte	29.1.15	Vic	Naveran R	Geelong	31y11m	6 Bn	17.3.16	Jewish	
WATCHMAN	Nathan	[5146]	Pte	28.9.14	Vic	Naveran R	Geelong	32y7m	5 Lt H - Depot	1.11.14	Jewish	
WERTHEIM	Jacob	3491	Pte	21.12.16	NSW	London	Melbourne	21y2m	56Bn	21.9.18	Jew	
WEISS	Israel	3730	Pte	26.6.16	WA	London	West Perth	36y2m	51Bn	27.1.20	Jewish	
WEISS	Joseph	7091	Pte	3.10.16	WA	London	Kalgoorlie	39y6m	16Bn	5.11.18	Jewish	
WEISBERG (WHITEHILL)	Thane	2134	QMS	19.8.14	SA	London	Adelaide	23y7m	3Bde Amm	9.9.19	Jew	
WEINRABE	Lewis Byron	2494	Pte	6.5.15	NSW	Sydney		21y	3Bn/55Bn	2.7.19	Hebrew	
WEINGOTT	Samuel	127	Pte	24.8.14	NSW	Sydney		21y 4m	1 Bn	DOW	Hebrew	
WEINGOTT	Barron	7741	Driver	1.2.16	NSW	Sydney		21y1m	1st Fld Coy Eng	6.10.19	Hebrew	
WEINGOTT	Alexander	695	Pte	7.9.14	NSW	Sydney		25y5m	13 Bn	DOW	Jew	
WEINGOTT	Abraham	389	Bobardier/ Sgt	24.8.14	NSW	Sydney		20y	3 Battery AFA/AEC	23.1.19	Jew	
WEINER	Samuel	4517	Pte	7.7.15	Vic	London	Abbotsford	21y2m	23 Bn	16.11.17	Jewish	
WEINBERG	Ralph	11129	Gnr	16.8.15	Vic	London	Melbourne	24y	3Bde AFA	23.3.19	Jewish	
WHITE	Morris	545	Pte/Driver/ Pte	5.3.15	WA	London	East Perth	25y2m	28Bn/51Bn	KIA	Jewish	

Appendix I continued

SURNAME	FIRST NAMES	NUMBER	RANK	ENLISTMENT	STATE	WHERE BORN	RESIDING	AGE AT ENLISTMENT	UNIT	DISCHARGE	RELIGION	HONOURS
WOLFF	Harry	2898	Sgt	22.6.15	Vic	London	Carlton V	23y6m	Aust Provost Corps	5.11.19	Jewish	
WOLFSON	Heyman	221	Pte	9.8.15	SA	Koona R	Adelaide	29y2m	32 Bn	8.9.19	Hebrew	
WOLFSON	Jacob	53832	Pte/Gnr	15.1.18	NSW	Mogilef R	Sydney	26y9m	4 DAC	10.9.19	Jewish	
WITTNER	Hyman	3963	A/Cpl	14.7.15	Vic	Deloni Romania	Templestowe	21y5m	22Bn	KIA	Jew	
WITTNER	Maurice Bertram	55012	Pte	27.8.17	Vic	Melbourne	St Kilda	19y6m	59Bn	17.11.19	Jewish	
WISHMAN	David	58912	Pte	22.5.18	NSW	Shadova R	Sydney	22y10m	18Bn/24Bn	14.11.19	Jewish	
WOOD	Gus Raymond	64901	ER Cpl ? Pte	31.5.18	SA	Adelaide	Nth Unley	20y2m	Aust HQ Egypt 2 LH Bde HQ	16.9.18	Hebrew	MM
WOOLFE	Hyman Ellman	300	Pte/Driver	16.3.15	Vic	Camperdown V	Nth Wonthaggi	20y6m	59Br/5 F A Bde	29.6.19	Hebrew	
WOOLF	Sidney	7337	Pte	17.1.17	Vic	London	Carlton V	44y4m	14 Bn mu	21.12.17	Jewish	MID
WOOLMAN	Simon	138	Pte	7.3.16	NSW	Kleczew	Darlinghurst	34y8m	9 MG Coy	14.7.17	Jewish	
YAKO	Benjamin	6303	Pte	22.7.16	NSW	Birmingham	Paddington	21y9m	20Bn	27.11.18	Jew	
YOUNG	Louis	3345	Pte	6.7.15	NSW	Liverpool UK	Melbourne	25y1m	59Bn	24.5.18	Jewish	
ZANDER,	Waldo Hyman	805	Captain	23.5.15	NSW	Brisbane	Neutral Bay	22y6m	30 Bn	14.9.19	Jewish	

N.B. This list includes some who did not serve overseas, and were not accepted into the AIF. But they were included by Harold Boas in his record.

Appendix II
In Memoriam – Our Dead Anzcas

SURNAME	FIRST NAMES	NUMBER	RANK	AGE AT ENLISTMENT	HOW DIED	DATE	AGE AT DEATH	BURIAL/MEMORIAL	WHERE DIED	DECORATIONS
AARONS	John Fullarton	2868	Pte	34y7m	DoW	11.7.17	35y	Trois Arbres Steenwerck Military Cem	Belgium	
AARONS	Maurice Louis	2281	Pte	34y	KIA	8.8.15	28y	Lone Pine Memorial	Gallipoli	
ABELSON	Coleman	2026	Pte	28y10m	KIA	31.1.17	29y	Cite Bonjean Mil Cem Armentieres	Nr Armentieres	
ADES	Simon Albert	3168	Lieut	26y8m	KIA	22.8.18	28y	Point80 French Mil Cem	France	
ANSELL	Herbert Abraham		2/Lieut	36y9m	KIA	23.10.16	38y	AIF Burial Gnd Grass Lane Cem	Ligny-Thillooy, Somme	
ASHER	Samuel	2149	Pte	21y9m	KIA	11.7.17	23y	Menin Gate Memorial	Messines	
BARNES (BARNES)	David	1748	A/Sgt	24y	D o W	6.6.17	26y	Bailleul Communal Cem Ext	France	
BARNARD	Sydney Harry	6762	Pte	36y7m	KIA	3.5.18	38y	Villers-Bretonneux Memorial	France	
BEAVER	Wilfred Norman		Lieut	33y	DOW	26.9.17	35y	Liesenthoek Cem	Polygon Wood, Belgium	
BENJAMIN	Albert Lewis	822	Pte	33y1m	KIA	29.7.16	34y	Villers-Bretonneux Memorial	Pozieres	
BENJAMIN	Stanley Octavius	3959	Bombardier	34y7m	D o W	23.11.16	36y	Datzig Alley British Cem	Montauban Fr	
BLAUBAUM (Bowden)	Eric	NZ 8/3495	Pte		KIA	3.6.16	30y	Cite Bonjean Mil Cem Armentieres		
BLOCH	Felix Louis	34944	Captain	19y1m	KIA	17.8.18	20y	Heath Cem	Pozieres	
BLASHKI	Roy Hector		Gnr	21y4m	KIA	3.8.17	23y	Vlamertinghe New Cem	Menin Road	MID
BISHOP	Samuel	1117	Pte	22y	D o W	28.8.18	26y	Dacours Communal Cem	Gallipoli	
BLOOM	Julius Sydney	1817	Sapper	23y8m	KIA	5.11.15	24y	Shrapnel Valley Cem	Gallipoli	
BRODZIAK	Cedric Errol Meyer		Major	24y9m	KIA	31.8.18	27y	Peronne Communal Cem Ext	Somme	DSO MID
BRAUN	Charles Lima		Captain			19.6.17	53y	Nasirabad Gov Cem India	Kirkee India	
BREITMAN	George	4965	Pte	19y	Dol	19.4.19	23y	Willesden Jewish Cem	Tidworth	MM
CAMP (McCARTHY)	Harry (Florance)	18848	Driver	32y8m	Disease	10.6.18	35y	Souvenir Cem Longnesse St Omer	France	
PURCELL-COHN	Rupert Raphael		Captain	27y	Dol	8.11.17	29y	Rookwood Jewish Cem	Rabaul	
COHEN	Alexander	6739	Pte	18y9m	DoW	26.9.17	19y	Ljsaenthoek Military Cem	France	
COHEN	Cecil Hope		Captain			18.11.18		Willesden Jewish Cem	England	

Appendix II continued

SURNAME	FIRST NAMES	NUMBER	RANK	AGE AT ENLISTMENT	HOW DIED	DATE	AGE AT DEATH	BURIAL/MEMORIAL	WHERE DIED	DECORATIONS
COHEN (Drummond)	Ernest Henry Melmotte	NZ 12/1048	Sgt		DoW	10.8.15		Embankment Pier Cem	Gallipoli	
COHEN	George	6300A	Pte	34y10m	DoW	22.9.17	35y	Ljajsenhoek Military Cem	Belgium	
COHEN	Joseph	1630	Pte	26y11m	K/A	26.9.17	28y	Menin Gate Memorial	Polygon Wood, Belgium	
COHEN	John	3500	L/Cpl	21y2m	K/A	4.3.17	22y	Warrencourt New British Cem	Bapaume	
COHEN	Sydney Israel	3378	Pte	27y4m	K/A	1.9.18	29y	Peronne Communal Cem	Peronne	
COHN (COHEN)	Charles (Soloman)	6476	Pte	21y2m	DoW	22.5.17	23y	Rouen St Sever Cem Extension	France	
CONROY (LEVENE)	David (Abraham David)	708	Pte	22y	K/A	23.7.15	20y	Mil Cem Shrapnel Valley	Gallipoli	
CULLEN	Ralph Neville	R I F	2/Lieut	26.7.15	K/A	6.12.15	22y	Dorian Memorial Greece	Kosturino Ridge	
DAVIS	Alexander	3823	Pte	25y4m	K/A	4.10.18	28y	Prospect Hill Brit Cem Gouy	France	MID
DAVIS	Emanuel Percival	774	Pte	27y2m	dow	18.7.15	28y	Buried at sea	Gallipoli	
DAVIS	Frank Lewis	79726	Cpl			10.11.18	21y	Wellington Karori Cem		
DEAS	Edward Dixon	1113	Pte	21y9m	K/A	15.5.17	23y	Villers-Bretonneux Memorial	France	
DURLACHER	Leslie	2363	Pte	19y6m	Disease	16.2.19	22y	Willesden Green Jewish Cem	England	
ETTINGOVE	Samuel	V74029	Gnr	21y1m	Died Accident	19.5.18	21y	Brighton Cem	Victoria	
FINK	Gordon	674	Pte	29y10m	K/A	2.5.15	30y	Lone Pine Cem	Gallipoli	
FINKLESTEIN	Harry	540	Pte	20y6m	K/A	5.8.16	21y	Villers-Bretonneux Memorial	Pozieres	
FRANKEL	Simie	2027	Cpl	23y1m	K/A	15.3.18	25y	Royal Berks Cem Ext	Belgium	
FREADMAN	Zavel Ephraim		2/Lieut	22y	Killed Accident	9.9.17	22y	Willesden Jewish Cem	England	
FREEDMAN	Abe	7244	Pte	25y1m	D o W	11.6.18	27y	Feulloy Communal Cem	France	
FROMER	Harry	1504	Pte	19y5m	K/A	1.9.18	22y	Villers-Bretonneux Memorial	Mont St Quentin	
GLUCK	Leopold Joel	42	Pte	32y2m	K/A	2.5.15	32y	Lone Pine Memorial	Gallipoli	
GOLDRING	Gordon	140	Pte	29y	K/A	8.8.15	30y	Lone Pine Memorial	Gallipoli	
GOLDWATER	Nathaniel Isaac	333	Cpl	20y2m	D o W	21.4.18	23y	Outtersteene Communal Cem Ext	Strazele	

Appendix II continued

SURNAME	FIRST NAMES	NUMBER	RANK	AGE AT ENLISTMENT	HOW DIED	DATE	AGE AT DEATH	BURIAL/MEMORIAL	WHERE DIED	DECORATIONS
GOLDSTEIN	Leon	1548	Pte	22y	DOI	24.6.19	27y	Rookwood Jewish Cem	NSW	
GOLDSTONE	Aaron	887	L/Sgt	23y7m	KIA	8.6.17	24y	Menin Gate Memorial	Messines	
GOODMAN	David Walter	4501	CSM	30y2m	DOI	27.3.19	34y	Rookwood Jewish Cem	NSW	
GUBBAY	Joseph Manasseh	2308	Pte	27y5m	KIA	8.6.17	28y	Menin Gate Memorial	Belgium	
GRIMISH	Barney Bernard	1748A/ 1761A	Cpl	21y3m	KIA	11.8.18	24y	Villers-Bretonneux Memorial	France	
GROUSE	Reginald Charles	1827	T/Sgt	26y3m	KIA	10.6.17	27y	Menin Gate Memorial	Belgium	
HARBERT	Gershun	2173	Pte	27y5m	Miss KIA	19.7.16	28y	VC Corner Australian Cemetery Memorial	Fromelles	
HANSMAN	Edgar Emanuel	883	2 Air Mech	24y4m	DOI	28.12.17	25y	At Sea	North Sea	
HANSMAN	Hyam Joseph	2578	Pte	27y3m	KIA	3.12.17	25y	Berks Cem Ext	Belgium	
HAINS	Morris	2150	Pte	21y5m	KIA	7-12.8.15	21y	Lone Pine Special Cem B	Gallipoli	
HALLENSTEIN	Dalbert Isaac Morris		Lieut	21y5m	KIA	2.9.18	25y	Peronne Com Cem	France	
HARRIS	Charles Montagu		Lieut		DoW	28.8.15	24y	Abbeville Communal Cemetery	France	
HARRIS	Herschel		Major	42y	DOI	(13.9.20)		Rookwood Jewish Cem	NSW	
HART	Aaron Hubert Cecil	1943	Sgt	22y9m	KIA	26.7.16	23y	Villers-Bretonneux Memorial	Pozieres	
HART	Henry	1354	L/Cpl	19y1m	Miss KIA	8.5.15	19y	Lone Pine Memorial	Helles. Gall	
HART	John	6465	Pte	18y	Appendicitis	20.4.19	22y	Mons British Cem	Belgium	
HART	Joseph	190	Pte	19y	KIA	20.7.16	20y	Ration Farm Military Cemetery, La Chapelle-D'Armentieres	Fleuxbaix	
HART	Leslie	267	L/Cpl	19y4m	DOW	4.5.15	20y	Beach Cemetery	Gallipoli	
HERMAN	Harold Ellis	1706	Pte	22y3m	DOW	20.11.15	22y	At sea	Gallipoli	
HERMAN	Maurice Phillip	4370	Pte	24y1m	KIA	9.8.18	25y	Heath Cem	France	
HOJEIN	Lauritz	268	Pte	30y2m	KIA	2.5.15	32y	Quinns Post Cem	Gallipoli	
HYAMS	William	5359	Pte	29y5m	KIA	4.10.17	30y	Buttes Cem Polygon Wood Zonnebeke	Belgium	

Appendix II continued

SURNAME	FIRST NAMES	NUMBER	RANK	AGE AT ENLISTMENT	HOW DIED	DATE	AGE AT DEATH	BURIAL/MEMORIAL	WHERE DIED	DECORATIONS
ILLFELD	Julius	5666	Pte	22y4m	KIA	2.3.17	23y	Warlencourt Brit Cem	France	
ISAACS (JACKSON)	Morris Myer (Charles Morris)	31011	Gnr	22y2m	KIA	2.7.18	22y	Querrieu Brit Cem	France	
ISAACS	William Woolf	4138	Sgt	21y	KIA	5.8.16	21y	Villers-Bretonneux Memorial	France	
ISRAEL	Alec	3076	Pte	23y10m	KIA	27.7.18	24y	Villers Bretonneux Mil Cem	Vaux	
JACKS	Abraham	3387	Pte	20y2m	KIA	26.9.17	22y	Menin Gate Memorial	Ypres	
JACOBS	Arthur Abraham (Adrien)	66	Sgt	22y2m	KIA	7.10.17	23y	Tyne Cot Mil Cem	Passchendaele	
JACOBS (KALAMASKI)	Henry	155	L/Cpl	34y	KIA	8.8.15	34y	Lone Pine Memorial	Gallipoli	
JACOBS	Louis William	1772	Pte	25y	D o W	3.12.15	22y	Ar Burnu Cem	Gallipoli	
JOEL	Sidney Isaac	1838	Pte	18y3m	KIA	7.6.17	19y	Ypres (Menin Gate) Memorial [Strand Military Cem]	Belgium	
JONAS	Benjamin	225	Cpl	43y9m	Died	12.5.19	46y	Willesden Jewish Cem	England	
JOSEPH	Joseph Davis DePass	1055	Pte	18y4m	KIA	20.7.16	19y	V.C. Corner Australian Cemetery Memorial Fromelles	Fleurbaix	
JOSEPH	Sydney Alfred	6522	Pte	23y3m	KIA	9.8.18	25y	Rosieres Communal Cem Ext	Lihons Bridge Fr	
JUDELL	Elias	213	QMS	23y6m	KIA	9.8.15	24y	Walkers Ridge	Gallipoli	
JUSTICE	Roy David	3537	Stoker	18y	Accident	5.3.16	21y	Queensferry Cem, Dalmeny	Scotland	
KLEIN	Joseph	2133	Pte	21y3m	KIA	20.9.17	23y	Menin Gate Memorial	Belgium	
KOTTON	Moisey	1235	Pte	23y10m	KIA	19.9.18	26y	Templeux le Guerard British Cem	France	
KOZMINSKY	Maurice Edward	4649	2/Lieut	30y4m	D o W	19.8.16	31y	Worley Bailieu Com Cem	Pozieres	
KRIESMAN	John Howard	4161	Pte	23y9m	KIA	29.7.16	24y	Villers-Bretonneux Memorial	France	
KRUG	David Valentine	978	Pte	23y11m	KIA	23.6.18	26y	Beacon British Mil Cem	Edingham	
KUNIN	Gregory	5043	Pte	21y9m	KIA	18.9.17	23y	Hooge Crater Cem	Belgium	
LANDSLER	Edwin Laurence	3336	pte	22y	KIA	19.7.16	23y	V.C. Corner Australian Cemetery Memorial Fromelles	Fromelles	
LASKER	Robert Sydney	9959	2 Cadet Lieut	12.8.17	KIA	20.5.18	22y	Aulnoye Communal Cemetery	France	
LAZARUS	Isaac	1578	Pte	21y11m	KIA or DoW	8.5.15	21y	Skew Bridge	Gallipoli	

Appendix II continued

SURNAME	FIRST NAMES	NUMBER	RANK	AGE AT ENLISTMENT	HOW DIED	DATE	AGE AT DEATH	BURIAL/MEMORIAL	WHERE DIED	DECORATIONS
LAZER	Lionel	7531	Pte	18y	KIA	11.8.18	19y	Heath Cem	France	
LAZER	Henry Joseph		Lieut	21y6m	KIA	24.3.17	23y	Cite Bonjean Mil Cem Armentieres	France	
LEBOVICH	Morris	7002	Pte	21y6m	DOW	5.5.18	23y	Caeatre Mil Cem	France	
LEE	David	1275	pte	24y	KIA	27.4.15	24y	Lone Pine Memorial	Gallipoli	
LENNEBERG	Frank Benjamin	7264	Pte	21y7m	Pneumonia	20.9.18	33y	Abbeville Communal Cem	France	
LESNIE [BERNARD]	Frank	1659A	Pte	20y5m	KIA	2.3.17	22y	Warlencourt British Cem	Warlencourt	
LEVI	Keith Maurice		Captain	24y3m	KIA	7.8.15	24y	12 Tree Copse Cem	Gallipoli	MID
LEVY	Albert	505	Sgt	20y8m	KIA	29.3.18	22y	Mericiourt L Abbe Cem	Somme	MM
LEVY	Coleman	25562	Pte	21y4m	D o W	15.5.18	23y	Dacours Communal Cem Ext	France	
LEVY	Elias	4812	Pte	28y9m	D o W	15.11.16	29y	Longueval Road Cem	France	
LEVY	Frank Sidney	114	L/Cpl	27y2m	KIA	19.4.17	30y	Jerusalem Memorial	Gaza	
LEVY	George Newman	7000	Pte	23y9m	KIA	8.10.17	24y	Ypres (Menin Gate) Memorial	Belgium	
LEVY	Harold (Harry)	7365	Pte	37y7m	KIA	21.9.17	39y	Ypres(Menin Gate) Memorial	Belgium	
LEVY	Harry Moss	3531	Pte	18y1m	DoW	19.5.16	18y	Estaires Communal Cemetery & Extension	France	
LEVY	Leon	2209	Pte	24y3m	KIA	29.9.18	25y	Villers-Bretonneux Memorial	France	
LEVY	Lionel Harold	2870	Pte	28y9m	KIA	19.7.16	28y	V.C. Corner Australian Cemetery Memorial Fromelles	Hazebrouck	
LEVY	Maitland Ben		Captain		KIA	12.4.18	25y1m	Ploegsteert Memorial	Belgium	MC
LEVY	Roy Leonard	15535	Pte	31y3m	D o W	8.3.18	33y	Outtersteene Communal Cem	France	
LIGGI (LEGGIE)	Reginald Rachamin	7	Sig Sgt	23y10m	D o W	18.1.17	23y	Kantara War Memorial Cemetery	Sinai	
LITTMANN	Solomon	2403	Pte	23y	D o W	18.5.18	26y	British Mil Cem Crouy	Somme	MM
LOEWE	Sigismund	4837	Pte	25y6m	D o W	9.7.18	28y	Crouy Cem	Hamel	
LYNES	Augustus	259	Pte	24y2m	D o W	30.8.15	24y	At Sea	Gallipoli	
LYONS	John	150	Pte	19y (17y)	KIA	19.5.15	19y	4 Bn Parade Ground Anzac	Gallipoli	

Appendix II continued

SURNAME	FIRST NAMES	NUMBER	RANK	AGE AT ENLISTMENT	HOW DIED	DATE	AGE AT DEATH	BURIAL/MEMORIAL	WHERE DIED	DECORATIONS
MARCUS	Reuben	732	Pte	37y3m	W & M	21.7.16	38y	Villers-Bretonneux Memorial	Flaurbaix	
MANDELZON	Harry	658	Pte	24y1m	KIA	29.7.16	25y	Villers-Bretonneux Memorial	France	
MARKS	Alfred George	658	L/Cpl	29y	D o W	14.8.15	30y	At Sea	Gallipoli	
MARKS	Maurice	7099	pte	18y4m	KIA	8.8.18	19y	Villers Bretonneux Memorial	France	
MARKS	Marcus Leslie	7888	Pte	26y5m	KIA	4.10.17	27y	Tyne Cot Cem Villers-Bretonneux	Passchendaele	
MARKS	Lionel	210	Cpl	23y	Miss-KIA	25.4.15	24Y	Lone Pine Memorial	Gallipoli	
MARKS	Lionel	413	L/Sgt	32y6m	KIA	3.5.15	33y	Lone Pine Memorial	Gallipoli	
MARZAN	William	2873	Pte	28y	KIA	14.10.17	29y	Ypres (Menin Gate) Memorial	Belgium	
MENDELSON	Berrol Lazar		Lieut	24y2m	KIA	20.7.16	25y	Fromelles (Pheasant Wood) Military Cemetery	Fromelles	
MEENDES	Alfred	3972	Pte	18y1m	KIA	5.4.18	20y	Villers Bretonneux Memorial	France	
MENSER	Leslie Maurice	2525	L/Cpl	27y	D o W	10.4.17	39y	Avelui Communal Cem	France	
MENDOZA	Howard Kingsley		Lieut	25y11m	KIA	11.6.17	28y	Ypres (Menin Gate) Memorial	Belgium	
MEYER	William Carl	5798	Pte	22y1m	KIA	21.9.17	24y	Tyne Cot Cem Passchendaele	Belgium	
MICHAELIS	Frank Moritz	31586	Gnr	24y2m	Meningitis	14.5.17	24y	Willesden Jewish Cem	England	
MICHAELIS	Grant		Lieut		DoW	23.9.15	20y	7th Field Ambulance Cemetery	Gallipoli	
MILLER	Joseph	3984	Sgt	34y	Miss KIA	26.8.16	33y	Villers Bretonneux Memorial	France	MID
MINOR	David	6051	Pte	22y	KIA	4.5.18	24y	Meteren Mil Cem	France	
MITCHELL	Alan David	1323	Pte	22y1m	DoW	5.5.15	23y	Jewish Cem Old Cairo	Gallipoli	
MOSES	Hamilton Leslie	497	Cpl	35y4m	KIA	31.7.17	40y	Ypres (Menin Gate) Memorial	Messines	
MOSS	Benjamin	2671	Pte	30y11m	DoW	20.8.17	32y	Trois Arbres Cemetery, Steenwerck	Trois Arbres	
MOSS	Edward Elias	1585	pte	44y	DoW	8.8.15	45y	At Sea - Lone Pine Memorial	Gallipoli	
MOSS	John		2/Lieut	38y5m	KIA	19.7.18	41y	Borre British Cem	France	
MOSS	Louis		Pte	19y9m	Died	1.10.15	19y	Brisbane General Cem	Qld	

Appendix II continued

SURNAME	FIRST NAMES	NUMBER	RANK	AGE AT ENLISTMENT	HOW DIED	DATE	AGE AT DEATH	BURIAL/MEMORIAL	WHERE DIED	DECORATIONS
MYERS	Mark	3848	Pte	23y1m	KIA	19.8.16	24y	Villers Bretonneux Memorial	Mouquet Farm, Pozieres	
MYERS	Sidney Myers		Pte		KIA	29.5.16	24y	Cite Bonjean Military Cemetery, Armentieres	France	
NATHAN	Alfred	4909	Pte	21y4m	KIA	20.3.17	22y	Leucquiere Communal Cemetery Extension	France	
NYEMAN	Charles	3882	Pte	26y4m	Miss KIA	18.8.16	27y	Villers Bretonneux Memorial	France	
NORMAN (MARKS)	Alfred	1303A	Sgt	25y6m	KIA	20.5.15	26y	4 Bn Pde Grnd	Gallipoli	
NYMAN	Abraham	7021	Pte	26y3m	KIA	11.9.18	28y	Jeancourt Communal Cemetery Extension	France	
OWEN	Frederick George	2832	Sapper	25y7m	KIA	16.1.17	26y	Delville Wood Cemetery Longueval	France	
PASVALSKY	Louis	4872	Pte	18y8m	KIA	3.9.16	19y	Villers Bretonneux Memorial	Mouquet Farm, Pozieres	
PHILLIPS	Samuel Isaac	2016/4959	Pte	27y6m	Nephritis	2.6.16	28y	Cairo War Memorial Cemetery	Egypt	
PIZER	Edward	5433	Pte	21y	KIA	28.9.17	22y	Duhalow ADS Cem	Belgium	
RABINOVITCH	Eliezer Hurst	17708	Pte	20y4m	D o W	31.8.18	22y	Suzanne Communal Cem	France	
RABINOVITCH	Bezelle	1798	Pte	18y	KIA	19.7.16	18y	V.C. Corner Australian Cemetery Memorial Fromelles		
RAPHAEL	Fredrick Felix John	1590	Pte	22y	KIA	15.11.16	23y	Villers Bretonneux Memorial	France	
RIBEIRO	Michael	1617	L/Cpl	24y7m	KIA	16.4.18	27y	Outersteene Communal Cemetery Extension, Bailleul	France	
RICHARDS	Clifford Sydney	18530	Cpl	20y1m	KIA	16.9.17	21y	Perth Cem, China Wall Zillebeke	Belgium	
ROBIN	David Kalmen	2002	Pte	31y10m	DoW	16.4.16	32y	Erquinghem-Lys Churchyard Extension	France	
ROLBIN	Harris	1613	Pte	24y	Disease	18.1.17	28y	Blakeley Jewish Cem, Manchester	England	
ROSENBERG	Mark	1678	Tpr	24y2m	KIA	5.8.16	25y	Kantara War Memorial Cemetery	Sinai	
ROSENFELDT(ROSE)	Aaron (John)	4449	Pte	21y8m	KIA	7.8.16	21y	Villers Bretonneux Memorial	France	
ROSENFELDT	Augustus Bernard Paul		L/Sgt	26y8m	KIA	8.5.15	27y	Twelve Tree Copse (New Zealand) Memorial	Gallipoli	
ROSENTHALL	Arthur Kingston	50	Pte	32y2m	Dol	29.5.15	33y	Chatby Jewish Cem, Alex	Egypt	
ROSENTHAL	Samuel		Lieut	33y8m	KIA	25.9.17	35y	Hooge Crater Cem	Belgium	

Appendix II continued

SURNAME	FIRST NAMES	NUMBER	RANK	AGE AT ENLISTMENT	HOW DIED	DATE	AGE AT DEATH	BURIAL/MEMORIAL	WHERE DIED	DECORATIONS
ROTH	Karl Chaskel	537A	Sgt Dispen	44y11m	Died	21.7.16 (Died)	46y	Fawkner Cem	Victoria	
SACKS	Simon (Charles)	4341	Sapper	22y	KIA	8.6.17	23y	Lindenhoek Chalet British Military Cemetery	Messines	
SAMUEL	Edward	3911	Pte	27y9m	KIA	19.7.16	28y	V.C. Corner Australian Cemetery Memorial Fromelles		
SAUNDERS	Samuel Archie	6831	Sgt	27y	DoW	14.8.16	28y	Boulogne Cem	France	
SHAPPERE	Cyril Solomon		Lieut	24y5m	DoW	29.12.16	25y	Bernafay Wood British Cemetery, Montauban	Flers	
SHERMAN	Godfrey John Thaman	206	Pte	24y6m	KIA	25.4.15	23y	Lone Pine Memorial	Gallipoli	
SHERMAN	Leslie	5108	Pte	20y10m	KIA	2.10.17	22y	Ypres (Menin Gate) Memorial	Belgium	
SILBERTHAU	Rudolph Samuel	6312	Pte	21y6m	KIA	2-5.10.17	23y	Ypres (Menin Gate) Memorial	Belgium	
SILVERMAN	Joseph	1994	Pte	26y11m	DoW	23.9.17	25y	Menin Road South Military Cem	Belgium	
SILVERMAN	Abraham	2815	Pte	22y1m	KIA	9.10.17	24y	Ypres (Menin Gate) Memorial	Belgium	
SIMON	Oscar	105	Pte	22y8m	DoW	6.5.15	23y	Jewish Cemetery Chatby (Alex)	Gallipoli	
SINGER	Samuel	1621	Pte	21y1m	KIA	25.7.16	23y	Villers Bretomieux Memorial	Pozieres	
SOLNICK	Ernest Lawrence	1999	Pte	18y	KIA	28.7.16	18y	Villers Bretomieux Memorial	Pozieres	
SOLOMON	Hubert Philip	11564	2/Lieut		KIA	20.10.17	34y	Gainsborough Gen Cemetery, Lincolnshire	England	
SOLOMON	John	1411	L/Cpl	33y6m	KIA	29.8.16	36y	Courcelette British Cemetery	Mouquet Farm Pozieres	
SOLOMON	Kenneth Maurice Halgren		2 Lieut		DoW	18.9.15	26y	Willesden Jewish Cem	Gallipoli	
SOLOMON	Morton	1367	Pte	21y8m	KIA	19.7.16	22y	V.C. Corner Australian Cemetery Memorial Fromelles	Fromelles	
SPRINGER	Simon	6884	Pte	34y	Died as POW	16.4.18	35y	Heath Military Cem Harbonnieres	France	
STEINBERG	Isadore	2218	Pte	19y4m	KIA	20.4.16	20y	Rue-Du-Bacquerot (13th London) Graveyard, Laventie	France	
SYMONS	Emanuel	2371	Pte	23y11m	KIA	4.10.17	25y	Perth China Wall Cemetery Zillebeke, Belgium		

Appendix II continued

SURNAME	FIRST NAMES	NUMBER	RANK	AGE AT ENLISTMENT	HOW DIED	DATE	AGE AT DEATH	BURIAL/MEMORIAL	WHERE DIED	DECORATIONS
WACHMAN	Robert	4451	Cpl	21y8m	KIA	11.4.17	23y	Villers Bretonneux Memorial	France	
WEINGOTT	Alexander	695	Pte	25y5m	DoW	2.5.15	26y	Chatby Cemetery Jewish Section Alexandria	Gallipoli	
WEINGOTT	Samuel	127	Pte	21y 4m	DoW	5.6.15	21y	H.S. Sicilia	Wounded at Gallipoli, died at sea	
WERTHEIM	Jacob	3491	Pte	21y2m	21.9.18	13.5.19	23y	Died Yaralla	NSW	
WHITE	Morris	545	Pte/Driver/ Pte	25y2m	KIA	25.4.18	28y	Villers Bretonneux Memorial	France	
WHITFIELD	Charles Stanley Kalman	1792	Sgt	23y	DoW	17.4.18	27y	Ebbingham British Graves Cemetery	France	MSM
WITTNER	Hymen	3963	A/Cpl	21y5m	KIA	21.2.17	23y	Villers Bretonneux Memorial	France	
WOODS	Louis	4585	Pte	27y	KIA	21.9.17	29y	Ypres(Menin Gate) Memorial	Belgium	

For Glossary of Discharge Abbreviations and Medal Abbreviations see Page 284

ABBREVIATIONS

DISCHARGE ABBREVIATIONS

DoW	died of wounds
KIA	killed in action
M KIA	missing killed in action
NR	no record
W&M	wounded and missing
mu	medically unfit

MEDAL ABBREVIATIONS

CMG	Cross of St. Michael and St. George
DCM	Distinguished Conduct Medal
DSO	Distinguished Service Order
MBE	Member of the British Empire
MC	Military Cross
MID	Mentioned in Despatches
MM	Military Medal
MSM	Military Service Medal

DECIDING TO STAY: DUNERA'S 'ALIEN DOCTORS' IN AUSTRALIA

Carol Bunyan and George M. Weisz

INTRODUCTION

From the late 1800s until World War Two, German and Austrian scientists and institutions were prominent in scientific research and advances in medicine. Among the eminent German or Austrian academics and scientists were Physiology and Medicine Nobel Prize laureates Paul Ehrlich (1908), Robert Bárány (1914), Otto Meyerhof (1922-shared), Otto Warburg (1931) and Otto Loewi (1936-shared).¹ Important discoveries having a huge impact on medicine included X-rays, for which the German scientist Wilhelm Röntgen was awarded the 1901 prize for Physics.² At the University of Vienna, Karl Landsteiner investigated human blood, resulting in his 1909 classification of blood types as A, B and O. For this and later work he received the 1930 prize for Physiology and Medicine.³ Amongst this list, Röntgen was the only scientist who was not Jewish, illustrating the prominence of Jews in science and medicine.

The professional life of Jewish academics, scientists, medical practitioners and students in Germany were restricted by Nazi laws beginning in April 1933.⁴ In the ensuing years these restrictions grew, culminating in de-registration for Jewish physicians. The 1938 Austrian *Anschluss* resulted in dismissal for over half of the medical instructors of the University of Vienna and 65 per cent of Viennese physicians.⁵

Many Nobel laureates, scientists and other eminent scholars escaped to the UK or USA where they were accepted by colleagues and authorities, and enriched British and American academic life. The physicians, medical graduates and students who also fled were not so fortunate. This paper examines the events surrounding a small number of mainly German and Austrian Jewish physicians and medical students deported to Australia in 1940. In particular, it looks at the experiences of those who elected to stay in Australia and the attitude of the Australian medical profession to 'alien doctors.'

UK AND AUSTRALIAN MEDICAL REGISTRATION POLICIES

In theory, as the underlying basis of medicine did not change, refugee physicians would have had the necessary skills to practise provided they had adequate language skills. Examinations would have exposed any shortfalls and these could have been overcome by practical work, courses or other training.

This did not happen in the UK and Australia with the latter essentially following registration practices of the former. The UK's reciprocal agreement with Italy meant their graduates could practise in either country, but no similar agreement existed with Germany or Austria.⁶ The Scottish 15 month refugee course opened the door for some but, in 1938, graduates could not practise in the UK.⁷

Support for restrictions to the registration of foreign physicians was common to almost all UK medical professional groups with some more hostile than others.⁸ The central reason was to protect income, and the increased numbers heightened resistance. In 1941, the UK's *Jewish Chronicle* reported the estimated number as 14,000 of all nationalities.⁹

Similar reactions occurred in Australia when a small number of refugee physicians began arriving in the late 1930s.¹⁰ Their arrival met resistance from the local branches of the British Medical Association (BMA), medical students, academic institutions and some politicians.¹¹ The *Medical Journal of Australia's* 1938 review of medicine stated:

We are concerned particularly with Jewish medical practitioners, graduates of foreign universities. Their plight is unfortunate: but, for the protection of the profession, and, indeed the people of Australia, they cannot be allowed immediate registration.¹²

Medical registration policies varied from state to state. NSW, for example, placed a cap of eight on the number of alien registrations that could be approved.¹³ The Adelaide, Queensland and Sydney universities' rules permitted the entry of 'alien doctors' in the fourth year of the normal six-year course, while Melbourne University made no concession.¹⁴

THE DUNERA AND INTERNMENT

In 1940 the UK interned large numbers of enemy aliens irrespective of whether they were refugees or not. Faced with providing for them, the British Government sought help from Canada and Australia. Winston Churchill was 'strongly in favour of removing all internees out of the United Kingdom.'¹⁵ Both countries agreed to accept enemy

alien internees and POWs deported from the UK and the first ship, carrying both internees and prisoners of war, sailed for Canada on 24 June 1940.¹⁶ A second ship, *Arandora Star*, was sunk on 2 July 1940 while en route, with the loss of over 800 people, most of them Italian, Austrian and German internees or POWs. Subsequently two more ships left for Canada.¹⁷ The next ship left on 10 July with 2546 primarily Austrian and German internees on board. Among them were 450 survivors of the *Arandora Star*, including 200 Italians. They thought their destination was Canada but later during the voyage they found that the *Dunera* was going to Australia.

The *Dunera* arrived in September 1940 with 2542¹⁸ internees on a ship with a capacity of 1600. Australia had agreed to intern them for the duration of the war, with the UK bearing the costs involved.¹⁹

Among those onboard were 35 qualified physicians,²⁰ eight identified medical students²¹ and Georg Duerrheim who had a *Candidatus Medicinae* degree from Vienna, but had been prevented from taking his final qualifying examination.²² One physician had Dutch nationality and another was Czech.²³ The remainder were Austrian or German.²⁴ Approximately 90 per cent were Jewish as defined by Nazi racial laws. Some, including Duerrheim, had been previously interned in Dachau and other concentration camps.²⁵ As many of the Italians on the *Dunera* were resident in the UK and not refugees, they have been excluded from consideration in this paper.

The trip was, for many, an unpleasant experience:

In darkness, without sufficient food or light...we made a little voyage of 8 weeks... The ship was vastly overcrowded. Hygienic conditions were simply appalling. No toothbrush, no toothpaste, no soap or soft water for a great part of the journey. The suitcases were opened forcefully by soldiers. Many things, sometimes everything were taken out, put into the pocket or thrown overboard.²⁶

Dysentery, diarrhoea and skin diseases²⁷ were problems during the voyage and there were three unrelated deaths, the last being just prior to arrival in Sydney. Two, Duerrheim and Paul Schatzki, and a possible third one²⁸ of those who stayed in Australia were among the doctors and medical students treating their fellow internees during the voyage. Conditions were such that some internees were immediately hospitalised when they disembarked.²⁹

In Melbourne, 545 internees disembarked; namely all the *Arandora Star* survivors and 95 others for transfer to Tatura, in north-west Victoria. The last group included Bruno Breyer and Augustin Schiehsel, two physicians who did not return to the UK.

Initially the Nazis were not separated from the refugees.

The *Dunera* then sailed for Sydney where the remainder, except the sick, boarded a train for the long trip to Hay, in south-west New South Wales. There they were placed in two separate camps surrounded by barbed wire, with no contact between camps and isolated from the town. There almost all remained until a re-organisation of the camps resulted in a move to Tatura in May 1941. As Helman commented:

Internment in Australia brought together people of vastly different backgrounds, and under benign administration, the internees organised themselves to an astonishing degree. Roles and responsibilities were assigned, cultural, educational and physical activities were arranged.³⁰

Within the Hay camps physicians assisted Australian Army medical personnel treating internees. More serious cases were sent to the Camp Hospital located in the Hay Gaol and, when necessary, to the local hospital where surgeries were also performed.³¹

In August 1940 a White Paper listed categories that would be given a priority release from internment in the UK.³² Some of the *Dunera* internees fell into those categories or the ones added in October. Advice about the release of 13 was received before they arrived in Sydney.³³ These men left Australia on the *Dunera*.

Only ten³⁴ other *Dunera* internees left Australia before June 1941. Thereafter groups and individuals left, primarily for the UK, but also for Palestine and other countries. They left for immediate release, for re-internment pending consideration of their cases or to join the UK Pioneer Corps.³⁵

DECISIONS TO LEAVE AUSTRALIA

Physicians and medical students were among those leaving, some joining the Pioneers³⁶ and others seeking to practise medicine in the UK under new provisions announced in 1941.³⁷ A few went to locations other than the UK. 13 physicians had gone by December 1941 as had six medical students. Eight more physicians left between July 1942 and August 1943 and only one was still interned in July 1945.³⁸ The above figures do not include Solomon Finkel,³⁹ David Teichman⁴⁰ and Ernst Wasser⁴¹ who initially decided to stay in Australia to practise medicine and subsequently left without doing so.

For some the decision to leave was relatively easy as they had immediate family in the UK. Others who left may have preferred to stay as was the wish of Günter Weiss. This extract from his letter to

Ruth Swann, a Society of Friends member in Sydney, gives some idea of issues surrounding decisions:

... Major Layton, the Liaison officer of the Home Office, ... then suggested we should join the Pioneers, but as a lot of internees including myself would like to remain in Australia, and to that time when we suggested this to him, showed he only little interest to the question and explained to us that this would be contrary to the policy of the Australian Government, to release any internees from Britain here. ... This was three months ago since up to date no change took place. I was able to read the Sydney Morning Herald from June 21st in which a statement made by Mr. Spender the Minister for the army was printed. He said some of us might be freed here, but I am very sceptic and have lost the hope after one year internment. Several of us have already gone back to England and I am not sure more what I shall do. If not a major change takes place in the near future I suppose I shall return to Britain too. ...⁴²

Weiss (later known as Gordon Wyant) left for the UK in October 1941. He spent a short time in the Pioneers before being discharged to study then practise medicine. Approval was given because of his Italian qualifications and his pre-internment inquiries. He later rejoined the British Army as a doctor, did further study in USA before moving to Canada in 1954 where he was the first Chief of Anaesthesia at what is now the Royal University Hospital in Saskatoon.⁴³

Peter Huppert, an Austrian medical student, also left in October 1941 to enlist in the Pioneers. After the war he resumed his medical studies, returned to Australia in the 1960s and was a practising psychiatrist.⁴⁴ Huppert was the only medical practitioner who returned to live in Australia but not the only *Dunera* internee.

Only preliminary research has been undertaken regarding those who left for the UK and the exact number who returned to medical practise there or elsewhere has not yet been determined. However, some had a major impact at local, national or international level after the war.

THE DOCTORS WHO STAYED

By the beginning of 1942 only nine men had been released in Australia for essential war work.⁴⁵ These cases were exceptions rather than general practice. By mid 1942 the number was 24 and included three medical practitioners: Breyer and Edward Trautner for chemistry research and Augustin Schiehsel for watchmaking.⁴⁶

The entry of Japan into the war hastened the Australian government's consideration of more general release. In January 1942 a group that included Duerrheim were released for fruit picking, having applied to enlist in the about to be formed Army labour unit (known as 8th Employment Company). Physicians Gerhard Boehm, Georg Rechelmann, Schatzki and Julius Schwarcz also enlisted in the following months.⁴⁷

Avenues for essential war work gradually grew, among them some for medical practitioners. New Australia-wide provisions, enacted under the National Security Act, were put in place to help alleviate a shortage, particularly in country areas. These allowed qualified medical practitioners to apply, sit an examination and have their academic qualifications and previous experience reviewed by Examining Committees in each state. These committees then advised the Commonwealth whether licences should be granted and what, if any, restrictions should apply.⁴⁸

22 of the *Dunera* physicians were still in Australia when this policy was enacted. Of these nine⁴⁹ applied for a medical licence in 1942 and another three in 1943.⁵⁰ Breyer continued his war work and did not apply for a licence.

Ten of the qualified, Duerrheim and one medical student chose to stay in Australia after the war although the student did not resume his studies. Another medical student, Max Schwarz, died while serving with 8th Employment Company.⁵¹

Each of the ten physicians who remained in Australia has his individual professional history briefly outlined in the Table below. The Table also includes details for Duerrheim and Christopher Wolkenstein, a school student who did his medical degree in Australia. Wolkenstein was the only non-Jew.⁵²

Name	Year Born	Nationality	Pre-war	Wartime Status	War and Post-War
1. BOEHM Gerhard ⁵³	1893	German	Practised in Berlin	Alien Dr application failed. Repeated studies Melb. Uni	GP Melbourne
2. COHN Siegfried ⁵⁴	1898	German	GP Bad Ems, Balneo & inhalation therapy	Wartime Alien Dr Licence Aug 42	GP Sydney

Name	Year Born	Nationality	Pre-war	Wartime Status	War and Post-War
3. KASSEL Arthur ⁵⁵	1897	German	German GP Breslau Health Insurance, municipal health & welfare work	Wartime Alien Dr Licence Aug 42	GP Hillston NSW
4. RECHELMANN Georg ⁵⁶	1898	German	GP Berlin	Wartime Alien Dr Licence Aug 42	GP Lakes Entrance Vic.
5. SCHATZKI Paul ⁵⁷	1902	German	GP Italy 36-38 Foreign Dr Register UK 35	Alien Dr Licence Aug 1942	GP Melbourne Cardiology Specialist
6. SCHWARCZ Julius ⁵⁸	1912	Austrian	Oct 38 Non-Aryan degree. Banned from profession	42 Alien Dr application failed	Hosp Path Lab Tech (47) Not found Vic. med register
7. SCHIEHSEL Augustin ⁵⁹	1906	Austrian	Qual. Mar 39. No intern experience	42 Alien Dr application failed as failed exam	Not established
8. TRAUTNER Edward ⁶⁰	1890	German	Limited clinical work. Chem. research major interest	Wartime Alien Dr Licence 42	Research incl Melb Uni (50s) Pt Vernon Qld (65) retired?
9. SONNENBERG Arthur ⁶¹	1893	German	GP Berlin	43 Alien Dr application failed. Inadequate English & other skills	Unknown. Not found Vic. med register. Died Vic 78
10. BREYER Bruno ⁶²	1900	German	Chem. & Med. degrees. Chem. work Cambridge Uni	Released work Appl. Chemistry Sydney Uni Jan 42 No record he applied for Wartime licence	Uni Lecturer Ass. Prof. Appl. Chem. (42-61) GP Sydney c51 Italy 62 semi-retired
11. DUERRHEIM Georg ⁶³	1908	Austrian	Completed med. course Uni Wien. Unable to take final exam	Ineligible to apply Alien Dr status. Repeat studies Melb. Uni	Practised Sunbury Mental Hospital. Austria c64
12. WOLKENSTEIN Christopher ⁶⁴	1922	Austrian	School	Released for education. Medical degree Melbourne Uni	Med. work VIC until late 49. Study & practise: 50 UK; 51-54 USA; c55 Canada

State Medical Co-ordination Committees decided where the five who were successful in obtaining a licence could practise. There was a yearly review⁶⁵ and, when the National Security provisions expired,

they were granted permanent registration under state regulations.⁶⁶

For those who failed or were ineligible to apply for a licence there were limited alternatives. Schiehsel received the following response from the Chairman of the Commonwealth (Alien Doctors) Board when he asked how he could get hospital experience to build on his academic studies:

...Hospital appointments in Australia, unlike many other countries, are reserved almost exclusively for the medical practitioners from the local University ... I can offer no solution ... except completion of the local university course for the Australian degree and full registration.⁶⁷

Everyone's story is unique and individuals experienced very different lives after the war as this sample shows. Siegfried Cohn's two daughters joined him in Sydney⁶⁸ where he settled after leaving Morpeth. He founded the Maroubra-Kingsford Congregation and died in 1951.⁶⁹ Trautner was involved in development of a drug for mental illness.⁷⁰ Schatzki initially had a practice in Elwood, Melbourne.⁷¹ Considered one of the best candidates for an alien licence in Victoria, he became a cardiology specialist.⁷² He stayed even though his four brothers had settled in USA.⁷³

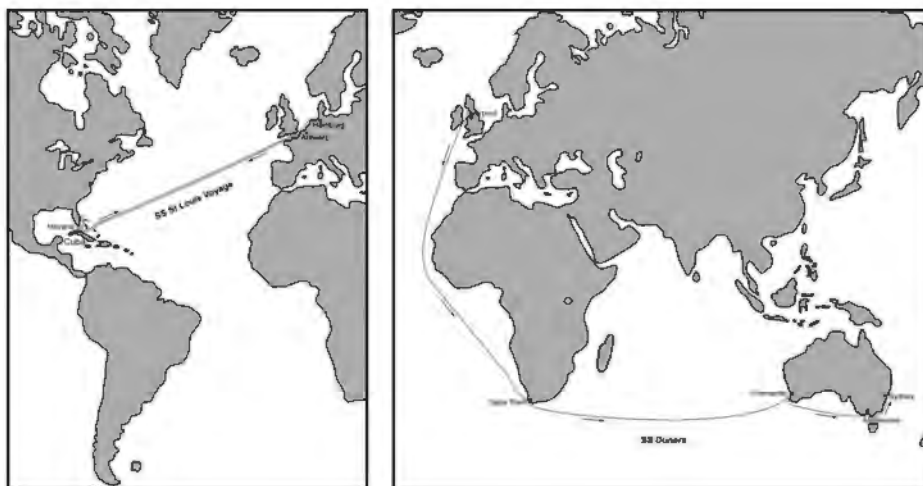


Fig. 1. The voyages of Dr Kassel

THE ODYSSEY OF ONE 'ALIEN DOCTOR'

The most tragic story of those physicians who stayed is that of Arthur Kassel. Born in 1897 in Breslau, Germany, (now Wroclaw, Poland), Kassel served as a non-commissioned officer in German medical units during World War One. He studied at the University in

Breslau and gained his medical licence in early 1923. He had a successful general practice in Breslau until 1933 when the Nazis gained power. His private practice disappeared as various Nazi laws were enacted limiting the rights of Jewish doctors to practise. In 1938 his licence was revoked although he was permitted to treat Jewish patients. Arrested after *Krystallnacht* he was sent to Buchenwald.⁷⁴

Released to emigrate, he left Hamburg for Cuba on 13 May 1939 on the *St. Louis*.⁷⁵ His wife and two children remained in Breslau. On arrival in Cuba most passengers were refused permission to land as their landing tickets had been invalidated. The man who sold them the tickets had been dismissed, in part because he refused to share the proceeds. Negotiations with the Cuban president regarding a revised fee failed and, after being refused permission to land in the USA, the *St. Louis* returned to Europe.⁷⁶

He was one of the 'lucky' ones being among the 288 passengers accepted by Britain but was not allowed to practise medicine there.⁷⁷ Kassel was living in London when interned on 16 May 1940.⁷⁸ On the *Dunera's* arrival in Sydney on 6 September he was admitted to hospital from the ship and arrived in Hay on 18 September.⁷⁹

Kassel was interned at Tatura when he applied for a wartime alien licence.⁸⁰ He passed the compulsory exams in July 1942 in Melbourne and, as he had the required English language skills,⁸¹ received a recommendation for a licence.⁸² The licence he was granted allowed him to practise all branches of medicine.⁸³

After eight months at The Women's Hospital in Sydney he was sent to Hillston NSW where he was the only doctor servicing the small town and surrounding rural community.⁸⁴ There he practised medicine and obstetrics and, from 1944 with assistance from the Flying Doctor, some minor surgery.⁸⁵ He became involved in community medical issues⁸⁶ and advised the Hospital Board on medical matters and other issues relating to the hospital.⁸⁷

Befriended by the locals, he would have taken part in community social and fundraising activities, but undoubtedly remained lonely, with memories of a wife and two children but nonetheless outwardly satisfied. He remained in Hillston when the war ended, was naturalised on 19 June 1946,⁸⁸ and continued to practise. It is highly likely that he was the one of the very few 'foreigners' in the district and the only German Jew.

On 10 May 1947, he took a train to Narrandera NSW, and days later was found dead in the bush, with empty ampoules and a syringe containing drops of morphine. In his pocket were two letters of apologies and thanks to local friends which incorporated apologies to the matron and sister at the Hillston Hospital and the Hospital Board.⁸⁹

Another letter he carried was from a survivor, a nurse who had worked with his wife and had been on the same train to Auschwitz. It informed him of the death of his little son from dysentery in hospital, and of his sick and malnourished wife, also in hospital and said 'But it should be a consolation for you to know that your wife was not gassed or slain, which was the fate of most of our friends from Breslau.'⁹⁰ There was no mention of his daughter who presumably died earlier or his mother, who also died at Auschwitz.⁹¹

His death occurred on the eight anniversary of his leaving his family.⁹² It was the 'freedom' exit, a relief in death from 'unsolved problems.'⁹³ Kassel's odyssey ended in the Jewish section of Rockwood Cemetery, Sydney after a service at the Chevra Kadisha Parlour.⁹⁴ It is possible the Jewish community agreed with the Coroner who said that what happened to his wife and child 'preyed on the mind of the deceased so much so as to cause him to lose his reason.'⁹⁵ He may have been judged to be a victim of the Nazi persecution rather than one who committed self harm, making such a Jewish burial possible. Similar reasoning was used later by Rabbi Artom when allowing the burial of Holocaust survivor and author, Primo Levi in Italy.⁹⁶



Grave of Dr Kassel in Rockwood.

The tombstone, located by Dr Weisz, was cleaned by Michael Bienstock, from "Monumental Masons"

DISCUSSION

Australia's reluctance to accept Jewish refugees was expressed at the Evian Conference with 'We don't have a racial problem and we don't want to import one.'⁹⁷ Occasionally antisemitism was overt, as in Dr W. Maxwell's letter in the December 1939 issue of the *Medical Journal of Australia*, 'Refugee applicants for registrations needed to be carefully examined because they came from a group noted for duplicity...'⁹⁸ For the most part it was latent, and racist attitudes were not nurtured only toward Jews. In his paper, 'A Glut on the Market,' John Weaver concluded 'We are left asking, if the refugees had not been Jews, would the opposition to registration have been so unbending.'⁹⁹

Hostility, racial or other, was not necessarily directed at individual doctors nor did it apply to everyone in the profession. It may, however, help explain why some *Dunera* physicians remained in areas where they were known and accepted after being permanently registered and allowed to re-locate.

The Australian medical profession continued to resist registration of 'alien doctors', with the general secretary of the BMA saying in 1949 that 'Standards of medical faculties in many European Universities are inferior to those of Australian universities.'¹⁰⁰ In many respects the situation in Australia did not differ from that existing throughout the Commonwealth. It was governments rather than the medical profession that fought for registration of doctors who qualified outside the Commonwealth. Governments, on their part, only made changes when shortages occurred, usually in more remote locations where their own were unwilling to practise.

CONCLUSION

The careers of such a small group of doctors cannot be statistically significant but they certainly are worth studying, both individually and collectively. Such study provides some valuable insights not only regarding the individuals and institutions they were involved with but also the attitudes of societies in general. The Table shows most medical practitioners who remained in Australia established successful medical careers while some deviated to medical research or chemistry. They achieved this by initially gaining an alien licence or by completing the whole or part of their medical course again. Both required years of sacrifices.

It can be concluded that being able to practise their profession and making a connection with Australians and Australian society was a major factor in their decision to remain when the war ended. Some, refused access to their profession, also chose to stay and that is also likely to be due to similar connections. All could have chosen to leave as their fares would have been paid by the UK government.

It seems logical that the refusal to grant a licence was a major consideration in the decision making process of those who remained in Australia after 1942, but subsequently left.

The story of the medical practitioners and medical students on the *Dunera* has an overarching political aspect regarding the arrest and incarceration of refugees from Nazi persecution in the UK and their subsequent deportation to Australia. There is a moral aspect in relation to the general reluctance to accept Jewish refugees, as well as Australia's reluctance to release suitable internees until manpower issues forced their hand. Finally there is an ethical aspect in regard to the medical community's attitude toward them.

The above described time was a sad one in the history of the UK, Australia and the medical profession in both countries. The historian Cyril Pearl aptly titled his 1983 book *The Dunera Scandal* and the dust jacket proclaimed 'The WW2 injustice Britain and Australia tried to forget.' The British Government eventually acknowledged its mistake with Winston Churchill admitting it was 'a deplorable and regrettable mistake,'¹⁰¹ and attempted to remedy the situation. Australian policies were much slower to change but those regarding 'alien doctors' changed in 1942 (but only for the duration of the war) and ultimately *Dunera* internees were able to settle in Australia. There was no apology from the medical communities and their resistance to registration of 'alien doctors' continued.

ENDNOTES:

1. 'All Nobel Prizes in Physiology or Medicine,' at http://www.nobel-prize.org/nobel_prizes/medicine/laureates/, accessed 11 December 2014.
2. 'Wilhelm Conrad Röntgen-Biographical,' in *Nobel Lectures, Physics 1901-1921* (Elsevier Publishing Company: Amsterdam, 1967), at http://www.nobelprize.org/nobel_prizes/physics/laureates/1901/rontgen-bio.html, accessed 13 December 2014.
3. 'All Nobel Prizes in Physiology or Medicine,' at http://www.nobel-prize.org/nobel_prizes/medicine/laureates/, accessed 11 December 2014.
4. United States Holocaust Memorial Museum, 'Antisemitic Legislation 1933-1939,' in *Holocaust Encyclopedia* at <http://www.ushmm.org/wlc/en/article.php?ModuleId=10007901>, accessed 15 December 2014. See also 'Germany Column: Boycott of Jews to commence on April 1,' *The Sydney Morning Herald*, 30 March 1933, p. 9 and 'Germany Column: Nazi Despotism,' *The Sydney Morning Herald*, 10 July 1933, p. 9.
5. Medical University of Vienna, 'Glorious Peaks and Painful Depths-Viennese Medicine,' at <http://www.meduniwien.ac.at/homepage/1/content/general-information/history-of-the-medical-university-of-vienna/glorious-peaks-and->

- painful-depths-viennese-medicine/, accessed 13 December 2014.
6. John Weaver, 'A Glut on the Market: Medical Practice Laws and Treatment of Refugee Doctors in Australia and New Zealand, 1933-1942,' in *Australian and New Zealand Law & History E. Journal* (2009), at http://www.anzlhsejournal.auckland.ac.nz/pdfs_2009/weaver-gluton-mkt.pdf, accessed 2013, pp.10-13.
7. *Ibid.*, p. 6
8. A. Winkelmann-Gleed, and J. Eversley, 'Salt and stairs: a history of refugee doctors in the UK and the story of Dr Hannah Hedwig Striesow (refugee doctor and one of the first female GPs in Newham),' pp. 5-6 in N. Jackson, and Y. Carter, (eds.), *Refugee Doctors: Support, Development and Integration in the NHS*, at <http://books.google.com.au/books?id=QHmOoQfDISQC&printsec=frontcover#v=onepage&q&f=false>, accessed December 2014.
9. 'Letter, Victorian Committee, Australian Jewish Welfare Society,' *The Argus* (Melbourne), 9 April 1941, p. 9. This figure would have included non-Jewish refugees.
10. Weaver, *op.cit.*, pp. 6-10.
11. Suzanne D Rutland, 'An Example of "Intellectual Barbarism": The Story of "Alien" Jewish Medical Practitioners in Australia, 1933-1956' in *Yad Vashem Studies* vol. XVIII (1987).
12. 'Refugee Doctors Attitude of Medical Profession,' *The Sydney Morning Herald*, 3 January 1939, p. 11.
13. Rutland, *op.cit.*, p. 202.
14. Weaver, *op.cit.*, pp. 9-10.
15. Cabinet Minute of 24 May 1940 cited in Cyril Pearl, *The Dunera Scandal: Deported by Mistake* (London: Angus & Robertson, 1983), p. 48
16. 'Enemy Aliens' & Internment in England, 1939-40,' *Juden in Themar -Their Voices Live One* website at <http://judeninthemar.org/they-were-themarens/internment/>, accessed 22 February 2015.
17. *Ibid.*
18. One German national left the ship at Cape Town and returned to internment in the UK and three died on the *Dunera*.
19. Pearl, *op.cit.*, pp. 14 & 19.
20. Carol Bunyan, 'Dunera Collective Biographical Database', (Unpublished). A work in progress collating information from both official/primary and other sources. All 'Service and Casualty' forms (NAA MP1103/1) and 'Report on Internee' forms (NAA MP1103/2) for internees arriving on the *Dunera* have been examined. A variety of information from these has been collated including occupation, nationality, religion, when they left camp and where they went.
21. For medical students studying in the UK see National Archives of Australia (NAA) MP508/1, 255/714/64: Annex A to Memorandum by Sir Frederick Jordon dated 6 November 1940. Sir Frederick, Chief Justice of NSW, was an Official Visitor to the Internment Camp at Hay. The others identified themselves as medical students on their documentation (see NAA files MP1103/1, E39169; MP1103/1, E39965; MP1103/1, E40635). Peter Huppert gave his occupation as doctor on NAA MP1103/2, E39808, has been included in these figures as he had not qualified, see Nora Huppert, *Home Without a*

- Homeland*, (Sydney: Sydney Jewish Museum, 2012), p. 207.
22. NAA A1928, 652/17/4 Section 1, Letter, Georg Duerrheim to Chairman Commonwealth Alien Doctors Board, 25 July 1942.
 23. Dirk de Rooy (listed as Rooy) and Emil Rauchmann are on the list of those wrongly sent (NAA A2908, P22 Part 5, Cablegram 3647, Australian High Commission London to Prime Minister's Department, 10 July 1941). The four Dutchmen were released to the Netherlands East Indies in September 1941 see NAA A2908, P22 Part 9, Memorandum (with list), Secretary Department of the Army to Secretary Prime Minister's Department, 1 February 1942. The subsequent fate of the Dutchmen has not been determined. Rauchmann, along with 41 fellow *Dunera* internees, died enroute to the UK when their ship was lost due to enemy action. One of the *Dunera* internees, an Italian, survived.
 24. Bunyan, op.cit.
 25. 'Plight of Europe's Youth,' *Williamstown Chronicle*, 5 July 1946, p. 6.
 26. Extract from the diary of Ernst Froehlich in S. Helman, 'The Dunera Boys,' *The National Library Magazine* (June 2010), p. 3.
 27. Pearl, op.cit., pp. 27, 29 & 44.
 28. The third was possibly Siegfried Cohn but not all helpers given a testimonial by Brooks, the British Medical Officer, were associated with medicine. S Cohn could be any one of five men. See Pearl, op.cit., p. 59.
 29. Ibid., pp. 42-64.
 30. Helman, op.cit., p. 4.
 31. NAA A2908, P22 PART 4, 'Reports on visits to the internment camps at Hay, New South Wales, by Mr. G. Morel, Representative of International Red Cross, 3rd - 6th March 1941,' undated.
 32. P.R. Bartrop and G. Eisen (eds.), *The Dunera Affair: a documentary resource book* (Melbourne: Schwartz & Wilkinson and The Jewish Museum of Australia, 1990), pp. 69-71.
 33. NAA A1608, A20/1/3 PART 1, Cablegram Australian High Commission London to Prime Minister's Department, 4 September 1940
 34. Six were 17 or 18 and had been learning about farming in Wales in preparation for life in Palestine. They left for Palestine in March 1941.
 35. Bartrop and Eisen, op.cit., pp. 90-95.
 36. A non-combatant part of the British Army.
 37. 'Letter, Victorian Committee, Australian Jewish Welfare Society,' *The Argus* (Melbourne), 9 April 1941, p. 9.
 38. Numbers all from Bunyan, op.cit.
 39. Finkel was denied a licence see NAA A1928, 652/17/B SECTION 2, Letter, Commonwealth Aliens Doctors Board to Examining Committee Alien Doctors Victoria, 3 Sep 1942. He left Australia in October 1942 having being discharged from the 8th Employment Company.
 40. NAA A1928, 652/17/B SECTION 2, 'Report of Examining Medical Committee ... David Moses Teichman,' 16 November 1943. Denied a licence he left Australia in 1944.
 41. 'Report of Examining Medical Committee ... Ernst Ludwig Wasser,' 16 November 1943. Denied a licence he left Australia in c1945.

42. 'Günter Weiss, letter to Miss Swann' dated 23 July 1941 in Caroline Merrylees, (compiler), *Haywire: The War-time Camps at Hay* (Hay: Hay Historical Society, 2006), p. 32. Günter left for the UK in October 1941.
43. *Dr. Gordon M. Wyant, A Memoir*, as told to Rosemary Neering (Canada: privately printed, c1998)
44. Huppert, op. cit., pp. 202-203. Also Rebecca Silk, 'Grief set aside to better other lives: Obituary Nora Huppert,' at <http://www.theage.com.au/national/obituaries/grief-set-aside-to-better-other-lives-20121015-27n93.html>, accessed 8 November 2014.
45. NAA A2908, P22 PART 7, Letter, Australian High Commission London to Home Office, 8 January 1942.
46. NAA A2908, P22 PART 8, Prime Minister's Department to Australian High Commission London: Cablegram 2762, 1 April 1941 (Trautner); Cablegram 2054, 10 March 1942 (Breyer); Cablegram 1394, 2 February 1942 (Schiehsel).
47. *World War Two Nominal Roll*. Individual records, at <http://www.ww2roll.gov.au/>, accessed 25 October 2014.
48. 'Aliens may practice medicine,' *The Argus* (Melbourne), 12 February 1942, p. 5.
49. These were the first eight names in the Table and Finkel. See endnote 39 for details of Finkel.
50. Arthur Sonnenberg was one and he is included in the Table as he remained in Australia. The other two were Teichman and Wasser. See endnotes 40 and 41 for details of Teichman and Wasser.
51. Max and a fellow internee died in a drowning incident. 'Two drowned in Murray,' *The Argus* (Melbourne), 3 January 1944, p. 8.
52. Bunyan, op.cit.
53. Remained with 8th Employment Company until June 1944 according to *World War Two Nominal Roll* entry at <http://www.ww2roll.gov.au/Veteran.aspx?serviceId=A&veteranId=607461>, accessed May 2012. Graduated 1950 see 'Regraduates in Medicine at 55,' *Barrier Miner* (Broken Hill), 19 December 1950, p. 7. For post war registration see Medical Board of Victoria, 'Register of Medical Practitioners 1954,' at <http://gazette.slv.vic.gov.au/>, accessed 27 November 2014.
54. NAA A1928, 652/17/A, 'Report of Medical Examining Committee ... Siegfried Cohn,' 12 August 1942 (details studies and past experience). For outcome of application see NAA A1928, 652/17/B SECTION 2, Letter, Commonwealth Aliens Doctors Board to Examining Committee Alien Doctors Victoria, 3 Sep 1942.
55. NAA A1928, 652/17/A, 'Report of Medical Examining Committee ... Arthur Kassel,' 12 August 1942 (details studies and past experience). For outcome of application see NAA A1928, 652/17/B SECTION 2, Letter, Commonwealth Aliens Doctors Board to Examining Committee Alien Doctors Victoria, 3 Sep 1942.
56. NAA A1928, 652/17/A, 'Report of Medical Examining Committee ... Georg Reichmann,' 12 August 1942 (details studies and past experience). For outcome of application see NAA A1928, 652/17/B SECTION 2, Letter, Commonwealth Aliens Doctors Board to Examining Committee Alien Doctors Victoria, 3 Sep 1942. For post war registration see Medical Board of Victoria, 'Register of Medical

- Practitioners,' 1951, 1954 & 1965,' at <http://gazette.slv.vic.gov.au/>, accessed 27 November 2014.
57. NAA A1928, 652/17/A, 'Report of Medical Examining Committee ... Paul Schatzki,' 12 August 1942 (details studies and past experience). For outcome of application see NAA A1928, 652/17/B SECTION 2, Letter, Commonwealth Aliens Doctors Board to Examining Committee Alien Doctors Victoria, 3 Sep 1942. For post war registration see Medical Board of Victoria, 'Register of Medical Practitioners,' 1951, 54 & 65,' at <http://gazette.slv.vic.gov.au/>, accessed 27 November 2014.
 58. University of Vienna, 'Julius Schwarcz,' entry in *Memorial Book for the Victims of National Socialism at the University of Vienna 1938*, at <http://gedenkbuch.univie.ac.at>, accessed 27 October 2014. Also NAA A441, 1951/13/9821, Statutory Declaration, 26 April 1945.
 59. For his study and failure see NAA A1928, 652/17/4 SECTION 1, Letter, Dr. A. A. Schiehsel to Chairman Commonwealth Aliens Doctors Board, 29 May 1942. He may have been a medical officer in Papua New Guinea in the late 1940s and early 1950s and later re-qualified in New Zealand. These possibilities are unverified.
 60. NAA A1928, 652/17/A, 'Report of Medical Examining Committee ... Michael Trautner,' 28 April 1942 and Letter, Chairman Commonwealth Aliens Doctors Board to Chairman Medical Equipment Control Committee, 14 May 1942. For post war registration see Medical Board of Victoria, 'Register of Medical Practitioners,' 1951, 1954 & 1965, at <http://gazette.slv.vic.gov.au/>, accessed 27 November 2014.
 61. NAA A1928 652/17/B SECTION 2, 'Report of Medical Examining Committee ... Arthur Sonnenberg,' 16 November 1943. Sonnenberg enlisted in 8th Employment Company in November 1943, serving a year before being discharged. See *World War Two Nominal Roll* entry at <http://www.ww2roll.gov.au/Veteran.aspx?serviceId=A&veteranId=618236>, accessed 25 October 2014.
 62. George Beykovsky, *The Breyer Family: A Personal Memoir* (USA: Privately printed), pp. 10-23.
 63. Georg Duerrheim, awarded a *Candidatus Medicinae* degree, but unable to take the final exams see NAA A1928, 652/17/4 Section 1, Letter, Georg Duerrheim to Chairman Commonwealth Alien Doctors Board, 25 July 1942. For post war registration see Medical Board of Victoria, 'Register of Medical Practitioners,' 1951, 1954 & 1965, at <http://gazette.slv.vic.gov.au/>, accessed 27 November 2014.
 64. 'Christopher Wolkenstein,' *Dunera News*, no. 84 (Melbourne: March 2012), p. 4.
 65. See NAA A1928, 652/17/3 SECTION 3, Letter, Chairman New South Wales Medical Co-ordination Committee to Director-General Emergency Medical Services, 30 September 1943. Also NAA A1928, 652/17/4 SECTION 3, Letter, Executive Officer Victorian Medical Co-ordination Committee to Director-General Emergency Medical Services, 2 October 1944.
 66. 'Registration For Alien Doctors In N.S.W,' *Barrier Miner* (Broken Hill), 4 January 1947, p. 6 and 'Labour Column,' *Sunshine Advocate*, 1 November 1946, p. 7.

67. NAA A1928, 652/17/4 Section 1, Letter, Chairman Commonwealth Alien Doctors Board to Dr. A. A. Schiehsel, 3 June 1942.
68. NAA A367, C58504, Memorandum, Commonwealth Investigation Service, 8 August 1947.
69. 'In memory of Dr. Siegfried Cohn,' *The Hebrew Standard of Australasia* (Sydney), 15 June 1951, p. 3.
70. 'Melbourne doctor's idea pays off,' *The Argus* (Melbourne), 2 February 1954, p. 2. 'Are miracles won by nursing,' *The Argus* (Melbourne), 6 February 1954, p. 9.
71. 'Advertisement,' *The Argus* (Melbourne), 2 September 1948, p. 2.
72. Medical Board of Victoria, 'Register of Specialist Practitioners 1973,' at <http://gazette.slv.vic.gov.au/>, accessed 27 November 2014.
73. They included Richard, a radiologist for whom the Schatzki Rings are named and Erich, a aeronautical engineer and aircraft designer.
74. NAA A1928, 652/17/A, 'Report of Medical Examining Committee ... Arthur Kassel,' 12 August 1942. Outlines war service, studies and past experience and also provides supporting documentation.
75. United States Holocaust Memorial Museum, 'The Passenger List, Voyage of the St. Louis,' *St. Louis on-line exhibition*, at <http://www.ushmm.org/online/st-louis/list.php>, accessed 8 July 2014. There were two other St. Louis passengers who ended up on the *Dunera*.
76. United States Holocaust Memorial Museum, 'Voyage of the St. Louis,' in *Holocaust Encyclopedia*, at <http://www.ushmm.org/wlc/en/article.php?ModuleId=10005267>, accessed 10 January 2015.
77. NAA A2908, P22 PART 10, Cable 9491, Australian High Commission London (Crotonate) to Prime Minster Office Department (Kindlier), 16 October 1942.
78. NAA MP1103/1, E39885
79. Ibid.
80. His application included a statement from another Breslau physician, Kurt Epstein who also came on the *Dunera* and left for Palestine during the war.
81. NAA A1928, 652/17/A, 'Report of Medical Examining Committee ... Arthur Kassel,' 12 August 1942.
82. NAA A1928, 652/17/B SECTION 2, Letter, Commonwealth Aliens Doctors Board to Examining Committee Alien Doctors Victoria, 3 September 1942.
83. NAA A1928, 652/17/A, 'Report of Medical Examining Committee ... Arthur Kassel,' 12 August 1942.
84. NAA A1928, 652/17/3 SECTION 3, Letter, Chairman New South Wales Medical Co-ordination Committee to Director-General Emergency Medical Services, 30 September 1943.
85. 'Personal Pars,' *The Hillston Spectator and Lachlan River Advertiser*, 31 August 1944, p. 2.
86. 'The Children's Teeth,' *The Hillston Spectator and Lachlan River Advertiser*, 15 June 1944, p. 2.
87. See reports of Hospital Board meetings between 1943 and 1947 in *The Hillston Spectator and Lachlan River Advertiser*.
88. Date given in file title of NAA A714, 43/15271
89. 'Death of Dr. Kassell Sequel to Nazi Atrocities Coroner's Inquiry,' *Narandera Argus and Riverina Advertiser*, 20 June 1947, p. 1.

90. Ibid.
91. *The Central Database of Shoah Victims' Names* has a record of his mother, Clara Kassel née Levy. His father was recorded as being deceased on Kassel's arrival in Australia.
92. 'Late Dr. Kasell,' *Narandera Argus and Riverina Advertiser*, 18 July 1947, p. 2. This concerned a letter of thanks from his brother, Mr P. B. Kassel, of London.
93. P. Monteath, 'Dear Dr. Janzow: Australia's Lutheran Churches and refugees from Hitler's Germany,' (Unley, SA: Australian Humanities Press, 2005) and G. M. Weisz, 'The Fate of the Nazi Haunted Jewish Writers,' in *Zachor: Association of Holocaust Survivors* (September 2003), pp. 7-14.
94. 'Funeral Notice,' *The Sydney Morning Herald*, 31 May 1947, p. 37. Also 'Dr Kassel's Body Taken to Sydney,' *The Hillston Spectator and Lachlan River Advertiser*, 19 June 1947, p. 2.
95. 'Death of Dr. Kassel Sequel to Nazi Atrocities Coroner's Inquiry,' *Narandera Argus and Riverina Advertiser*, 20 June 1947, p. 1.
96. M. Anissimov, *Primo Levi* (New York: The Overlook Press, 2000) and G. M. Weisz, 'The Secondary Survivor's Syndrome,' in *Zachor: Association of Holocaust Survivors* (April 2001), p. 13-14.
97. Jewish Virtual Library, 'Evian Conference,' at http://www.jewishvirtuallibrary.org/jsource/judaica/ejud_0002_0006_0_06165.html, accessed 20 November 2014.
98. Weaver, op.cit., p. 15.
99. Ibid.
100. '2000 alien doctors?' *Courier-Mail* (Brisbane), 26 March 1949, p. 3.
101. Pearl, op.cit., p. 137.

HISTORY OF THE NSW FRIENDS OF THE HEBREW UNIVERSITY, PART III 1984-1994

Alan K. Milston¹

INTRODUCTION

The decade from 1984-1994 witnessed further growth and consolidation of the NSW Friends of Hebrew University. In this period, the organisation was led by two very capable presidents: David Scheinberg, who was John Hammond's nephew and Robert Simons who went on to become federal president of the organisation and has continued to be deeply involved with the Hebrew University.

DAVID SCHEINBERG'S TERM AS PRESIDENT

The first function held with David Scheinberg as president was a luncheon on 21 November 1984 on the occasion of the 75th birthday of John Hammond. To honour the occasion, the Ladies Committee established the John Hammond Scholarship Endowment. Edith Simblist and Nerida Goodman represented the Ladies Committee at the luncheon held at the B'nai B'rith Centre. A certificate for the John Hammond Scholarship Endowment was presented and John Hammond expressed his appreciation to those present.

At the Executive meeting held on 1 May 1985, Yossi Greiner submitted the names of three Sydney students who wished to receive scholarships. The Executive established a Scholarship Award Sub-Committee consisting of Dr Fred Ehrlich, Richard Dreyfus and Michael Dunkel to assess applications. As Dr Ehrlich and Mr Dunkel were very heavily involved in other matters, nearly all the work of the Scholarship Award Sub-Committee was for many years carried out by Richard Dreyfus.

The year 1985 celebrated the 60th anniversary of the Hebrew University of Jerusalem. A special 'Celebration 60' week commencing 31 May 1985 was held in Jerusalem. Berel Ginges, as federal president and David Scheinberg as New South Wales president led a party of 25 from Australia. Amongst those attending were Nerida Goodman, Elinore Burns, Fred and Shirley Ehrlich, Ruth Flakowicz,

Sadie Haim, Evelyn Royal, Edith Simblist, Gerda Buckwalter and Richard Dreyfus. A highlight of the many memorable events was a 12-projector slide show, which created a sensation in Jerusalem.

The NSW Friends decided to present this slide show at their 60th Anniversary Celebration Dinner, which was held in the Great Hall of the University of Sydney on 4 August 1985. There were 218 people present and Sir Hermann Black, Chancellor of the University of Sydney and a Trustee of the Sir Zelman Cowen Universities Fund was chairman. Professor Zwi Werblowsky of the Hebrew University addressed the Dinner. He spoke of Golda Meir and the Golda Meir Fellowship Fund. The audio-visual presentation, which had been shown at the Jerusalem celebrations, was again most successful. On 7 August 1985, the *Australian Jewish Times* published an interview with Sir Hermann Black about the 60th Anniversary of the University on its front page.

The death occurred on 2 September 1985 of Professor Julius Stone, who had formed the Friends of the Hebrew University in Auckland in 1940 and who came to Sydney in 1942. He had been a most valued supporter of the NSW Friends for 43 years and addressed many meetings. Although in poor health, Professor Stone attended the 60th Anniversary Celebration Dinner four weeks before his death. This was the last official event he attended.

The 48th AGM of the NSW Friends was held on 6 November 1985 at the B'nai B'rith Centre. In his first annual report, David Scheinberg, said 'When elected President, I was still very much the "new boy" on the Executive. However, I was very fortunate to have the encouragement and experience of our Honorary Life President, John Hammond, who has been of great assistance to me throughout the year.' He stated with pride that a record number of Sydney students attended the Hebrew University that year. Ten students went straight from their Higher School Certificate studies to attend the February semester program, which lasted five months, while Miriam Ehrlich attended a preparatory course before commencing regular studies for a degree at the Hebrew University. Two undergraduate students embarked on the special program at the Rothberg School for Overseas Students. David Scheinberg then asked Geoff Levey to speak on his experiences as a student at the Rothberg School. Geoff gave a very interesting and frank talk, comparing the modern technology used in the computer system of the Hebrew University Library to the bureaucracy encountered in day-to-day life.

At the election of officers, Max Freilich, John Hammond, David Scheinberg, Alan Crown, Braham Moses, Michael Dunkel, Berel Ginges, Nerida Goodman, Alan Milston and Richard Dreyfus were re-elected to the positions that they had held the previous year, but

Professor de Vahl Davis retired as vice president. Edith Simblist presented the annual report of the Ladies Committee, which had another very busy year with many successful functions. She thanked the vice presidents her executive and committee and all the many other people who had been of valuable assistance to the Ladies Committee. The report of the Young Friends was presented by Michael Dunkel. The Young Friends again had a number of successful functions during the year including the Dinner Dance at the Hunters Lodge.

In November 1985, the NSW Friends were notified by the Hebrew University that the late Professor Julius Stone had made a bequest to the Hebrew University for the establishment of the Julius and Rieke Stone Prize in Jurisprudence and Robert Kaye, a member of the Committee, organised a function, which was held on 22 July 1986 to honour the late Julius Stone and to raise further funds for the Julius and Rieke Stone Prize. Seventy-five people, mostly connected with the legal profession, attended. The Chief Justice of NSW, Sir Laurence Street, Justice Gordon Samuels and Robert Kaye all made excellent speeches.

David Scheinberg was overseas for the executive meeting held 5 March 1986 and Alan Milston acted as chairman. Present by invitation was Dr Ben Aronson, Head of the Department of Anaesthesia, Hadassah Medical School, Mt Scopus. He addressed the meeting and spoke on his research into the effect of anaesthesia on blood viscosity. Dr Aronson expressed his gratitude to the NSW Friends and also to the Sir Zelman Cowen Universities Trust Fund, enabling the purchase of a photo viscometer designed by Dr Dintenfass of Sydney. On 23 March, Dr Aronson also addressed 45 people at a joint function of the NSW Fellowship of Jewish Doctors and the NSW Friends at Shalom College, University of NSW.

The executive meeting on 2 April 1986 was addressed by Yossi Greiner, who had been in Australia for three years and was returning to Israel later in the year. He stated he had been visiting Sydney regularly since his arrival in Australia in 1983. While on this visit, he was meeting with high school students and had visited Moriah College and the Aliyah Department of the State Zionist Council. The NSW Executive congratulated him on his excellent work during his three years in Australia. Following his return to Israel, an advertisement was placed in the Melbourne edition of the *Jewish News* inviting applicants for the position of part-time student liaison officer and it was decided that Leo Hausmann should look after inquiries from students in Sydney.

David Scheinberg chaired the executive meeting held on 16 April 1986 where the visitor from the Hebrew University was Moshe

Vigdor, Head of Yissum, the development company of the University. He addressed the executive explaining Yissum is a wholly-owned subsidiary of the Hebrew University established in 1964 to protect, by patent, the research generated by the Hebrew University. The University, through Yissum is most active in collaborating with local Israeli industry. Patents always remain the property of Yissum and where possible production is carried out in Israel. The royalties earned from successfully developed patents are used to fund further research and the running of the University. Moshe Vigdor was in Australia looking into joint research with the University of Queensland and the University of NSW.

The death occurred on 10 May 1986 of Braham Moses. Braham was elected Honorary Secretary on 9 November 1938 and his father, Phillip Moses, had been both a committee member and a most generous supporter. Braham remained as honorary secretary until 2 February 1942, when he retired temporarily due to war service with the Australian army. He was re-elected honorary secretary on 2 May 1944 and continued in that position until 20 November 1958 when he was elected president. He served as president for five years and after retiring in 1963 remained on the executive in various positions. He was a vice president at the time of his death and had been on the executive for 46 years.

Dr Eitan Israeli of the Centre of Continuing Education at the Rehovot campus of the Hebrew University was on sabbatical leave at the University of New England, Armidale. He addressed the executive meeting on 21 May 1986 and explained that he had been studying the economic and social problems of *moshavim*.

In order to celebrate the 50th Anniversary of the establishment of the NSW Friends on 31 May 1936, a dinner was held at the Holdsworth Contemporary Gallery on 26 May 1986. A special presentation was made to Nerida Goodman in honour of her outstanding work for fifty years for the NSW Friends. Sir Asher Joel was chairman for the evening and Sir Zelman Cowen spoke on the subject 'The Hebrew University at 60'.

During 1986 Eva Breuer, on behalf of the Art Sub-Committee of the Young Friends, conducted a series of three Wednesday evening lectures. 240 people attended the first lecture given at the Holdsworth Gallery by Harry Seidler on contemporary developments in architecture. The second lecture was held and given by Barry Pearce, Curator of Australian Art at the Art Gallery of NSW. The third lecture was given by Elwyn Lynn, art critic for the Australian newspaper, who spoke at the Holdsworth Gallery on 'The Development of My Art'. Gisella Scheinberg had generously made the Holdsworth Gallery available for the lectures.

Yossi Greiner attended the executive meeting held on 26 June 1986, his last before returning to Jerusalem. He was accompanied by Helen Delcanho, who had been appointed as Academic Adviser in Melbourne. She and Yossi were in Sydney for one night to attend a meeting with Sydney students interested in studying at the Hebrew University. Yossi reported that 16 registered nurses intended to do volunteer work at the Hadassah Hospital from January 1987 for three months and that the Sir Zelman Cowen Trust Fund would cover the cost of their two-week tuition program.

On 23 July 1986, Professor Raymond Kampfner of the Hebrew University addressed a combined meeting of the NSW Fellowship of Jewish Doctors and the NSW Friends on 'The Implications of Human Genetic Research'. John Hammond advised the executive meeting held on 1 October 1986 he was unable to attend further meetings. He wished to continue as honorary life president and requested copies of the minutes of executive meetings be sent to him. On 8 October 1986 Professor Citri, Professor of Microbiology of the Hebrew University, addressed a general committee meeting and spoke of his work at the Hebrew University.

The death occurred in October 1986 of Max Freilich OBE at the age of 93. He was elected vice president of the NSW Friends in 1956, was a major donor and had been an important fundraiser for the Australia House project. His whole life was devoted to Zionism. He was a recipient of the NSW Friends *Torch of Learning* award and was an honorary governor of the Hebrew University. He was elected honorary life president of the NSW Friends in 1971.

The 49th Annual General Meeting of the NSW Friends was held on 16 November 1986 at the B'nai B'rith Centre, Yurong Street, East Sydney. John Hammond was now the only honorary life president and David Scheinberg was re-elected as president. Alan Crown was elected honorary vice president and Michael Dunkel, Berel Ginges and Nerida Goodman were elected vice presidents. Alan Milston was re-elected honorary secretary and Richard Dreyfus honorary treasurer. Henry Stricker had retired from practice as an accountant and did not seek re-election as honorary auditor. Tribute was paid to him for auditing the accounts for nearly twenty years. Edith Simblist presented the annual report of the Ladies Committee, which had held at least thirteen functions during the year, continuing to raise considerable funds and receiving valuable publicity. Michael Dunkel presented the report of the Young Friends, which, amongst other matters, thanked Agnes and Berel Ginges for making their home available for an address on 'Artificial Intelligence' by Dr Peter Slezak, attended by over 70 people. The report referred also to the 7th Annual Dinner Dance at the Hunter's Lodge Restaurant and thanked George

Fischer for his continuing sponsorship. As well, Berel Ginges presented a report on the Sir Zelman Cowen Universities Fund pointing out there were four current projects between members of the Hebrew University and Sydney University, one of which was research by Professor Max Bennett of Sydney University in conjunction with Professor Rami Rahamimoff of the Hebrew University. Their research involved the study of nerve cells and their connection to the brain. Professor Bennett subsequently addressed the Meeting and spoke of his work and friendship with Professor Rahamimoff.

At the executive meeting of 21 January 1987, it was announced family and friends of Elinore Burns were establishing a scholarship in memory of her father, Samuel Pezaro, and that the scholarship would be for an Australian or New Zealand student to study at the Bezalel Institute of the Centre for Jewish Art at the Hebrew University. Leo Hausmann resigned as executive vice president as from 27 March 1987, having worked for the NSW Friends for three years. Agnes Schwartz was then engaged as a part-time office assistant, commencing 30th March 1987.

Helen Delcanho attended the executive meeting of 1 April 1987 and reported on the four weeks she had spent in Israel, assisting groups of students from Australia. Twenty-three students (sixteen from NSW) took part in the post matriculation program and seventeen took part in the two-week post Academy seminar. She also reported that eight nurses, mainly from Victoria, went to the Hebrew University. They paid their own airfares whilst the Sir Zelman Cowen Trust Fund covered their tuition. Another group of nurses were to go to Israel on 5 July 1987. While in Jerusalem, she attended a function in honour of Prime Minister Bob Hawke at which it was mentioned that David Rechter from Melbourne had been a recipient of the Golda Meir Fellowship Fund. During her stay in Sydney, Ms Delcanho visited several high schools and addressed Year 12 students. She also arranged an evening meeting with the Organisation of Jewish High School Students and was planning to attend a student seminar in Auckland in next month.

On 25 April 1987, Dr Herbert Huppert, Vice Chairman of Scientists for the Release of Soviet Refuseniks, addressed 100 members of the NSW Friends at the home of Dr Stephen Muller. On 29 May 1987 the NSW Friends were notified that Sini Sophia Vecht had died on 29th July 1986 and that the Hebrew University along with the Jewish National Fund and a number of other Jewish organisations had been named as beneficiaries. However, it was to be more than six years (January 1994) before the final distribution was received. The NSW Friends are deeply appreciative of the tremendous

time and effort of Steve Gerstl from the JNF who pursued this matter through numerous hearings and court cases on behalf of all the organisations ensuring that their rights were protected and the wishes of Sini Sophia Vecht honoured.

Professor Haim Tagari of the Department of Animal Sciences at the Hebrew University addressed a meeting of the executive on 25 June and on 21 August spoke to a meeting of mostly veterinary scientists at the home of Mr and Mrs Robert Sharpe. At the executive meeting on 1 July 1987 Gerda Buckwalter resigned as executive secretary, but agreed to continue to compile the Year Book working approximately eight hours each week. Carol Dor took over running the office assuming the title of executive secretary.

The death in September 1987 of Lysbeth Cohen was recorded with great sadness. She had been an active member of the Ladies Committee for more than thirty years and had served as president and more recently was honorary vice president.

At the 50th AGM held on 25 October 1987 at the B'nai B'rith Centre a report was received on the Sir Zelman Cowen Universities Fund. The Fund had four current projects and a newly approved project for research work between Professor Oded Meyuhas of the Hebrew University and Professor Wake, Head of the Department of Biochemistry at Sydney University. Professor Wake addressed the meeting on his research in conjunction with Professor Meyuhas, which dealt with the study of cell division in bacteria.

Edith Simblist presented the report of the Ladies Committee. She noted that one of their projects was to give financial assistance towards the research work of Dr Leopold Dintenfass into the effects of anaesthesia on blood viscosity. This research is being used by Dr Ben Aronson, Head of the Department of Anaesthesia at Hadassah Medical School. She also spoke about the Greta Anna Cooking Exhibition held at the home of Ruth Simon and the luncheon at the home of Pat Sinclair with the guest speaker Stella Cornelius who spoke on 'World Peace and the Influence of Women towards it'. Mrs Simblist stated that after three years, she was retiring from the presidency.

Michael Dunkel presented the report on the Young Friends. He reported that each of their functions had attendances of approximately 100 and these included the annual Dinner Dance at the Hunters' Lodge Restaurant, a talk by Dalia Stanley on Art and Mr and Mrs David Hakim were hosts when Joanna Kalowski of the Anti-Discrimination Board addressed the Young Friends.

On 8 November 1987, Berel Ginges, Richard Dreyfus and Alan Milston attended the Federal AGM in Melbourne. The presidency had been held by Mr Ginges for three years and it was decided that the

federal office should move to Melbourne and Rodney Benjamin would be the new federal president. He served for one year as federal president, and the following year Ron Castan QC was elected as president of the Australian Friends.

Eliyahu Honig, assistant to the president of the Hebrew University, attended the executive meeting of the NSW Friends held on 18 November 1987. He spoke of the financial problems of the Hebrew University, which now had a large deficit on its operating expenses. He complimented the NSW Friends on their extraordinary success regarding bequests, which are of great assistance to the University. At the next meeting on 2 December 1987, Peter Lewis, the father one of the students who had taken part in the 1987 British and Australian Semester Program, addressed the meeting. He listed various problems, which had been experienced by the 18 students from Moriah College who took part in the program which had been organised by Helen Delcanho, the academic advisor in Melbourne.

Helen Delcanho attended the next executive meeting on 16 December 1987 and responded to Mr Lewis' report. She advised that Lauren Levin, a 21 year old university graduate had been appointed Student Liaison Officer in Melbourne to better inform future applicants of their obligations, and that she would come to Sydney to assist and advise NSW students. At the meeting it was also reported that Keith Baker, a veterinary surgeon who had visited the new Veterinary School at Rehovot, arranged a function in his home on 9 December 1987. This function had raised considerable funds for the Veterinary Laboratory at the Hebrew University.

Lauren Levin, the newly appointed Student Liaison Officer spent four days in Sydney from 24 to 28 February 1988. The scholarship committee consisting of Richard Dreyfus, Michael Dunkel and David Scheinberg met with Miss Levin in Sydney at Mr Dunkel's office to review the scholarship applications. Miss Levin informed the committee she would be in Israel for two weeks from 10 March.

Both the Ladies Committee and the Young Friends held functions on Sunday 27 May 1988. The Ladies Committee function was held at the home of Valda Morris where 150 people viewed an exhibition of her paintings and over 30 paintings sold. The Young Friends function was held at the home of David and Eva Scheinberg. Sixty people were present to hear Helen Bersten of the Australian Jewish Historical Society speak on early Jewish settlement in NSW. Rebecca Lacey also spoke to the meeting on her experiences as a student at the Hebrew University.

At the executive meeting on 4 May 1988, it was reported that Carol Hakim, the daughter of Mr and Mrs Albert Hakim, had requested donations be made to the Hebrew University in lieu of

presents for her 21st birthday and considerable funds were raised for research into Hodgkin's Disease. At the next meeting on 18 May the death of Ruby Rich-Schalit on 10 May 1988 at the age of 99 was reported. Nerida Goodman paid tribute to Rich-Schalit who had been instrumental in founding the NSW Friends on 31 May 1936. It was also announced that Lauren Levin had spent the second week of May in Sydney and had visited the Jewish Day Schools as well as some private and government high schools. At the executive meeting held on 1 June 1988, a letter was tabled from Harvey Krueger, chairman of the Board of Governors of the Hebrew University, advising the NSW Friends that a Board of Governors meeting would take place from 18 to 23 June 1988. Unfortunately, no one from Sydney was able to attend.

Professor Arie Shachar, Director of Urban and Regional Studies at the Hebrew University, addressed the executive meeting held on 27 June 1988. Professor Shachar was in Australia to attend the Conference on Canadian Studies, which took place in Canberra in June 1988. He provided an update on the Mt Scopus building program and also his own field of Urban Studies. Professor Shachar had ten graduates specialising in Urban and Regional Studies who were currently involved with a program to upgrade the area in front of the Jaffa Gate. At the executive meeting on 6 July 1988, the resignation of Gerda Buckwalter was accepted. She had been employed as executive secretary of the NSW Friends from 17 March 1975 to 1 August 1988.

Dr Shimon Slavin, Head of the Bone Marrow Transplant Department of the Hebrew University was in Sydney from 14 to 19 August 1988. He was interviewed by Susan Bures of the *Jewish Times* and a full page article appeared in the paper. Dr Slavin dined with David and Eva Scheinberg and their guests and also with Fred and Shirley Ehrlich and their guests during his stay in Sydney. Professor Amnon Shiloah, Professor of Musicology and Provost of the School for Overseas Students, was in Sydney from 8 to 11 September 1988. He met with principals and Jewish Studies staff of the various Jewish day schools in Sydney and also with the NSW Friends Scholarship Committee.

At the executive meeting on 28 September 1988, Berel Ginges reported he had been advised by Isador Magid that Madame Jehan Sadat, widow of the President of Egypt Anwar Sadat, would be in Sydney on 15 November 1988. A function was arranged for that day. However, three days prior the NSW Friends were advised that Madame Sadat had cancelled her visit to Australia. The function was still held and 88 people were present at the Dinner at the Hunters Lodge Restaurant, Double Bay. At very short notice the Hon Clyde

Holding, Minister for the Arts and Territories, consented to be guest speaker. He spoke of his personal recollections of Golda Meir. Eliyahu Honig presented Honorary Fellowships to Felicia and Stefan Einhorn who both replied, saying how pleased they were to have received the honour. The NSW Friends thanked George Fischer, owner of the Hunters Lodge Restaurant, for his continuing generosity in donating the function and it was noted that the catering was of an exceptionally high standard.

The 51st AGM of the NSW Friends was held on 6 November 1988 at the B'nai B'rith Centre. David Scheinberg was re-elected president and Michael Dunkel, Berel Ginges and Nerida Goodman were re-elected vice presidents. Alan Milston was re-elected honorary secretary and Richard Dreyfus re-elected honorary treasurer. Elinore Burns, Fred Ehrlich, Olga Harrison, Liane Potok and Edith Simblist-Polak were elected committee members. Dr Mark Eisenberg, a recipient of funds from the Sir Zelman Cowen Universities Fund, addressed the meeting on his research work on culturing of skin for grafting, which he carried out in conjunction with Professor Hannah Ben Bassat of the Hebrew University.

Following the meeting, the annual meeting of the Australian Friends was held. Rodney Benjamin, president of the Victorian Friends, decided that after 12 months as president of the Australian Friends, he would stand down in favour of Ron Castan QC, who was elected federal president. Isador Magid was re-elected honorary secretary and Rodney Benjamin honorary treasurer. Ron Castan had not previously been on the Committee of the Victorian Friends, but soon became very well known throughout Australia and at the Hebrew University.

All those associated with the Friends were saddened to hear of the death of Bernard Cherrick on 22 December 1988, at the age of 74. He was born in Dublin in 1914 and had visited Sydney on many occasions on behalf of the Hebrew University. From 1947 to 1988 he travelled throughout the world conveying the message of the Hebrew University to the Friends outside Israel. He was appointed a vice president of the Hebrew University in 1968 and had served twenty years in that capacity when he passed away.

The death occurred on 24 January 1989 of Frank Theeman, a supporter of the Hebrew University for many years. He had donated a room in Australia House and made valuable contributions to the Family Endowment Scheme, the Sir Zelman Cowen Trust Fund and the Golda Meir Fellowship Fund.

In February 1989 it was decided the NSW Friends would present diamond Founder pins to major donors to the Hebrew University. Pins were presented to Berel Ginges, Wolfie Pizem, Joseph Brender,

Stefan Einhorn, Frank Lowy, Hal Goldstein, John Hammond, and Albert Scheinberg. A pin was also to be presented to Dr Suzanne Sedgwick, shortly before she passed away on 1 July 1989, aged 95. Over the previous ten years, she had donated large sums to the Hebrew University, mainly for medical research. She had never asked for any acknowledgement and preferred all her donations, both to the Hebrew University and other organisations, to be anonymous.

The Annual Guessing Competition was drawn on 3 May 1989. There were 13 prizes, including a donation by Sir Peter Abeles of two Ansett return air tickets from Sydney to Cairns. During 1989 three functions were organised by the Young Friends. These were a talk by Leonie Cairns on herbal medicine held at the home of David and Eva Scheinberg, an address by Ron Klinger on 'The Finer Points of Bridge' at the home of Mr and Mrs David Hakim whilst Harold Levien spoke on the Australian economy, where the hosts were Mr and Mrs Peter Strasser. The only member of the NSW Friends to attend the Board of Governors meeting held in April 1989 was Alan Milston. At this meeting, Ron Castan was appointed an associate governor and also chaired one of the plenary sessions.

On 20 September 1989 John Hammond celebrated his 80th birthday. At this time, he had given devoted service to the Hebrew University for more than twenty years. He had been elected vice president of the NSW Friends in 1969, deputy president in 1973 and president from 1974 to 1980, when he was then appointed honorary life president. A special luncheon meeting of the executive was held in his honour and at this meeting both he and his brother, Albert Scheinberg, were presented with Hebrew University awards for their generous support of the Hebrew University.

At the executive meeting held on 4 October 1989 it was reported that after three years the estate of the late Isaac Keizer who died in September 1986 had now been finalised. The original will, leaving the entire estate to the University, had been challenged by a family member also claiming the entire estate. Through the efforts of the University's Attorney, Michael Dunkel, settlement was eventually reached through the courts thus once more protecting the University's interests and ensuring the intentions of the deceased were honoured.

The 52nd AGM of the NSW Friends was held on 1 November 1989 in the office at 32a Oxford Street, Sydney. President David Scheinberg, vice presidents Michael Dunkel, Berel Ginges and Nerida Goodman, honorary secretary Alan Milston and honorary treasurer Richard Dreyfus were all re-elected. Shirley Ehrlich presented the report of the Ladies Committee making particular mention of the Dinner Dance hosted by Wolfie Pizem where federal president, Ron

Castan, made a special trip from Melbourne with his wife for the function. Shirley Ehrlich thanked her executive and committee and also acknowledged the ongoing support of Joan Lang, the honorary auditor. Michael Dunkel tabled a report for the Sir Zelman Cowen Universities Fund showing the trustees were Sir Hermann Black, Chancellor of the University of Sydney, who passed away a few months later, Professor John Ward, Vice Chancellor of the University of Sydney, Berel Ginges and Michael Dunkel. Gerda Buckwalter was treasurer and John Hammond the honorary administrator. The fund concerned itself with medical research conducted jointly by the University of Sydney and the Hebrew University, and in particular with immunology, cancer, diabetes, multiple sclerosis and heart disease. As already mentioned, the Young Friends held three functions during the year, no report was submitted and no further meetings were held by the Young Friends.

On 24 January 1990, the Hebrew University awarded Issie Blankfield the degree of Doctor Philosophiae Honoris Causa. The citation stated that 'as Federal President of the Australian Friends, Israel Blankfield demonstrated an innate ability to motivate others to achievement'. The NSW Friends congratulated Blankfield and expressed their appreciation of his generous support to the Hebrew University.

At the executive meeting on 14 February 1990 it was reported that 10,000 ticket books for the 1990 Guessing Competition were sent to the Jewish community in Sydney and to members of the Victorian Friends. Olympic Airlines donated the first prize of a return ticket to Israel and ten other prizes were donated. The gross income was more than \$19,000, the best result achieved to date. 280 members of the NSW Friends purchased books of tickets, 310 books of tickets were purchased by non-members in NSW and 60 books of tickets were purchased by Victorians.

The death occurred on 28 February 1990 of Sir Hermann Black, Chancellor of the University of Sydney. In 1975, Nerida Goodman and John Hammond had visited Sir Hermann to request the University of Sydney honour the Hebrew University on the occasion of its Jubilee. Sir Hermann was very pleased to assist with a function held at the University of Sydney on 9 November 1975, where Sir Hermann gave an outstanding address. Sir Hermann was presented with the Torch of Learning award at a Dinner on 14 November 1976 and in 1978 he chaired the Torch of Learning dinner. On 18 November 1978, the Sir Zelman Cowen Universities Fund was set up and Sir Hermann Black became one of the foundation Trustees being extremely supportive of the Fund until his death eleven years later. The 60th Anniversary Celebration of the opening of the Hebrew

University was held in the Great Hall of the University of Sydney on 4 August 1985 with Sir Hermann in the chair. He was later interviewed and a full-page article appeared on the front page of the *Australian Jewish Times*.

At the executive meeting held on 18 April 1990 David Scheinberg suggested the NSW Friends consider holding a 'holiday auction'. This had never been suggested before so the office made preliminary inquiries as to the willingness of business people to donate prizes. By September 16 prizes had been received and it was decided that a special function consisting of a holiday auction would be held in 1991. By November there were 24 prizes. Michael and Annette Dunkel and Berel and Agnes Ginges attended the International Conference of the Friends of the Hebrew University in Montreal, Canada from 15 to 19 August, 1990. Sixteen countries were represented and they reported the organisation and arrangements for the conference were quite outstanding.

At the executive meeting on 5 September, it was reported that Professor and Mrs Ronald Sackville requested their friends to donate money to purchase books for the Hebrew University library on the occasion of their Silver Wedding Anniversary. Eliyahu Honig attended the executive meeting on 24 October and reported that during his visit to Sydney he would meet Robert Simons, John Weiss, Alan Crown, Leslie Caplan, Tom Breen, Eva Helfgott, Joseph Brender, Henry Roth and Hymie and Maureen Flekser. Avraham Harman, Chancellor of the Hebrew University, and his wife Zena, visited Sydney from 21 to 24 November 1990. A supper function was held at the Hunters Lodge, Double Bay and 130 people attended. Chancellor Harman and Justice Michael Kirby gave outstanding addresses. Harman also attended a special meeting of the NSW Friends on 23 November and articles about him appeared in both the *Sydney Morning Herald* and *The Australian*. Alan Milston attended the federal AGM held in Melbourne on Sunday 16 December 1990 where Ron Castan was re-elected president, Isador Magid secretary and Rodney Benjamin treasurer.

John Hammond had not attended executive meetings for some years and requested a meeting be held on 13 December 1990. He addressed the meeting stating that Warner Reed, who had previously worked as executive director of the NSW Friends, was offering his services again. Since leaving the Friends, he had been NSW Director of the Jewish National Fund for seven years and then Director of the Student Foundation for the Yeshiva for two years. After some discussion the executive agreed to re-employ Warner who commenced work on 4 February 1991. It was envisaged that he would travel interstate when required on behalf of the Australian Friends.

Now in his 82nd year, John Hammond was unable to attend most meetings, but he still was very active in his role as administrator of the Sir Zelman Cowen Universities Fund and as honorary life president of the NSW Friends. In October 1990 the Hebrew University requested the Fund distribute all available capital to be shared equally between the Hebrew University and the University of Sydney for research. As a result, \$750,000 was given by the Fund to the University of Sydney science funds and to the Hebrew University research funds.



*Robert Simons and David Scheinberg,
NSW Friends AGM, February 1991.*

John Hammond had also given considerable thought to involving more members of the Sydney community in the work of the NSW Friends. He proposed that Robert Simons be elected president and Cecil Hoffman honorary treasurer. This was carried out at the 53rd AGM held on 20 February 1991 at the B'nai B'rith Centre, Sydney. David Scheinberg, outgoing president, was elected a vice president and Richard Dreyfus, outgoing treasurer, as a committee member. Michael Dunkel, Berel Ginges and Nerida Goodman were re-elected vice presidents and Alan Milston was re-elected honorary secretary.

ROBERT SIMONS' TERM AS PRESIDENT

The first meeting of the executive with Robert Simons as president was held on 6 March 1991. When Warner Reed, executive director, gave his report he stated amongst other things that he was endeavouring to form a group of Young Friends aged between 30 and 40 as well as a second group from ex-students of the Hebrew University who were living in Sydney.

At the next meeting, held on 20 March 1991, Ron Castan, federal president, was present by invitation. He spoke of his visit to the Hebrew University two weeks earlier, where he attended executive meetings of the Board of Governors of the Hebrew University and his attendance at several programs which focussed on Russian students. He reported that four Australians had received fellowship awards from the Golda Meir Fellowship Fund. He had also met with Avraham Harman, Yoram Ben-Porath who had been elected president of the Hebrew University the previous year and Eliyahu Honig.

The first reunion in Sydney for students of the Hebrew University was held on 11 April 1991. All students had attended the Hebrew University's School for Overseas Students on a semester program for high school graduates. The meeting was addressed by Aaron Ram, Consul of Israel in Sydney and his wife Edna, both of whom were graduates of the Hebrew University. Several of the students spoke on their experiences at the Hebrew University.

At the executive meeting on 17 July 1991, Robert Simons reported on his three-day visit to the Hebrew University, his first visit to the University since being elected NSW president. On the first day, he met with Professor Israel Adler of the National Sound Archives at Givat Ram and with Professor Israel Shatzman, Chief of the Hebrew University Library at Givat Ram. He toured the Mt Scopus campus including the Rothberg School for Overseas Students. He had lunch on campus with Avraham Harman, Chancellor of the University, Professor Yehuda Bauer and Eliyahu Honig. After lunch, he met with Yoram Ben-Porath. On the second day he inspected the Hadassah Hospital, where he met with Professor Rami Rahamimoff and also had discussions with Marilyn Koolik of the Spielberg Jewish Film Archives. His third day included a meeting with Dr Michael Avishai Director of the Jerusalem Botanic Gardens² and dinner with Avraham Harman.

In recognition of a lifetime of service to Israel, the Hebrew University of Jerusalem awarded an honorary doctorate to John Hammond. The doctorate was conferred in Sydney on 23 July 1991 by Professor Yehuda Bauer, chairman of the Institute of Contemporary Jewry of the Hebrew University and Head of its Holocaust Studies division. The University of Sydney was represented by its Chancellor, Dame Leonie Kramer, and Robert Simons presented a book on Jerusalem to Dame Leonie. Ron Castan and Issie Blankfield and his wife flew to Sydney to attend the function.

Athol Burns passed away on 16 August 1991. He had been a member of the Friends for over fifty years and a committed supporter of all Hebrew University projects, such as the Family Endowment Plan, the Max Freilich Endowment and the Nerida Goodman Fellowship.

The Treasurer, Cecil Hoffman, organised a most successful tennis competition at Cooper Park Tennis Courts on 7 October 1991. Thirty-two people took part in the competition and forty attended the luncheon, which followed, arranged by Agnes Schwartz and Norma Hoffman. Suitable trophies were presented to all participants.

Dr Michael Avishai visited Sydney from 15 to 22 October 1991 and almost 100 people attended a function at the home of Mr and Mrs Peter Simon where Dr Avishai spoke at length and showed most interesting colour slides of the Jerusalem Botanic Gardens. After three years as president of the Ladies Committee, Shirley Ehrlich retired and Elinore Burns was elected president of the Ladies Committee on 6 November 1991.

Eliyahu Honig, associate vice president of the Hebrew University, addressed a special meeting of the executive on 30 October 1991 where he spoke of the special needs of Russian students at the Hebrew University. He also made personal contact with a number of members of the NSW Friends.

The 54th AGM of the NSW Friends was held at the B'nai B'rith Centre, Sydney on 20 November 1991. A letter of greetings and good wishes was received from Avraham Harman in Jerusalem. Robert Simons, in his president's report, spoke of his visit to the Hebrew University and the very friendly welcome he received. He made particular mention of the 20th issue of the Year Book and thanked Warner Reed, Agnes Schwartz and Carol Dor for their work in producing such a fine book. The president, four vice presidents, honorary secretary and honorary treasurer were all re-elected and the committee was expanded from five to seven members with Edith Simblist-Polak and Ted Whitgob joining the committee. Elinore Burns tabled the report of the Ladies Committee and Robert Simons made special mention of Edith Simblist-Polak for her efforts for the Friends over the past thirty years. A motion of appreciation was passed to John Hammond for setting up the Sir Zelman Cowen Universities Fund thirteen years previously and, as honorary administrator of the Fund, for his excellent work. Since the formation of the Fund, \$2,673,000 has been distributed – half to the Hebrew University and half to the University of Sydney.

At the executive meeting held on 4 December Warner Reed reported on his progress in involving younger members of the community with the Hebrew University. Robert Simons reported on the successful function held at the home of Fred and Cheryl Bart, where Geoff Sirmay, 'consumer watchdog', was the guest speaker. Forty people attended the function, aimed at the 30-45 age group. Fifteen people were present at the second reunion of the Hebrew University semester programme graduates. Lieutenant Colonel Rami



L to R: Messrs Warner Reed, Michael Dunkel, Alan Milston, Robert Simons, Goren (Israel's Consul General to Australia), David Scheinberg and Berel Ginges with Mesdames Nerida Goodman, Edith Simblist Polak and Mr Richard Dreyfus, NSW Friends AGM, February 1991.

Ganor addressed the group on the peace talks held in 1991 in Madrid.

The first 'Travel Auction' organised by the NSW Friends was held at the Ritz Carlton Hotel, Double Bay on 9 February 1992. 800 invitations had been sent out and over 200 people accepted, many of whom had not previously attended a function of the NSW Friends. Rodney Hyman and Simon Feilich were both entertaining and effective as auctioneers and contributed much to the enjoyment of the evening. There was also a violinist and guitarist to provide music during dinner. Ron Castan QC, Federal President, flew from Melbourne to attend the function and was the successful bidder for the 4WD Daihatsu Feroza Special Edition car.

At the executive meeting held on 4 March 1992, Professor Joshua Weisman, Former Dean of the Hebrew University's Faculty of Law, addressed the executive and pointed out that Hebrew University law graduates held many important positions in the Israeli administration. Professor Weisman was in Sydney at the invitation of the University of Sydney to give a seminar and he noted that 17% of the students of the Faculty of Law are Arab, which was about the same percentage of the Arab population in Israel in 1992. On 22 March 1992, 21 people in the 30-45 age group attended an evening in the Monash Room of the Hakoah Club. Danny Dreyfus and Geejay

Schneeweiss addressed the meeting on the workings of the Sydney Stock Exchange.

Ron Castan, Alan Milston, Marcia Milston, Edith Simblist-Polak, Con Polak and Robert Simons attended the Board of Governors meeting held from 14 to 19 June 1992. Ron Castan was asked to chair a session of the full board of the governors, which he did in his customary highly efficient manner.

The NSW Friends were part sponsors of a debating team from the Hebrew University which visited Sydney from 5 July to 22 July 1992. The Hebrew University team competed in the Australasian Universities Debating Tournament, where some 46 teams participated. During their stay in Sydney, the team was interviewed by the *Australian Jewish News*, the ABC and ethnic radio stations. On 22 July a friendly debate was held at Moriah College between a team of Jewish university students and the Hebrew University debating team. About 250 people were present and the moderator of the debate was Jeremy Jones.

Sinai Leichter of the Department of Yiddish at the Hebrew University visited Sydney between 29 July and 3 August 1992. He gave an address at the Yiddish Folk Centre, addressed B'rith Ivrit Olamit and spoke to a Yiddish-speaking group at the North Shore Synagogue. He was interviewed by the Jewish press and on the Jewish radio program.

In February 1992 Warner Reed had suggested to the executive that the Friends establish a group for retired members of the Sydney Jewish community. The first meeting of this group was held on Wednesday 23 September 1992 at the Ritz Carlton Hotel, Double Bay. The meeting was attended by 31 people and was chaired by Nerida Goodman. The inaugural guest speaker was Marian Purvis who, together with her husband, the Hon Justice Purvis, had visited the Hebrew University in July and been particularly impressed by the medical research being carried out at the University. It was decided to call this group the 'Honours Club' and for the next 17 years, the club met on the fourth Wednesday of each month in Double Bay.

During 1992 the Ladies Committee held 12 very successful functions, the highlight again being the Coachmen Dinner Dance with 140 people present. This was once more sponsored by Wolfie Pizem, the owner, who provided all food and drink at no charge to the NSW Friends. Other functions included a makeup demonstration at the home of Alexandra Minc, a Sunday morning function at the home of Robyn Manoy for the UIA, a Bridge Day at the Hakoah Club and a luncheon at Pat Sinclair's home where Sylvia Rosenblum spoke on Museumology. In September, the Committee held a book launch at the Holdsworth Gallery where, once more, Gisella Scheinberg

donated the use of her gallery. For the second year Cecil Hoffman organised a successful tennis competition held on Sunday 11 October 1992 at The Scots College where 31 people took part and enjoyed both the tennis and the luncheon provided. Again, Agnes Schwartz arranged the trophies.

In October 1992 the Victorian Friends requested that the NSW Executive Director, Warner Reed, visit Melbourne to assist with the organisation of the Victorian Friends. He travelled to Melbourne on 9 November and spent three days in the Victorian office.

The 55th AGM of the NSW Friends was held at the B'nai B'rith Centre on 25 November 1992. Cecil Hoffman retired as treasurer and Alan Milston was appointed acting honorary treasurer in addition to his position as honorary secretary. Robert Simons was re-elected president and Michael Dunkel, Berel Ginges, Nerida Goodman and David Scheinberg were elected vice presidents.

On Sunday 29 November 70 people attended the launching of the Henry Roth Parkinson's Research Foundation. The guest speaker was to have been Ambassador Avi Primor, vice president of the Hebrew University, however at the last minute he was unable to come to Australia. Eliyahu Honig agreed to represent the Hebrew University and gave an excellent speech. Robert Simons was the chairman and a pianist provided appropriate music. At the executive meeting on 2 December 1992 Michael Dunkel mentioned that some time ago incorporation had been looked into but no action taken. The Executive decided that the status quo of the NSW Friends should remain for the time being. On Sunday 20 December 1992, in the home of Mr and Mrs Keith Baker, a function was held in honour of Professor Uri Bargai, Dean of the newly established Veterinary Faculty of the Hebrew University, who was visiting Sydney. Seven practicing Sydney veterinarians attended as well as a number of members of the Friends.

The fourth meeting of the Honours Club, the first for 1993, was held on 27 January at the Ritz-Carlton Hotel, Double Bay. The guest speaker was Elizabeth Fletcher of the Human Rights and Equal Opportunities Commission. Regular meetings continued on the fourth Wednesday of the month and, at the meeting on 24 March 1993 attended by NSW President Robert Simons, in addition to the guest speaker, the first Annual General Meeting of the Honours Club was held.

Akiva Eldar, an Israeli journalist, visited Sydney and over 150 people were present at the function co-sponsored by the NSW Friends at the Hakoah Club, Bondi, on Wednesday evening, 14 April 1993. He gave an address on 'The Peace Process under Pressure'. Mr Eldar also met a number of guests at the home of Robert Simons and attended

a breakfast meeting in the office of Michael Dunkel. During his visit to Canberra, he met with the Australian Foreign Minister, Senator Gareth Evans.

The year 1993 was a notable year for the NSW Friends when the office acquired a 486 computer which allowed the Friends to typeset the Year Book and prepare artwork for invitations and other printed matter.

In June 1993, Robert Simons attended the Board of Governors meeting and was present at the dedication of the Raphael Magid Auditorium at the Hebrew University's Medical School, Ein Kerem. Isador Magid and Victorian Friends President, Steven Skala, together with Robert Simons, attended many functions including the Committee for Overseas Students and the Rothberg School for Overseas Students board meeting.

On 16 June 1993, Dr Yonatan Mirvis of the Florence Melton Adult Education Institute of the Hebrew University addressed the executive and spoke with great enthusiasm of the work being carried out at the University to assist with Jewish adult education programmes throughout the diaspora.

Professor Nehemia Levtzion and his wife, Tirtza, visited Sydney in September 1993. Professor Levtzion was a Hebrew University Professor of the History of the Muslim Peoples. Over 250 people attended a public function where he gave a most interesting address on the role of Islam in international relations. Mrs Levtzion is the Director of the Pedagogical Department of the Hebrew University's School of Education and she addressed the executive on 23 September 1993. At the same meeting, Ted Whitgob reported he had organised a successful bridge evening. The Ladies Committee also reported that another successful Waterfront Restaurant Dinner Dance again sponsored by Wolfie Pizem had been held. Funds were raised from a raffle and the auction of a carpet. Elinore Burns, President of the Ladies Committee, presented a framed picture of the Hebrew University to Wolfie Pizem.

At the executive meeting on 20 October 1993, it was reported that Dr Keith Baker, a veterinary surgeon, had asked guests on the occasion of his 70th birthday, in lieu of presents, to make donations to the Koret School of Veterinary Medicine at the Hebrew University. Alan Milston reported that on 31 October 1993, he attended a private function in honour of the 70th birthday of Dr Baker where a considerable sum was raised for the School of Veterinary Science at the Hebrew University and he had presented a certificate to Dr Baker.

Ron Castan, federal president, was present at the NSW executive meeting on 1 November 1993. Amongst other matters, he reported that the Perth Friends are active, holding several functions each year.

However, he pointed out that strong support is required from the federal body to assist the Victorian Office.

The annual general meeting of the NSW Ladies Committee was held on 12 October 1993. Elinore Burns was re-elected president, Mara Kanarek was elected vice president, Shirley Ehrlich re-elected secretary, Liane Potok re-elected treasurer and Denise Sten elected assistant treasurer.

Eliyahu Honig was present at the 56th AGM of the NSW Friends held at the B'nai B'rith Centre, Sydney on 24 November 1993 and addressed the meeting. He had spent five weeks in Melbourne and reported that there was dynamic enthusiasm in the young leadership and women's group of the Victorian Friends. In his president's report, Robert Simons thanked John Hammond for his wonderful work for the Sir Zelman Cowen Universities Fund. He had visited Mr Hammond in the Montefiore Home at Hunters Hill to congratulate him on receiving an honorary fellowship from the University of Sydney. He also conveyed his gratitude to Richard Dreyfus for his efforts with regard to the Jerusalem and Hebrew University Botanic Gardens and his work allocating scholarships to students wishing to attend the Hebrew University. During the year ended 30 June 1993, 20 students had received financial assistance, mostly from the estate of the late Ludwig and Augusta Menasche. Richard Dreyfus stated that the work of contacting prospective students was carried out by Lindy Mahemoff from the Melbourne office and he thanked the Sydney and Melbourne offices for their cooperation in making it possible for so many students to go from Australia to the Hebrew University.

Warner Reed reported that attendances at the Honours Club meetings had been up to 60 people. Nerida Goodman was elected chairman of the group at its AGM. At the election of office bearers Robert Simons was re-elected president, Alan Milston honorary secretary and Richard Dreyfus honorary treasurer. Michael Dunkel was re-appointed honorary solicitor and Mr Simons expressed his appreciation to him for his time and effort over the past 15 years, noting that he had spent thousands of hours of work for the Hebrew University and had saved the Friends very considerable legal expenses.

Alfred Slucki passed away on 10 November 1993. After some legacies, he left the balance of his estate to the Hebrew University to be held in trust for the purpose of establishing a scholarship fund to be known as the 'Basia and Hirsch Slucki Scholarship Fund', the income from which was to be applied annually for the provision of scholarships for needy students at the Hebrew University.

At the executive meeting on 1 December 1993, it was reported that Robert Simons, Eliyahu Honig and Warner Reed had met with

Mrs Bobby Adler, who was agreeable to the inauguration of a Foundation to be known as the Larry Adler Memorial Foundation for Diabetes Research. Mrs Adler made the first contribution. Mr Reed reported also, that together with Eliyahu Honig, he visited many supporters of the NSW Friends and that they had always been warmly received.

At the executive meeting on 15 December 1993, it was reported that 150 people attended the 1993 auction, held at the Ritz-Carlton Hotel, Double Bay. Robert Simons reported that the atmosphere at the auction was excellent and the fete stalls, which were manned by members of the office and Young Friends, provided a very pleasant attraction. He also said that the music was first class and thanked Warner Reed, Carol Dor and Agnes Schwartz for their commitment and dedication to the function.

At the next meeting held on 2 February 1994 it was reported that Mrs van der Weyer had gifted a collection of correspondence between her father and Albert Einstein which is to be presented to the Hebrew University's Einstein archives. It was also reported that Christine Frocht would host the Ladies Committee meeting on 8 February 1994, which would be addressed by Leanne Piggott. Alan Milston advised the meeting he had been asked by the Australian Jewish Historical Society to present a paper on the history of the NSW Friends of the Hebrew University on Tuesday 4 October 1994 at the Great Synagogue.

At the executive meeting on 2 March 1994 Ted Whitgob reported that a meeting had been arranged where Dr Tara Tweg, who had recently arrived in Australia from Canada, and others would discuss the formation of a young set for the 25 to 35 age bracket. He added that he was prepared to organise a 'Trivial Pursuit' night with the venue to be left to the Ladies Committee. He also suggested a film night be held at either Hoyts Bondi Junction or the Village Theatre Double Bay. Elinore Burns was to discuss these options with the Ladies Committee. Also at the meeting, Elinore was welcomed back from her overseas trip and reported on her stay in Jerusalem where she met with the president of the Jerusalem Friends and asked that they keep the NSW Friends informed of their plans. During her stay she again worked in the hothouse of the Botanic Gardens and met with Natalie Fischer, who was working in the Australian section of the Jerusalem Botanic Gardens.

At the executive meeting on 6 April 1994 it was reported that a meeting had been held on 8 March at the home of Dr Tara Tweg to form a 'Young Leadership' group, which planned to hold about four functions each year. At the meeting it was also confirmed the Trustees representing the Hebrew University on the Sir Zelman

Cowen Universities Fund were Sir Zelman Cowen and John Hammond. A copy of a letter from federal president Ron Castan to Vidal Sassoon was tabled. The letter stated that Melbourne hoped to honour Mr Sassoon when he visited in August 1994 and would invite support for the Vidal Sassoon International Center for the Study of Antisemitism at the Hebrew University.

At the executive meeting on 20 April 1994, it was noted that Edith Port had been elected as president of the NSW Friends Honours Club. The Young Leadership group held its first function on 19 June 1994 at Joe's Garage in Potts Point. About 100 people were present and a profit was made on the evening. The function had been organised by Tara Tweg with assistance from Ted Whitgob.

The 57th AGM of the NSW Friends was held on 16 November 1994 at the B'nai B'rith Centre, Sydney. In his president's report, Robert Simons mentioned the visitors from the Hebrew University, including Eliyahu Honig, Professor Jacob Lorch, Professor Jashovan Shani and Prof Alice Shalvi. Functions were hosted by Richard and Dora Dreyfus and Michael and Eva Reed for Professor Lorch to raise interest in the Jerusalem and University Botanic Gardens. He also mentioned that Alan Milston had compiled the history of the NSW Friends from its formation in 1936 to 1971 and had presented an address to the Australian Jewish Historical Society along with a 20-minute video on the Hebrew University. It was subsequently decided to include the history, in instalments, in the Australian Friends Year Book. Elinore Burns presented the Ladies Committee Report and thanked all her committee for a successful year, particularly Edith Simblist-Polak for taking the position of Acting President while she was overseas.

Alan Milston, on behalf of John Hammond, reported on the Sir Zelman Cowen Universities Fund. He reported that for the first 12 years of the Fund, only interest was distributed – half to the University of Sydney and half to the Hebrew University. However, since 1990 capital distributions had been made and in 1994 there were five projects receiving funding. He pointed out that the Trustee representing the University of Sydney was Professor Jonathan Stone, Department of Anatomy, the son of the late Professor Julius Stone.

Richard Dreyfus presented the report of the Student and Scholarship Committee. He stated 56 students were about to leave Australia to undertake courses at the Hebrew University. Of the 56, one was from Queensland, two from Western Australian and the remainder almost equally divided between NSW and Victoria. The numbers attending each program were: British & Australia Semester Program – 14, One Year Program – 11, Graduate Studies – 2, Mishpatim Law Course – 19, Dec/Jan Political Studies Course – 10. Of

the 56 students, 11 received financial assistance from the Menasche Estate. He also pointed out that the Hebrew University is very keen to have overseas students.

At the election of office bearers John Hammond was re-elected honorary life president, Robert Simons president, Nerida Goodman vice president, Alan Milston honorary secretary, Richard Dreyfus honorary treasurer and Ted Whitgob publicity officer. Elinore Burns, Prof Fred Ehrlich, Shirley Ehrlich, Philip Moses, Edith Simblist-Polak and Kenneth Wolpert were elected members of the committee.

In his president's report for the year 1993-94, Robert Simons reported that Mrs Bobby Adler and her family had inaugurated a fund to be known as the Larry Adler Fund for Diabetes Research, in honour of her late husband. Mrs Adler had made a substantial contribution to commence the Foundation and her son Rodney was approaching prospective donors to the Fund. A function would be held on 4 December 1994 to launch the Foundation where the guest of honour would be Ambassador Moshe Arad, Hebrew University Vice President for External Relations and former Ambassador to the United States who would be visiting Sydney from 1 to 6 December 1994.

On his first day in Sydney on 1 December the Ambassador met Harry Triguboff and in the evening he had a private dinner with David and Eva Scheinberg at their home, followed by a drawing room meeting attended by 20 people. On Friday 2 December he gave an interview to Margaret Gutman for the Ethnic Radio station and then met with the executive of the NSW Friends for lunch in the boardroom at Michael Dunkel's office. In the evening, he met with Mrs Bobby Adler, Rodney and Lyndi Adler and other members of the family for dinner and on Saturday evening he was entertained by Robert and Janet Simons. On the Sunday the Ambassador was shown around Sydney by Steven Stux and in the evening attended the launch of the Larry Adler Foundation. The function was held at the Refectory, University of Sydney, and Ambassador Arad addressed an audience of more than 100 people lauding Bobby Adler and stressing the activities of the Hebrew University and its place in Jewish life in Israel and throughout the world, and presented Mrs Adler with a framed certificate from the University. The next day he addressed a specially convened meeting of the Honours Club and spoke to about 80 members. At 1pm he met with the Registrar and Vice Principal of Macquarie University to establish the initial contact for accreditation of student exchange between Macquarie University and the Hebrew University. In the evening, he attended a drawing room meeting at the home of Michael and Isabel Shur where he addressed 16 people, all of whom had emigrated from South Africa to Sydney.

As can be seen, over the years, the NSW Friends played an active role in fund-raising for the university and in sponsoring various cultural functions in Sydney relating to the university's research and teaching. A small band of dedicated voluntary workers, together with the office staff ensured that these functions were a success. Thus, under the leadership of David Scheinberg and later Robert Simons, the Friends continued to be a thriving organisation.

ENDNOTES

1. Alan Milston's article was printed in the *AJHS Journal*, vol. XIII part 2, (June 1996), pp. 264-307. It covered the background to the formation of the 'Friends' group in May 1936 and described the activities and development of the organisation for the next 35 years up until 1971. Alan Milston continued writing this history and, at the time of his death, had reached 1994. Part II covering the years 1972-1984 appeared in *AJHSJ* vol. XXI, part 4 (2014), pp. 633-658.
2. The Jerusalem Botanic Gardens started as a project run by the Botany department of the Hebrew University. Originally situated on the Mt Scopus campus the present garden was developed near the Givat Ram campus when that opened in 1954. By this time (1991) the Gardens was a joint project between the University, the Municipality of Jerusalem and the JNF with its own strong international Friends group.

LET MY PEOPLE GO*

Robert Goot

To all of the mothers here – Happy Mother’s Day. I excused my mother, at age 101, from being here, and she in turn, gave me dispensation to enable me to attend, because she is mentioned in the book.

When I was asked to launch *Let My People Go - the untold story of Australia and the Soviet Jews, 1959-89*, I had not yet read the book. But I had known and admired each of the authors for more than 40 years and having heard over the last several years from them as to its progress, I had no hesitation in saying yes to their request.

Then I read the book. Having done so, at the outset, I want to express my great praise and admiration to Sam and Suzanne for their outstanding efforts in chronicling the unique Australian perspective of the heroic saga of the struggle for the rights of three million soviet Jews, which had an important side effect in helping to redefine the manner in which the Australian Jewish community and its leadership discharged its role in matters of critical importance to *Am Yisrael* (the People of Israel).

The plight of Soviet Jewry, upon which firstly Australian and then world Jewry focused its efforts over 30 critical years, captured the imagination and galvanized Jewish communities internationally, none more so than in Australia, because it was all of:

- a response to the miraculous rebirth of Jewish identity of Jews in the Soviet Union who had been repressed as Jews for 50 years until the fall of the Berlin Wall in 1989;
- a collaborative effort between heroes in the Soviet Union and helpers in the west;
- at its core, a fight for human rights, with which well-meaning people, opinion makers and politicians across the political spectrum could and did identify; and

*This speech was given at the book launch on Mother’s Day on 10 May 2015 at the Sydney Jewish Museum.

- the reaffirmation of Israel as the Jewish homeland and its unique role in the ingathering of exiles.

Isi Leibler summed it up in late 1985, in his testimony to a US Congressional Sub- Committee when he said:

The renaissance of Soviet Jewry is one of the greatest inspirational sagas of the 20th century. After 60 years of Communism, Stalinist repression, and systematic discrimination, the rebirth of Jewish identity in the Soviet Union has been a triumph of the human spirit and a testament to the persistence of faith, tradition and civilization over tyranny, ideology and the police state. It is the only movement since the Russian Revolution to force real and fundamental change, albeit temporary, in the Soviet system.¹

The book's emphasis on the role played by Australian Jewry and its leadership and Isi Leibler in particular, is of course well placed and known to those of us who were privileged to be part of the unprecedented activism for this cause. Sam and Suzanne however, have chronicled the events with painstaking attention to detail. Suzanne's research especially of Australian government records and Isi Leibler's vast archive reveals previously unpublished information and Sam's insights drawn from his direct experiences in Melbourne, Washington and Moscow, have enabled them to tell the whole story in a truly fascinating, inspiring and riveting account.

And what a story it is. As the book unfolds we are taken on a remarkable journey. The journey starts almost at the end with the public meeting in Melbourne in 1988 to welcome and honour 15 *refuseniks*, by then household names in the Jewish community. Each had waited from 12 to 17 years to leave the Soviet Union. Each had lost their jobs. Each had been harassed, arrested, repeatedly threatened, had their phones tapped, been interrogated and been denounced as parasites and enemies of the state. But they were now free.

The book then returns to the beginning of the journey. We learn of the clandestine Israeli organization, *Lishkah's* efforts in 1959 to recruit Isi Leibler and others to take up the challenge; the work of Shaul Avigur and Nehemiah Levanon and Emanuel Litvinoff in London, with all of whom I was privileged to work. We are treated to a part history of the Executive Council of Australian Jewry (ECAJ), when the authors revisit the tensions from 1958 to 1968 between the Melbourne and Sydney Jewish leadership, over the preferred course to take. This was a time, as Sam has often noted, when giants strode the earth - Syd Einfield in Sydney and Maurice Ashkanasy in

Melbourne – ‘Syd’ and ‘Ash’ or ‘Ashcan’ as he was known at the Bar. Interestingly, between them they held the presidency of the ECAJ for twenty successive years - Syd four terms and Ash five terms. Of course that was back in the days of no fixed terms and no *Australian Jewish News* editorials complaining of ‘recycled Presidents’.

The authors explain the Senator Sam Cohen ‘affair’ of the early 1960s and its effect on relationships, not just within the Jewish community leadership, but importantly on and within the Australian Labor Party (ALP) and its impact on bipartisan support for Soviet Jewry in the Australian parliament. These were times of high emotions, strong passions and robust debate. Indeed, the debate was arguably too robust. In a candid comment in the book, Sam Lipski acknowledges that the use of ‘*J'accuse*’ as the heading and within his front-page editorial, pillorying Senator Sam Cohen in the *Australian Jewish Herald* in October 1962, was, in retrospect, unfair.

But these ECAJ leadership issues, which the book notes resurfaced in the events leading up to the 1980 Moscow Olympics (and which I am happy to report are a thing of the past), set the background for a fascinating analysis of the important, if not pivotal, role that successive Australian governments played in helping to place the Soviet Jewry issue on the international stage and in particular at the UN.

We learn of the initial intervention of W.C. Wentworth in 1962 with Garfield Barwick, Menzies’ Minister for External Affairs, which resulted in Soviet Jewry as a human rights issue being raised, for the first time by any government, in the 3rd Committee of the UN (despite the opposition of DET, the precursor to DFAT).

The Australian delegate detailed “violent and inflammatory” examples of anti-Semitism, referred to the ban on baking matzot (the unleavened Passover bread), noted the high proportion of Jews sentenced to death for “economic crimes”, and pointed out that Jewish communities around the world had “expressed concern at the treatment of Jewish people in Russia.”²

As instructed, he introduced the significant additional request:

... should the USSR find difficulty in according to Soviet Jewry full freedom to practise their religion, it should, we believe, permit them to leave the country. Indeed, it had a moral obligation to do so under article 13, paragraph 2, of the UN Declaration of Human Rights, which said: “Everyone has the right to leave a country, including his own, and to return to his country.”³

That was in 1962. That was the beginning.

The impact of that intervention cannot be underestimated. It influenced the stance taken by the US administration and significantly, by the Government of Israel, by the Soviet Government and most importantly by Soviet Jews themselves. As Moshe Dechter observed:

Australia's succinct and marvellous United Nations intervention was of great value and significance. It was unprecedented in that this was the first time that the problem of Soviet Jewry was discussed at the UN on an official governmental level. It was valued on two counts:

a) it helped to make the Soviets more aware than ever before of the concern felt in the West about Soviet Jews;

b) it impressed other UN delegates with the seriousness of the question ... so that the door has been opened for further and more systematic efforts by the UN.⁴

The chapters in the book examining the debates, correspondence and dialogues within and with the CPA and the publication of *Soviet Jewry and Human Rights* and later *Soviet Jewry and the Australian Communist Party*, is recognition of another of Isi Leibler's seminal roles in the struggle.⁵ This was a unique and critically important interaction with Bernie Taft, Rex Mortimer and others, which ultimately led to the public recognition by the left of the debasement of the human rights of Soviet Jews by the Soviet Union. For his efforts, Leibler also came to the attention of ASIO whose files have been accessed by Suzanne.

Leibler's sometimes brash, combative, obsessive and impatient approach, which had at times earned the displeasure, to use a neutral term, of many in the Jewish leadership both in Sydney and Melbourne and others, was now to be played out in the councils of international Jewry and in particular at the World Jewish Congress.

The president of the World Jewish Congress (WJC), Nahum Goldman's approach to the Soviet Jewry issue was one of quiet diplomacy or *shatlonus*, the term Isi was fond of using to deride it. From 1965 to 1966, in Geneva, Strasbourg and Brussels, at meetings of the Executive and Governing Board of the WJC, Leibler with his trademark tenacity if not *chutzpah* confronted and challenged Nahum Goldmann – the 'King of the Jews', on both tactics – public activism vs private diplomacy, and policy – pressing the right to emigrate, gradually garnering support as he went. Leibler's

approach was supported by the ECAJ under Ashkanazy who entered the fray telling Goldmann "We will not desist with those who think as we do, we shall go forward".⁶

The Australian approach met with significant initial resistance in the WJC and the debate continued, but the WJC and Goldman were relegated to the sidelines by the early 1970s, as the by then very public Campaign for Soviet Jewry, gained momentum and traction both inside and outside the Soviet Union. That militancy was the death knell of quiet diplomacy.

Meantime back in the USSR, the Soviet response to the Israeli victory in the Six-Day War, including the re-publication of Kitchko's notoriously antisemitic *Judaism Without Embellishment*⁷ and Ivanov's *Beware Zionism*,⁸ the communist version of *The Protocols of the Elders of Zion*, was accompanied by further active measures against Jews in religious and cultural life and of course visa refusals for the growing numbers of Soviet Jews seeking to emigrate to Israel.

By 1970, it was estimated that somewhere between 80,000 and 240,000 Soviet Jews had applied to leave. The Soviet refusal to grant exit visas in accordance with international law, only further emboldened both some Soviet Jews to take the extraordinarily courageous step of applying for visas and their supporters in the west to protest more actively, as discussed in the book:

The first such group to attract significant international attention were eighteen Georgian Jews who petitioned the United Nations on 6 August 1969. Another letter, to UN Secretary-General U Thant, and signed by 531 Georgian Jews, ended with the cry: "Israel or death." In March 1970, 39 Moscow Jews wrote supporting this petition, and in an appeal to Soviet leaders, 37 Leningrad Jews wrote:

Our motives are not social or political; our motives are deeply national and spiritual. We want to live in the re-born State of our ancient people ... We want to live in our historic motherland, in our own country.⁹

The Georgian Jews' petition to U Thant finally convinced the Government of Israel to abandon the policy of only pushing for emigration by secret negotiations, in favour of direct and public calls for the granting of exit visas. Golda Meir, 21 years after becoming Israel's Ambassador to Moscow, read to the Knesset:

We sincerely believe the day will come when we shall witness a large wave of immigration from the Soviet Union of old and

young alike ... We cannot abandon our legitimate interest in the fate of Soviet Jewry for the sake of some doubtful friendship with the Soviet Union, a country which, by its actions in this region, has put a question mark on our very existence.¹⁰

In 1970 in Australia, the ECAJ under its President Gerald Falk initiated the Campaign for the Rescue of Soviet Jewry under the chairmanship of Marcus Einfeld. Many of us well remember the 3000 strong rally at Sydney Town Hall on 30 August 1970, listening to Marcus' galvanising and inspiring address, shortly after the arrests of Edward Kutnetzov and Mark Dymshits and 32 of their courageous fellow Jews, responsible for the Leningrad hijack attempt - the first 'Prisoners of Zion'

The Leningrad Hijack trials and the sentences of death by firing squad imposed on Kutnetzov and Dymshits led to further international outcry. In Australia there were protests and vigils in Canberra and elsewhere, petitions and letters of protest. John Gorton as Prime Minister was sympathetic to the Jewish community's pleas to speak up, but Foreign Minister McMahon was inclined to accept the advice of DFAT, which was:

... We need to be careful that we do not intrude too far on the principle of non-interference in domestic affairs – a principle which we, generally, strongly support.¹¹

Gorton rejected that advice and in response to an appeal from Golda Meir, wrote to U Thant asking that the severe punishment not proceed. He did so in the face of Departmental advice advising against any action:

These people are Soviet citizens, dealt with presumably in accordance with Soviet 'law'. We invite retaliatory complaints with either (i) the aborigines (ii) PNG (Papua and New Guinea)...

We have always failed to see what special interest Israel as State has in relation to people, citizens of other States, who happen to be Jewish. Do we, for instance, concede to Israel some rights in connection with Australian citizens of the Jewish race?¹²

Gorton's stance was supported by the media and the ALP, the Communist Party of Australia (CPA), Australian Council of Trade Unions (ACTU) and others. The death sentences were eventually commuted to 15 years' hard labour and Kutnetzov and Dymshits were freed in 1979 and were welcomed in Israel as heroes.

The importance of this openly mass public phase of the campaign, which is perhaps more widely known than the earlier ground-breaking achievements of the 1960s, cannot be underestimated. For most in the Jewish community, especially its younger members, it was their first experience of public Jewish activism. In the 1970s people signed up for the campaign: they protested, wrote letters, organised petitions, marched on the streets, held vigils, bussed to Canberra for rallies outside the Soviet Embassy and generally did everything possible, often with great imagination and effect, to highlight the plight of Soviet Jewry.

I believe this public mass activism had at least three lasting effects on the community and its leadership. Firstly, it provided the model for young Jews in particular to take up other causes, notably Israel, during the campus anti-Israel - 'democratic secular state' activities, on campuses and elsewhere in the 1970s and beyond. Secondly, it produced a new generation of Jewish leaders and Jews committed to the rigorous public espousal of Jewish causes. It needs to be noted that the then leadership of the community both in Sydney and in Melbourne did everything to encourage that transition. Thirdly, it cemented the approach to be adopted, and since adhered to, that when it comes to Jewish rights including of course the State of Israel, the community had to speak up publicly, albeit in calibrated and reasonable terms, and had to enlist the support of like-minded individuals across the political, media, union, NGO and general communal landscapes. These were the lasting effects in Australia, of the struggle for Soviet Jewry, which have guided Australian Jewish advocacy since that time and continue to do so.

As the book makes clear, the public pressure was achieving results. The Leningrad Hijack trials gave considerable momentum to the international Soviet Jewry movement. The US formed a National Committee for Soviet Jewry led by Jerry Goodman. World Conferences on Soviet Jewry were convened in Brussels in 1971 and 1976 and in Jerusalem in 1983. I was privileged to represent Australia at the second Brussels conference where all in attendance were inspired by the depth and nature of Golda Meir's involvement.

The struggle continued with the 1972 'Ransom Tax' decree, requiring those applying for visas to compensate the Soviet government for the cost of their education on an exorbitant scale. Once more there were massive international protests and the international campaign was galvanised into action. The Australian community both Jewish and non-Jewish, was not found wanting. The McMahon government raised the issue directly with the Soviet Government. The Ransom Tax decree led directly to the historic Jackson/Vanik amendment to the US/Soviet Free Trade Agreement,

conditioning the granting of MFN status to the Soviet Union, on the rescission of the Ransom Tax.

As a result of Jackson's audacious statesmanship, Soviet Jewry assumed a key position in the US/ Soviet relationship. The book provides fascinating detail of this impact: – the role of Richard Perle, the attitude of Henry Kissinger, the moves by Nixon and Kissinger towards *détente* and the SALT talks, the Nixon Brezhnev June 1973 summit and much more. Sam Lipski, at the time the Washington correspondent for the *Australian* newspaper, had a unique opportunity to observe and report on these developments, including his meetings with Golda Meir on her four visits to the Nixon White House. His insights and observations on this critical period, and others, are an important and fascinating part of the book.

While Golda and her US Ambassador Yitzhak Rabin knew that the Jackson amendment troubled the US administration, they were not aware of the true extent to which Soviet Jewish emigration worried Nixon and Kissinger. In December 2010, Nixon's White House tapes were disclosed as having recorded the following exchange between Kissinger and Nixon:

The emigration of Jews from the Soviet Union is not an objective of American foreign policy. And if they put Jews into gas chambers in the Soviet Union it is not an American concern. Maybe a humanitarian concern.

Nixon responded: I know. We can't blow up the whole world because of it.¹³

And, Kissinger's further comment:

I think that the Jewish community in this country on that issue (Soviet Jewry) is behaving unconscionably. It's behaving traitorously.¹⁴

Readers of Christopher Hitchens' *The Trial of Henry Kissinger* will hardly be surprised at Kissinger's perfidy.¹⁵ Golda Meir however, refused to agree to Kissinger's demand that she influence US Jewish leadership to drop their support for the Jackson amendment, described by Richard Perle as 'the single most important piece of human rights legislation in the 20th century'. The Ransom Tax became a dead letter and in 1972-73, some 66,000 Jews left Russia for Israel.

Meanwhile in Australia, the Jewish community was coming to grips with the Whitlam government. It was a very troubling period

as the title of Chapter 12 'You People are Hard to Please' indicates. As far as the Soviet Jewry movement was concerned Whitlam's record was at best mixed, but the anti-Israel campaign after the 1973 Yom Kippur War gave the community other issues with which it had to deal.

Malcolm Fraser, by contrast, was much more sympathetic to the Soviet Jewry cause. It was under his prime ministership that, on the petition of W.C. Wentworth, the Australian parliament, despite the misgivings and discomfiture of Department of Foreign Affairs and Trade (DFAT), established in 1977 the Parliamentary Joint Committee on Foreign Affairs and Defence's Inquiry into Human Rights in the Soviet Union. The Committee met 28 times and heard from 25 witnesses, including Professor Alexander Voronel and produced a 1,059 page report, which was tabled in parliament in November 1979. The report was an historic and landmark document which received widespread approval in Australia and overseas.

A significant part of this wonderful book focuses on events surrounding the 1980 Moscow Olympics and the way in which that event not only presented opportunities for the Soviet Jewry movement, but also demonstrated the lack of leadership consensus on how to leverage those opportunities – to boycott or not to boycott. We read of the appointment of Isi Leibler's company, Jetset, as the Australian Olympic Committee's official travel agent for the games and the controversy that generated; the opportunities that the AOC appointment provided Isi Leibler to visit Russia, meet with and advance the cause of the *refuseniks*; the Hawke visits; the Australian government's boycott of the games; and much more. It is a part of the story filled with excitement, allegations of conflict of interest, leadership schisms, intrigue, shady KGB operatives; lots of vodka, some beer (in deference to Hawke), hope and despair, but above all of Soviet Jewish heroes. In short, the book conveys a fascinating plot, larger than life characters and, most importantly for Soviet Jewry, a happy ending. And not only is it true, but it recounts a part of the saga that is driven uniquely by Australians.

At the centre of it all is one Isi Joseph Leibler. I should declare that I have worked with and known Isi closely for more than 45 years. We agree on most things and disagree on some. I have successfully mediated disputes between Isi and others in Australia and overseas, sadly only on a *pro bono* basis. One of those mediations is referred to in the book and related to the controversy of Isi benefitting commercially from Jetset's Moscow Games appointment and the potential impact on his quest to become the president of the ECAJ. At a critical point in the discussions I was in the Buena Vista private hospital, my knee having been under the knife of Dr Cecil

Cass as a result of a skiing accident. The small hospital's switchboard was, on a number of occasions, clogged by calls from and to Jewish leaders around Australia. They were not well received by the hospital management and did nothing for my recuperation. I even received representations in hospital from Philip Klutznick, the then president of the WJC, who was visiting Australia, albeit in some bewilderment.

Interestingly, Isi was described in this week's *AJN* as 'a former *titan* of the Australian Jewish community'. Titan has two meanings according to the SOE Dictionary: 1- 'sun god'; 2- 'machines of great size and power, a dredger, crane.' The sun god definition might explain why Isi was so opposed to daylight saving – he was not going to get up early for anyone.

However, whether you think that Isi was a titan or not, he was on any measure at the very least, in the Syd Einfeld /Ashcan 'giant' league of Australian and international Jewish leadership, and his unique and pivotal role over three decades in fighting for the rights of Soviet Jewry, has been fulsomely and correctly captured by Sam and Suzanne in *Let My People Go*. His was a contribution of which the Australian Jewish community can be justifiably extremely proud.

On 9 November 1989, the Berlin wall fell. On 30 September 1990, Gorbachev agreed to direct flights from the Soviet Union to Tel Aviv. In August 1991 Gorbachev lost power and the Soviet Union was dissolved. By 1996 more than 1 million Soviet Jews had arrived in Israel and another 300,000 had emigrated to USA, Germany and Australia. That exodus changed Israel and significantly impacted on the diaspora communities to which they came.

Sam and Suzanne have performed a most important service in writing this book. They have provided a detailed and fascinating account of how Australian Jewry rose to one of the great challenges of our time – described by Sam as the 'third Himalayan peak of the twentieth century', after the Shoah and the establishment of *Medinat Yisrael* (the State of Israel) - and did so to the great benefit: firstly of Soviet Jewry, secondly to the State of Israel, the economic and social development of which was vastly enhanced by one million Soviet immigrants and thirdly to the benefit of our own sense of purpose, identity and future in this great country.

I urge you to read *Let My People Go*. It should be in the libraries at least of every Australian Jewish day school. It should be required reading within their Jewish Studies curricula. I am very proud to have had the opportunity to play a small part in this drama and grateful for the opportunities and the assistance of others, that allowed me to develop my other roles in the Jewish community, here and overseas. I am deeply honoured to launch this important contribution to the Soviet Jewry story and the history of Australian Jewry.

ENDNOTES

1. Sam Lispki and Suzanne D. Rutland, *Let My People Go: the Untold Story of Australian and The Soviet Jews 1959-1989*, p.203 (Melbourne: Hybrid Publisher 2015).
2. Ibid., p.55.
3. Ibid., p.56.
4. Ibid., p.59.
5. Isi J. Leibler, *Soviet Jewry and Human Rights* (Melbourne: Human Rights Publication, 1964) and later *Soviet Jewry and the Australian Communist Party*, (Melbourne: 1966).
6. Sam Lispki and Suzanne D. Rutland, *Let My People Go*, p.77.
7. Trofin Kitchko *Judaism Without Embellishment* (Kiev: Ukrainian Academy of Sciences, 1963).
8. Yuri Ivanov, 'Beware: Zionism', *Zionism in Soviet Publications*, (Evgeniy 1969).).
9. Lipski and Rutland, *Let My People Go*, pp. 92 and 93.
10. Ibid., p.95.
11. Ibid., p.100.
12. Ibid., p.101.
13. Ibid., p.118
14. Ibid., p.120
15. Christopher Hitchen, *The Trial of Henry Kissinger*, (New York: Verso Books, 2001).

WHITLAM'S SHIFTS IN FOREIGN POLICY 1972-1975: ISRAEL AND SOVIET JEWRY*

Suzanne D. Rutland

ABSTRACT

When Gough Whitlam's Labor Party was elected to government of the Commonwealth of Australia in December 1972, Whitlam sought to completely change the direction of Australia's foreign policy, moving from the United States' orbit towards that of the Communist and Third World powers. This change of direction affected his policies towards both Israel and the campaign for Soviet Jewry for freedom of migration. Chanan Reich has discussed the Whitlam government's change of policy direction *viz-a-viz* Israel.¹ However, it is also necessary to examine his policies in relation to Soviet Jewry, and issues of lobby groups in Australia. This is seen most clearly in his constant criticism of the 'Jewish lobby' and his strong support for the 'Arab lobby', highlighted both in his discussions with Soviet representatives before his visit to the Soviet Union (the first by an Australian Prime Minister) and in his private correspondence with Lebanese born Australian businessman, Reuben F. Scarf. Whitlam's change of direction towards the Soviet and Arab worlds was motivated by a number of different factors: ideological considerations in foreign policy; electoral issues with the growing Arab population in Australia; the influence of left-wing members of the Australian Labor Party (ALP), such as Bill Hartley; and financial imperatives of the Party.

WHITLAM'S FOREIGN POLICY

In December 1972, the ALP was elected to power after 23 years in the political wilderness. Gough Whitlam's tenure, which lasted for less than three years and included two federal elections in 1974 and 1975, was a time of political turmoil. In addition to his role as Prime Minister, Whitlam initially assumed the role of Minister for Foreign

*This article was first published in the *Australian Journal of Jewish Studies*, 2012, vol. 26, pp.36-69. I would like to thank the editor, Dr Myer Samra, for granting me permission to republish it here.

Affairs. At this time Whitlam opened a new chapter in Australian diplomatic history, where he 'shook up Australia's diplomatic provincialism'.² He introduced radical changes in Australian foreign policy that also affected domestic policy. Senator Don Willesee, who took over Foreign Affairs from Whitlam in 1974, continued to follow these policies. Whitlam's biographer, Jenny Hocking noted that in regard to the new perspectives in foreign policy, this was 'a record that more than any other was of his own making, one of which he was justifiably proud'.³

Whitlam wished to chart a more independent Australian foreign policy, stressing immediately after his election that 'the change in government does provide a new opportunity for us to reassess a whole range of Australian foreign policies and attitudes'.⁴ From the time of the Japanese attack on Pearl Harbour in December 1941 until the 1970s, Australia moved from seeing Britain as her key protector to placing her reliance on the United States. This change was formalised with the signing of two treaties: the Security Treaty of Australia, New Zealand and United States (ANZUS) and the South East Asia Treaty Organisation (SEATO). Throughout this period, there was strong cooperation between the two countries, with the United States establishing military bases in Australia, and Australia supporting the United States in the United Nations. The peak of this policy came in 1967 during President Johnson's visit to Australia when Prime Minister Harold Holt declared 'All the way with LBJ'⁵ in relation to the Vietnam War. In contrast, the Labor Party strongly opposed Australian participation in Vietnam.⁶

When Whitlam was elected to power in December 1972, the Soviet press wrote laudatory comments supporting his election, and this continued during his tenure, although they were critical of Australia for maintaining the American military bases, and also remaining a member of SEATO (Southeast Asia Treaty Organisation).⁷ Whitlam formally recognised Communist China, ended all Australian involvement with the Vietnam War, rejected the concept of 'forward defence' and took a strong stand against apartheid South Africa.⁸ One of his first steps after the Labor victory in December 1972 was to break ranks with Portugal, France, the United States, and the United Kingdom when, for the first time, 'Australia voted in favour of resolutions on the right of peoples to self-determination and the granting of independence to colonial nations'.⁹ Whitlam later wrote to the United Nations Secretary-General, stressing the new Australian position supporting the UN in its efforts 'to bring an end to the illegal minority regime in Rhodesia (Zimbabwe) and accordingly will strongly enforce sanctions imposed on it'.¹⁰ In this way, he overturned the previous Liberal Government's policy,

a position strongly supported by the Australian delegation to the UN. He was the first Australian Prime Minister to undertake official visits to both Communist China and the Soviet Union. Whitlam also focused more on Australia's interests in the Asia-Pacific region and sought to build bridges with developing countries by moving away from Australian reliance on the United States.¹¹

Whitlam believed strongly in the importance of the United Nations, and in 1974 was the first Australian prime minister to address the UN General Assembly. He began by referring to the key role played by Dr Herbert Vere Evatt, former Labor Minister for External Affairs, in the drafting of the UN Charter in 1945, becoming very emotional when he spoke about Evatt's role. During his address, he stressed Australia's support of postcolonial independence and the interconnection of all nations, stating that 'we are all internationals now'.¹² In addition, he officially ended Australia's White Australia policy, allowing Asian immigrants into Australia, and began to foster multiculturalism.

In his autobiography, Whitlam argued that he initiated a new approach to Australian foreign policy from the anti-Communist approach of his predecessors.¹³ F. Rawdon Dalrymple, who had been Australia's Ambassador to Israel during the Whitlam era, has suggested that Whitlam's decision to recognise Communist China and to strengthen connections with the Soviet Union emerged from his support for the socialist welfare state ideal, rather than a particular attraction to Communism. Furthermore, many of his generation linked a sympathy to the welfare state ideal to a wider sympathy with the Soviet Union and the Russian people, which was generated by their role in the defeat of Nazi Germany, and the fact that the Soviet Union had lost many more of its citizens than had any other state during World War II.¹⁴

There is significant scholarly debate as to the extent that Whitlam chartered a different foreign and economic policy from his Liberal predecessors. In his chapter on 'Whitlam and the Labor Tradition', Gregory Pemberton outlines this debate. He points out that contemporary conservative critics claimed that Whitlam moved significantly 'from the long-established principles of the Coalition'.¹⁵ He highlights Dean Jaensch's assertion that Whitlam did introduce a new policy, which was in keeping with the Labor tradition established during the Evatt period, but was later to be negated by the right-wing approach of the Hawke-Keating government.¹⁶ However, most of this debate focused on economic issues, rather than foreign policy.¹⁷

Pemberton outlined a number of features, which he saw as specific to the Labor tradition in foreign affairs:

- (1) Labor's assertion of a more independent policy;
- (2) the party's greater emphasis on the Asia Pacific region;
- (3) emphasis on the role of the United Nations;
- (4) support for decolonisation;
- (5) emphasis on peaceful methods;
- (6) belief in government external policies to introduce economic change; and
- (7) a more inclusive attitude towards the local Australian population.

He quotes Whitlam's first speech to parliament:

Our thinking is towards a more independent Australian stance in international affairs and towards an Australia which will be less militarily oriented and not open to suggestions of racism; an Australia which will enjoy a growing standing as a distinctive, tolerant, cooperative and well regarded nation not only in the Asian and Pacific region but in the world at large.¹⁸

In a careful analysis of Whitlam's foreign policy, Pemberton demonstrates how he did introduce significant changes in keeping with the first five points on his list above. Pemberton argues that until the release of government documents, it would not be possible to make any assertions about his last two points. In contrast, Hocking argued in her biography of Whitlam that he still saw Australia as part of the Western alliance, but that he wanted to expand her connections, although this was not the way his policies were perceived, especially by the Americans.¹⁹ This article will support Pemberton's argument and will posit that, as part of his changes in foreign policy, Whitlam changed Australia's level of support for Israel and distanced himself from the local Jewish community, and the campaign for Soviet Jewry.

CHANGING POLICIES TOWARDS ISRAEL AND THE MIDDLE EAST

In regard to the Middle East, Whitlam repeatedly claimed that he was maintaining the 'fine balance' between Israel and the Arab World established by his predecessors through his policy of 'even handedness'. He had a good working knowledge of Israel, which he had visited in 1964 and 1966. In August 1967, he criticised the Holt government for failing to facilitate post and air connections with Israel due to pressure from the Arab governments, and at the time of the 1967 war and subsequently, made statements supportive of Israel.²⁰ Later, as Prime Minister, he established a Trade Commission in Tel Aviv and claimed that he had hoped to arrange rights for

Qantas, but did not succeed because its management opposed the idea for commercial reasons.²¹

During the 1972 elections, issues relating to the Middle East were not raised.²² After his election, he stated that he planned to continue the traditional support for Israel. However, within the context of his foreign policy changes, Whitlam sought to modify the previous Liberal pro-Israel policy to one of neutrality, which at times leaned towards the Arab position. This may have been as a result of his visits to Lebanon in 1968 and 1971 when he became increasingly aware of the sufferings of the Palestinian people and the attitudes of the other Arab nations.²³ Whitlam's distancing of his government from support of Israel manifested itself in United Nations voting patterns, policies during the 1973 war and its aftermath, moves to establish an Arab League Office in Australia, establishing contacts with the Palestinian Liberation Organisation (PLO), and permitting its representatives to visit Australia.²⁴

During 1973 Australia was a non-permanent member of the Security Council, represented by Sir Laurence McIntyre, who had a personal history of being less pro-Israel than the Liberal government in the 1960s, even though in the end he had to follow instructions from the government of the day. Thus, after the 1967 war, McIntyre supported the Arab position, advocating that Israel withdraw from the conquered territories, in return for an implied Arab recognition of Israel's right to exist. However, McIntyre's position was opposed by the then Minister for External Affairs, Paul Hasluck, who believed that Israel and the Arab countries should negotiate over the new boundaries and instructed McIntyre to prepare Australia's statement along those lines for the UN General Assembly's debate after the war. Following this and Australia's opposition to the anti-Israel Yugoslav resolution calling on Israel to withdraw unconditionally to its positions before 5 June, Israel's representative at the UN, Abba Eban, described the Australian officials as 'endemically pro-Israel'.²⁵

Under Whitlam, the situation was different with Australia supporting a critical position of Israel during some of the UN debates. In April 1973 Israel retaliated against PLO bases in Lebanon in response to a terrorist attack on its northern border town, Kiryat Shmona. McIntyre voted in support of a resolution that condemned Israel, after a Security Council amendment to condemn both sides was defeated. In July 1973 Australia voted in support of Israel, taking the position that there could be no peace in the Middle East until the Arabs recognised Israeli sovereignty, but in August 1973, Australia again supported what the Jewish community saw as a 'one-sided resolution in the Security Council', which was vetoed by the United States.²⁶ Throughout 1973, Whitlam's public statements

emphasised the importance of the Security Council and its key peacekeeping role.

During the month of October, McIntyre chaired the Security Council and was in a position to influence developments. In October 1973 during the fast of Yom Kippur, the Day of Atonement, the holiest day in the Jewish calendar when everything comes to a stop in Israel, Israel was attacked by Egypt and Syria. The war lasted for three weeks. Whitlam refused to condemn the Arabs for initiating the war, taking the line of argument that Israel shared responsibility because of its continued occupation of land conquered during the 1967 war. However, while he did not criticise the Soviet Union for supplying arms to the Arab states, he immediately condemned the United States when Nixon commenced providing Israel with military assistance.²⁷ He also refused Israeli Ambassador Moshe Erell's request for the government to supply 18 Australian Mirage jets to Israel.²⁸

Subsequently defending his policies, Whitlam argued that Australia was 'neutral and even-handed' in its approach, although he reaffirmed Australia's support of Israel's right to exist.²⁹ He defended his position at a Press Club luncheon on 8 November 1973, explaining why he was not prepared to see Egypt as the aggressor and to condemn their initiation of the war. He also paid tribute to McIntyre's contribution as chair of the Security Council and referred to the unresolved problem of the Palestinians.³⁰ It is interesting to note that McIntyre served under the Liberals at the UN, but in relation to Israel his ideological point of view was more compatible with Whitlam than with Gorton. This was in contrast to departmental secretary, Sir Keith Waller, who did not advocate a strong policy position in terms of Israel and its conflict with its Arab neighbours.³¹

In December 1973 Labor MHR Joe Berinson, who himself was Jewish, raised the question of Syrian treatment of captured Israeli soldiers. Whitlam stated that his government had made informal approaches to Syria, but he refused to initiate action in the United Nations against alleged Syrian war atrocities.³² At the same time, newly appointed Minister for Foreign Affairs, Senator Don Willesee again reaffirmed the government's support of Israel's right to exist.

The Whitlam government combined its diplomatic rapprochement with the Communist world with negotiations with the Arab world in 1974 and 1975. On 15 October 1974 the United Nations voted to recognise the PLO as the sole representative of the Palestinian people. Only four countries opposed this motion, with Australia deciding to abstain.³³ Subsequent to this vote, the PLO was invited to address the 29th General Assembly on the Question of Palestine. Yigal Allon, the Israeli Deputy Prime Minister and Minister for Foreign Affairs, wrote

to Willesee requesting Australia to vote against PLO participation. Allon stated that the parliamentary situation at the General Assembly was such that, whatever the Arabs proposed would be accepted. He asked Australia to oppose the resolution because her position was such that it carried 'political and moral weight in the world'. Allon argued that an abstention would 'only open the road to further pressure and further demands'.³⁴ Despite this plea, Australia decided to abstain, even though most of the European powers joined the United States in voting against the invitation.³⁵ Then, in November 1974, UNESCO voted to exclude Israel from its European Regional Group, effectively stripping it of membership of the organisation. Again, Australia did not support Israel, even though all other Western European governments did.

In July 1975, the first International Women's Conference was held in Mexico to inaugurate the UN Decade for Women. While the conference's agenda was to focus on issues relating to discrimination against women, much of its time focused on political issues, including the Arab-Israeli conflict. A resolution was introduced stating that 'Women, as well as men, should eliminate colonialism, neo-colonialism, foreign domination and occupation, Zionism, apartheid [and] racial discrimination'. The Australian delegation at Mexico voted in support of this resolution.³⁶

Another controversial issue was the proposal to establish an Arab League office in Australia, which would provide information about the plight of the Palestinians.³⁷ The major advocate for this move was the prominent left-wing Victorian ALP executive member, Bill Hartley, who served as ALP secretary in the 1960s and 1970s. In 1974, he facilitated the first Labor and Trade Union Delegation to the Middle East, when the group visited Egypt, Lebanon, Libya and Syria, with the aim of building political contacts with the Arab countries, establishing a relationship with the trade union movement and assessing the Palestinian Refugee problem.³⁸ During this six-week tour of the Middle East the delegation met with PLO officials, including Yasser Arafat and returned advocating support of the Arab cause.

Many ALP members opposed the concept of establishing an Arab League Office. They included Joseph (Joe) Riordan and Barry Cohen, members of the House of Representatives, Don Dunstan, Premier of South Australia, NSW politician, Sydney Einfeld and Bob Hawke, the head of the Australian Council of Trade Unions (ACTU), who blasted Whitlam's ALP policy towards Israel as 'abhorrent and contrary to traditional Australian policies'.³⁹

Media reactions were, on the whole, also negative. The editor of *The Herald*, Melbourne, wrote a very strong piece on 2 July 1974 entitled 'Murder office not wanted', stressing:

We know, above all, that Palestine 'liberation' groups have proudly claimed responsibility for massacres at the Munich Olympics, the international airport at Tel Aviv, and in Khartoum, and for insane attacks on women and children in Northern Israel over the past two months. The Australian public does not need their likes here.⁴⁰

The Foreign Ministry rejected the argument about terrorism, stating that Arab League offices operated in other Western countries, but Hartley's proposal created a dilemma for the Foreign Affairs officials. On the one hand, they were concerned that a refusal would impact on 'our relations with the Arab world [especially Libya and Iraq], which we are seeking to develop'.⁴¹ On the other hand, they were also concerned that the move would affect Australia's relations with Israel and would lead to her insisting on the establishment of a WZO office in Australia. In the end, no specific proposals were put forward and nothing eventuated.

In January 1975 Hartley, while on another visit to the Middle East, created further tensions by unofficially inviting PLO representatives to Australia. This invitation was strongly criticised by Hawke.⁴² As reported in the *SMH*, on 30 January 1975, following the rejection of all six premiers and ministerial opposition in Cabinet, Whitlam announced the government's refusal to grant visas to the PLO representatives. He reached this decision just before the Labor Party convened for its annual conference in Terrigal, when he rebuked both Hawke and Hartley for creating divisions within the party.

In June 1975 a motion to grant the PLO observer status at the International Labour Organisation (ILO) was discussed. An amendment was introduced affirming the right of all member states to continue in existence, an obvious reference to Israel. When this amendment was defeated, the government's delegation voted in favour of the PLO's being granted observer status, unlike the two other Australian delegations representing workers and employers, which voted against the motion.⁴³

Thus, by 1975 Whitlam had introduced a definite change in the Australian government's approach to Israel and Middle East policy. In 1974, an undated and unsigned confidential departmental memo analysed Australia's pro-Israel policy over many years. It argued that there were four main reasons for this support:

- the widespread feeling in the main Australian political parties and in the community at large that the sufferings of the Jewish people entitled them to a national home, and that their right to

- the peaceful enjoyment of Israel was worthy of support;
- the political activity of the Jewish community in Australia;
 - the belief that Israel had far more in common with Australia and its like-minded western friends than did the Arab states who were generally looked on as unstable, unreliable and backward;
 - on the Israeli side, Australia was regarded as one of the states in which there was a favourable climate of opinion towards Israel, and it could generally be relied upon to take a not unsympathetic line towards Israel in relation to that country's problems with its neighbours....⁴⁴

The policy document noted that Whitlam changed Australia's policy because of the post-1967 Israeli government's behaviour, which was seen as leading towards 'a certain arrogance and intransigence'.⁴⁵ The Labor government believed that Israel's refusal to withdraw from the occupied territories was the major obstacle to peace. In addition, economic factors played a role, including Australia's wheat trade with Egypt and other Middle Eastern countries, and its civil aviation ties with Syria and Egypt. Another internal document stated:

Between the end of 1972 and early 1974, inter-governmental relations between Australia and Israel diminished. The inhibitions were on the Australian side. The drawing back from Israel reflected a desire on the part of the Australian Government to remould Australia's foreign policy image and to draw closer politically and economically, to countries which were hostile to Israel. By early 1974, the drawing back from Israel had reached a point where the Australian Government, and its departments and agencies, tended to avoid the sorts of dealings which we would encourage and pursue with regard to most of the countries with which we have relations and which in no other cases, except perhaps those of South Africa and Chile, do we discourage.⁴⁶

SOVIET JEWRY

Another major issue for world Jewry was the right of Soviet Jews to free migration. In November 1962, Australia was the first country to raise the issue of Soviet abuse of human rights, including the right of Jews to emigrate, in the United Nations. During the parliamentary debates preceding this move, major divisions emerged within the ALP over the level of antisemitism in the Soviet Union, in what became known as the 'Sam Cohen Affair'.⁴⁷ Throughout the 1960s, the

Liberal/Country Party government regularly raised the issue of Soviet Jewry, with John Gorton being strongly supportive as prime minister. However, Whitlam was to take a different approach.

Tensions between Whitlam and the Jewish community over Soviet Jewry started when he was leader of the Opposition. In September 1970 an Executive Council of Australian Jewry (ECAJ) delegation went to Canberra to press the cause of Soviet Jewry.⁴⁸ During their meeting with Whitlam, he initially claimed that he had not heard about the difficulties faced by Soviet Jewry. After the Jewish delegation outlined the situation, he 'exploded that the 'Hawkes' [an obvious reference to Bob Hawke, the chairman of the Australian Council of Trade Unions (ACTU)] in the government were busting themselves to curry favour and that the electorate of Phillip was the primary consideration'.⁴⁹ Whitlam was also critical of the Gorton government, claiming it was only using Soviet Jewry to 'gain favour with the Jewish community'. Barry Cohen, an ALP member of the House of Representatives who attended this meeting, noted that he had a relative in the Soviet Union who was one of the signatories of the petition, which the ECAJ had prepared protesting at the treatment of Soviet Jewry.⁵⁰ In the end, Whitlam agreed to raise the matter on a Socialist International level and he said he would also raise the matter with the Soviet Embassy.

In the early period of the Whitlam years, two non-Jewish organisations raised this issue of Soviet Jewry. Immediately after Labor's election, the Australian Council of Churches followed up on an earlier query relating to the tax imposed by the Soviet government for the free university education Soviet Jews had received. This was known as a 'ransom tax' because most Soviet Jews did not have the funds to pay it, making their departure almost impossible. This was followed by a request for action by the National Council of Women in Australia, which responded to a letter from the Council of Women's Organizations in Israel, appealing to 'women throughout the world to exert their influence on the government of the USSR to retract its policy of diploma ransom on Soviet Jews wishing to emigrate from the Soviet Union'.⁵¹ Whitlam responded:

I shall continue to take an active interest in this question. I understand however from recent press reports that the Soviet authorities have now announced significant revisions to the education tax regulations, which will have the effect of mitigating their impact. In these circumstances I do not think that this would be an appropriate time for the Australian Government to take up this matter with the Soviet Government.⁵²

Subsequently under Whitlam, the Australian government did not find an 'appropriate time' to raise the matter of Soviet Jewry.

In October 1973 for United Nations Day, and again in December 1973, Whitlam gave major addresses in relation to human rights. In his December speech, he claimed that the record of his predecessors, the Liberal Party, was 'one of negligence and inaction.' He enumerated the local initiatives his government had introduced, including the signing of the two United Nations Human Rights Covenants on civil and political rights and on economic social and cultural rights on 18 December 1972, which had remained unsigned from 1966, and the introduction of Bills dealing with Human Rights and Racial Discrimination. However, in his long and detailed speech, there was no mention of the abuse of human rights in the Soviet Union in general, or of the specific issue of Jewish emigration.⁵³ When Whitlam did publicly raise the issue of Soviet abuse of human rights, such as during a speech he gave in September 1973, he referred only to the dissidents and not to the issue of Soviet Jewry.⁵⁴

From 1970, the Soviet government began to permit Jews to leave the Soviet Union on the basis of family reunion in Israel, their historic homeland. Between 1968 and 1972, a total of 50,000 Jews received exit visas from the Soviet Union; in 1973 another 35,000 were permitted to leave. In March 1973 the Australian Ambassador to Israel, F. Rawdon Dalrymple, provided a detailed report of a conversation he had with Mr Peled, Israel's Minister for Immigration. Dalrymple wrote: 'They know what the Russians are doing is unprecedented', but that Peled was not quite sure the reasons for this. He noted that permitting so many Jews to emigrate could be due to internal factors; to the impact of world pressure; and most importantly to the United States legislature in relation to the Most Favoured Nation (MFN) status. He further noted that Israel 'does not want to appear too dependent on the United States — hence representations from other countries, including Australia, are very important.' Peled also made a brief reference to Arab pressure to prevent Soviet Jews immigrating to Israel but noted that the Russians pointed out that the Arab countries 'allowed their Jewish population to emigrate to Israel'.⁵⁵ The departmental reply particularly picked up on the last point in regard to Arab protests, stating that this was 'interesting'.⁵⁶

In March 1973, the Israeli ambassador, Moshe Erell, appealed to the Australian government to raise the issue of Soviet Jewry during the visit of the Soviet Minister for Foreign Trade to Australia, Mr Patolichev. Erell stressed that it was important to raise the matter, or 'he would return to Moscow and say that a change of policy had taken place in Australia since last year's election.' The former Prime

Minister, William McMahon, had raised the matter with both the Soviet Ambassador in Australia and with Gromyko in New York, and Erell was sure that Patolichev would be conversant with this. A departmental memo suggested that the matter could be mentioned 'unabrasively' either to Patolichev himself, or to one of his accompanying officials. A handwritten note commented that Whitlam did not raise the matter of Soviet Jewry during the official discussions, although he could have raised it informally with him. Later Whitlam did claim to have raised the matter.⁵⁷

Senator Willesee mirrored Whitlam's approach. When NSW Democratic Labor Party (DLP) representative, Senator John Kane, requested information about the situation of Soviet Jewry in 1973, Willesee referred to previous actions of the Australian government and stressed the importance of implementing fully human rights commitments. He mentioned the fact that Australia had referred to Soviet Jewry at the UN Third Committee meetings in 1970 and 1971. Further, in a reply to a letter from Billy Snedden, Leader of the Liberal Opposition in January 1974, Willesee explained that the government refrained from protesting directly to the Soviet government, as this would be seen as interference in a domestic matter, and would just be an irritant to Australia's relations with the Soviet Union. He felt that the only approach for Australia was to continue to raise the issue at the UN.⁵⁸ When Senator Kane again raised the issue in regard to dancer Valery Panov, Willesee reiterated that there was nothing to be gained by direct representations.⁵⁹

The 1973 Arab-Israeli war impacted on Soviet Jewish emigration. Initially the rate of immigration was not affected during the war, and for the three months after the war the numbers actually increased. However, the Arab countries pressured Austria to cease permitting Soviet emigrants to use Vienna as a transit point. Soviet Jewish émigrés had been staying for up to a week in Schoenau (a private house there) but, in response to Arab pressure, this time was reduced to 12 to 14 hours, in what was called a 'waiting room' arrangement. The Australian Embassy in Vienna informed Canberra: 'There can be little doubt that if it comes to the crunch even the waiting room arrangement will have to go if it represents the difference between Austria being branded as a friend of Israel or a neutral in the Middle East conflict'.⁶⁰ The decision to close Shoenau led to Jewish demonstrations in Australia with protests made to the Australian and Austrian governments.⁶¹

As part of his radical changes in Australian foreign policy, Whitlam announced his intention to visit the Soviet Union. He had already travelled there as Leader of the Opposition. In preparation for his visit in November 1974, he met with V.P. Suslov, who was head of

the Second European Department in the Soviet Foreign Ministry and was visiting Australia. Whitlam stressed his government was working to overcome the phobia against the Soviet Union, which had been 'manufactured' by the previous government. He also pointed out that one of the first acts in his foreign policy was to extend *de jure* recognition to the Soviet's incorporation of the Baltic States of Estonia, Lithuania and Latvia into the Soviet Union.⁶² In regard to Soviet Jewry, Whitlam asked Suslov whether he could raise this issue during his visit. The Foreign Affairs Department memo of the meeting recorded:

7. Mr Suslov replied that emigration to Israel from the Soviet Union was now greater than at any time in the past. He said only a very limited number of persons were not permitted to leave and these were prevented for security reasons (e.g. persons connected with defence or missile production) or because they were criminals). Mr Suslov made it clear that there was no reason which would prevent the Prime Minister from raising this issue in Moscow, on the understanding that no statement should be made about any such discussion until after the Prime Minister's departure from Moscow.⁶³

Subsequently, Billy Snedden, the Leader of the Liberal Party Opposition, again raised the question of Soviet Jewry in parliament. Whitlam replied that the Soviet government was aware of Australia's strong feelings on issues of human rights. He said he would consider raising this issue during his Moscow visit.⁶⁴ At the same time, when questioned during a television interview, Whitlam in a disingenuous fashion, stated that during the visit of a very senior Soviet official (obviously a reference to Suslov), he mentioned that he wanted to raise the issue of Soviet Jewry during his visit and that, in answer to a question in parliament, he had also replied positively. Whitlam concluded his comment: 'You can certainly rely on it that I will use what influence we have, and we do have some, to mitigate the illiberal features of Soviet Rule'.⁶⁵

While in the Soviet Union, Whitlam did raise the matter of Soviet Jewish emigration with Brezhnev and Kosygin, noting that whilst this was an internal matter, it did affect Australian/Soviet relations. Whitlam claimed that 'further progress in this direction would assist the growth in the future of friendly and co-operative relations which exist between Australia and the Soviet Union'.⁶⁶ As promised, nothing was publicised until Whitlam's return to Australia in January 1975, when Whitlam reported on his discussions with Kosygin. He stated that he had referred to representations about the emigration of

members of the Jewish and dissident communities, and about reunion of Soviet citizens with relatives in Australia. Kosygin referred to the increase of Jewish emigration in 1973 and 1974; he claimed that the number of applications was decreasing; and that in relation to reunion of relatives in Australia, each case would be dealt with on its merits. Whitlam also criticised the expulsion of Alexander Solzhenitsyn, which he said was against all international norms of human rights.⁶⁷

In this period American Senator Henry (Scoop) Jackson and Representative Charles Vanik, both Democrats, co-sponsored an amendment in the two Houses of Congress, which would make permitting Jewish emigration to Israel a condition for the United States to grant the Soviet Union Most Favoured Nation (MFN) status. Both President Nixon and Secretary of State Henry Kissinger (himself Jewish), strongly opposed this proposal. In November 1974, the Australian Ambassador in Tel Aviv cabled to Canberra a report of a conversation between Kissinger and the Danish Ambassador in Tel Aviv, when Kissinger had referred to 'that bastard Jackson'.⁶⁸ The Jackson-Vanik amendment was passed, but the Soviets insisted that the issue of emigration was purely an internal affair, and that they would not respond to American pressure.⁶⁹

Subsequently, negotiations between the Soviets and the Americans broke down and the numbers granted exit visas were halved. As part of a solidarity day for Soviet Jewry, the Israel Labor Party appealed to Whitlam, as the leader of the Australian Labor Party, to take action.⁷⁰ In response, he wrote that the Labor government was sympathetic to the issue of Soviet Jewry, but that the Soviet government regarded this as an internal, domestic matter. He noted that he had raised the matter during his visit to the USSR in January.

TRADE UNION LEADER, BOB HAWKE

In this period, ACTU leader Robert J. (Bob) Hawke emerged as a powerful advocate for both Soviet Jewry and Israel's cause, and he was not afraid to mince words in his attack on Whitlam's Middle East policies. Hawke's strong support for Israel followed his selection as the first speaker for the Sam Cohen Memorial Lecture, which included a visit to Israel in 1971. When Hawke went to Israel he said he had 'a general knowledge about Israel, but no particular interest.' His visit completely changed this. From the moment of his arrival, 'Hawke and Israel were *en rapport*' and he established a deep emotional attachment for Israel and her people.⁷¹

Hawke was also concerned with the plight of Soviet Jewry. When in Israel he met with Prime Minister Gold Meir, who asked him to fly to Moscow as an advocate for the right of Soviet Jews to emigrate. He consented and after an ILO meeting in Rome, he flew to Russia to

meet with Alexander Shelepin, the president of the Soviet trade union movement, with whom he had established a close relationship. During their intense conversation at Shelepin's Baltic Sea summer residence, he pressed the cause of Soviet Jewry. Subsequently, there was an increase in the number of Soviet Jews permitted to leave the Soviet Union. One Australian diplomat explained that the Soviets were so influenced by their own anti-Jewish propaganda about Jewish power, that they believed that Hawke was a representative of a 'mighty and devious foe'.⁷² Hawke continued to be deeply involved with the issue of Soviet Jewry throughout the 1970s, and during his 1987 visit to the Soviet Union, he again presented their case to Party Secretary General, Mikhail Gorbachev, finally with positive results.⁷³

Hawke was highly critical of the Whitlam government's position on Israel during the Yom Kippur War. In an address to the Victorian Jewish Board of Deputies (VJBD) he stated that the present conflict needed more than a balanced view because:

When a nation of three million such as Israel is attacked on two fronts, on the most holy day of the Jewish Year by 350,000 troops and 4,000 tanks and thousands of planes, the concept of balance is merely a slogan which I cannot accept.⁷⁴

Hawke's attack on Whitlam received wide press coverage. On his return from a two-week overseas trip in November 1973, when he again visited Israel and met with Golda Meir, Hawke was even more emotional in his defence of Israel. He was highly critical of government policy claiming that it was a matter of 'kow-towing based on the fear that oil supplies might be cut off'.⁷⁵ Hawke made two deeply emotional appearances on television, on *This Day Tonight* and *The Mike Willesee Program [A Current Affair]*, when he was literally on the verge of tears, especially when he spoke about the way Israeli prisoners of war had been shot by the Syrians.⁷⁶ Again he confronted Whitlam's policies, stating that to talk of 'even-handedness in the Middle East dispute' was 'an abuse of language' as the Arab States had aimed at eradicating Israel.⁷⁷

THE AUSTRALIAN JEWISH LOBBY

In the period from 1972 to 1975, Whitlam's policies on Israel and the Middle East were a constant source of distress for Jewish communal leaders. Whitlam's policies created 'a spreading sense of collective and personal insecurity amongst many Australian Jews who, for the first time, see their commitment to Israel questioned in ways which potentially threaten their acceptance in Australian society'.⁷⁸ The older members of the community had difficulty in reconciling this

situation with the post-war ALP government, under Chifley and Evatt.⁷⁹

Already in December 1972, shortly after his election, Whitlam was perceived as taking a position that was inimical to Israel's position in relation to a UN vote. ECAJ president, Louis Klein, wrote to him and Whitlam changed the instructions of the Australian delegate at the United Nations, so that Australia abstained from voting in support of a resolution critical of Israel.⁸⁰

Following Australia's support of the UN resolution condemning Israel on 26 April 1973 in relation to Israel's retaliation against the PLO in Lebanon for an attack on the Northern Israeli town of Kiryat Shmona, as discussed earlier, editor of the *Australian Jewish Times*, Eve Symon, strongly criticised the Australian vote, stressing that an abstention would have been better than a supportive vote. Given that Klein was the *Times'* owner, this editorial voiced the community's concern over Whitlam's United Nations' policy. In May 1973 Whitlam further upset the Jewish community when he addressed the twenty-fifth Israeli Independence gathering and defended McIntyre's vote. In response, Klein stated: 'I believe we are facing a change in the Government's attitude towards Israel'.⁸¹

In September 1973 Jewish leaders expressed concern when the government decided to deport Abdul Hamid Abdullah Azzam, an Al-Fatah terrorist who had entered Australia illegally, rather than ensuring that he served the six months prison sentence, which had been imposed by the courts. Klein argued that this decision was wrong 'because it smacks of appeasement, it contradicts Australia's justifiable outspoken advocacy of strong measures against international terror at the United Nations and other world forums; and because it undermines the authority of the National Government of Australia'.⁸²

Approaches were made to Margaret Whitlam, Gough's wife, to see if she could influence her husband. Gerda Urbach from Melbourne took up the cudgel supporting an international campaign for Professor Benjamin Levich, who had applied to emigrate but was refused and dismissed from his academic position. She wrote:

I know that your husband's Government does not subscribe to the pernicious doctrine of non-interference in the affairs of sovereign states, e.g. in the case of apartheid in Rhodesia and South Africa, so I am sure that there will be no political objection to your support.⁸³

Mrs Whitlam passed this letter on to the Ministry who responded with their standard answer that the Prime Minister had publicly

expressed his distaste for some of the repressive aspects to Soviet life, and that the government had stressed the need to respect human rights, including the right to emigrate.

From early in 1973, ECAJ leaders sought to speak to Whitlam about what they perceived as a significant change of government policy, but without success. He finally agreed to meet with Louis Klein and Sam Lipski for one hour on 9 October 1973, on the fourth day of the 1973 war, which had taken Israel by surprise, resulting in initial Egyptian successes. At that meeting, Whitlam stressed that the government was not prepared to change its 'even-handed policy' and he refused to call for a cease-fire or condemn the Egyptian attack. This response made the Jewish communal leaders angry and disturbed. On 3 November 1973, *Bulletin* journalist, Peter Samuel, commented on these tensions and argued that the reasons for the Government's shift were 'not difficult to discern'.⁸⁴ They included Australia's desire to create a foreign policy independent of the United States and to foster closer relations with the non-aligned countries by supporting pro-Arab resolutions in the United Nations. In addition, Australia was concerned with Arab oil and was influenced by the threats of a blockade.

This was the first time in its history that Australian Jewry had been faced with a government that was not sympathetic to Israel and Jewish communal leaders experienced a state of shock, especially after the 1973 war. Well-known Jewish scholar, Professor Geoffrey Wigoder, published an article in the *Jerusalem Post* entitled 'Australian Policy tilts against Israel' on 13 March 1974. The Australian Ambassador in Israel, Rawdon Dalrymple, was very disturbed by this article and met with Wigoder for lunch to explain the Australian government's position.⁸⁵ Dalrymple commented that he thought that either Isi Leibler or Nathan Jacobson had given the information to Wigoder. He added: 'I thought he would find it interesting some time to have a talk to Mr Klein next time the latter was in Israel'.⁸⁶ Clearly, Klein was seen as being more moderate than his Melbourne counterparts. Later Charlotte Jacobson, Chair of the World Zionist Organisation – American Section – visited Australia and wrote about the way the community had been shocked by Whitlam in an article published in the *South African Jewish Times* in July 1974.⁸⁷

Veteran ECAJ leader and Labor politician, Sydney Einfeld, also expressed his concerns in a telegram of protest to Whitlam. He stressed that he deeply resented the Australian abstentions, which he believed "directly opposes ALP declared policy on the preservation of Israeli sovereignty". Whitlam defended his government's position at the United Nations, stating that Australia had not supported any of

the anti-Israel resolutions, which had been passed by a large majority. Australian Jewish leaders, through the ECAJ and the women's organisations, strongly protested at the Australian position. When UNESCO voted to allow the PLO observer status, the ECAJ made representations to Willesee to follow the United States and cease its UNESCO funding, but the government did not consent to this request. On the other hand, Australia strongly opposed attempts to expel Israel from the United Nations in August 1975. Jewish communal leaders also spoke out against the proposal to establish the Arab League office. Isi Leibler, VJBD president, argued that it was 'an open invitation to terror in Australia',⁸⁸ while ECAJ president, Louis Klein, wrote to the Minister expressing the community's concerns.

All of these developments took place against the backdrop of continuing PLO terrorism, which further alarmed the Jewish community and widened the gulf between Whitlam, the Labor left and Australian Jewry. In April 1974 Israeli children were murdered at Ma'alot, resulting in a great sense of grief among the community. The ECAJ Annual Conference of March 1974 passed a resolution condemning the ongoing terrorism since the 1972 Munich Olympic massacre and this was forwarded to Whitlam after the Ma'alot tragedy.

Whitlam's Middle East policies definitely led to an erosion of the traditional support for the Labor Party within the Jewish community. A high proportion of the Jewish community, particularly in Melbourne, were Labor voters⁸⁹ and prominent Jews also provided significant funding for the ALP. Four Labor Jewish politicians were elected in December 1972 to the House of Representatives — Barry Cohen and Dr Richard 'Dick' Klugman of New South Wales, Dr Moss Cass of Victoria and Joe Berinson of Perth. Two of Whitlam's close advisers, Dr Peter Wilenski and Jim Spigelman were Jewish. However, Dr Klugman did not acknowledge his Jewish roots, Dr Cass represented views of the socialist Labor left which were critical of Israel, whilst Wilenski and Spigelman were strong Whitlam supporters. As such, they were not seen as speaking for the official Jewish community, and they themselves were often criticised by the established Jewish leadership. In 1972 two non-Jewish Labor members were elected in seats with significant Jewish voters, Joan Child in Henty in Melbourne and Joe Riordan in the seat of Phillip in Bondi, New South Wales. As well, Clyde Holding was easily re-elected to the seat of Melbourne Ports. Over the years, Child, Riordan and Holding were active in advocating support both for Israel and for the campaign for Soviet Jewry. Child played a particularly outstanding role in her strong support and ongoing efforts for oppressed Jews in

the Soviet Union. She also visited Israel and remained a strong advocate of the Jewish State's right to exist.

In May 1974 Whitlam called an early election. Members of the Labor Party in Melbourne were concerned about maintaining Jewish support, and asked communal figure Isador Magid to organise a meeting with Whitlam. Magid was one of the outstanding figures working for the United Israel Appeal and also a strong supporter of the ALP. Jewish funding support for the ALP had been significant over the years, with *The Bulletin* claiming in an article published after the meeting on 10 May 1974 that Jewish donations amounted to \$20,000 for each election campaign, comprising about a fifth of the total funds raised by the ALP – Sam Lispki quoted the figure of \$30,000.⁹⁰ Whilst these figures are 'guesstimates', there was clearly a perception that Jewish financial support for the ALP was significant. Under pressure from Leibler, VJBD president, community leaders were also invited. A breakfast meeting took place at the Chevron Hotel where Whitlam addressed an audience of 120 people. The community leadership understood that the meeting was to be a confidential one, but Whitlam invited a journalist and photographer from the *Melbourne Herald*, stating that no such meeting could be confidential.

At this meeting, Whitlam stressed his support for Israel's right to exist, but insisted on the need to withdraw to the pre-1967 borders. He also compared Israeli retaliatory attacks on PLO bases in Lebanon with Arab terrorism:

There have been actions of a terrorist nature by Israel. Israel also has killed innocent people, women and children, maybe not so many. But there have also been crimes by the protagonists of Israel. I will condemn them too. The bullying of Lebanon by Israel gets no public support. Israeli civilian women and children, Lebanese women and children, are all sacred alike. I condemn the terrorist attacks which have brought shame on both.⁹¹

During the questions and answers, key community leaders were highly critical of the government's position in terms of its UN voting patterns, in relation to Palestinian terrorism from Lebanon, and the 1973 Day of Atonement War. In response to a statement by Nathan Jacobson, a key Melbourne Jewish leader, Whitlam claimed that elements within Israel had been 'bullying Lebanon', and that this contributed to the erosion of Israel's position in the United Nations. There was considerable and acrimonious discussion of the UN resolution, which had condemned Israel's incursion into Lebanon but

made no reference to the second PLO attack on Kiryat Shmona in April 1974, when 18 Israeli citizens were killed. Whitlam tried to explain why Australia voted for the resolution, even though the amendment referring to Kiryat Shmona had been defeated. When questioned again, he made the statement that 'You people are difficult to please', a comment published in *The Bulletin* article. Prefacing his question, key community figure, Robert Zablud, stated that he hoped that Whitlam did not mean this in a derogatory fashion.⁹²

The *Melbourne Herald* reporter published an account of the meeting, and the story was subsequently picked up by the wider media which reported on the 'angry questioning' and heated barrage.⁹³ In response, Leibler made a press statement on behalf of the VJBD that Whitlam's approach was 'disappointing and unacceptable' as he felt that Arab terrorism should not be equated with Israel's right to self-defence. In an editorial, Symon stressed that the Jewish reaction to Whitlam's comments at the meeting was not one of anger but rather one of 'anxiety and concern about Israel'. She asserted: 'We are not angry, nor do we have the influence to make or break a government, financially or otherwise, as suggested by some columnists. But we are very, very concerned'.⁹⁴

Writing in *The Age*, Melbourne, on 22 May 1974 Creighton Burns commented that the ALP would have been better off if the breakfast meeting with the Jewish leaders had not been held, as Whitlam's comments only distressed those present, not so much because of his policy as his style of speaking. Burns claimed: 'He retains his unfortunate talent for causing the maximum irritation while achieving minimum benefit'.⁹⁵ Leibler commented that: 'On every occasion I ever met and discussed Israel related issues with Whitlam, I sensed a brutal and undisguised personal animosity. But the Chevron meeting and the bitter intonation in his voice when he used the term 'you people' in response to a question, left me with no doubt that he was not merely critical of Israel but passionately despised the Jewish state and its Jewish supporters'.⁹⁶ Indeed, the Jewish leadership recommended that members of the community should not vote for Whitlam. In his autobiography, Whitlam claimed that 'the skilful work of successive Israeli diplomats is too often undermined by the crude blackmail of spokesmen and letter writers from the Jewish community'.⁹⁷

Whilst Whitlam was re-elected in 1974, albeit with a very slim majority, he suffered a major defeat in the elections following his government's dismissal by the Governor General, Sir John Kerr's in 1975. Jewish support for the ALP dropped from between 75% to 67% in the 1940s to 30% in 1974.⁹⁸ An indicator of Jewish voter discontent with ALP policies was that Joan Child lost her Victorian seat of Henty.⁹⁹ Joe Riordan was also defeated in 1975 when Liberal

candidate Jack Birney won the Sydney seat of Phillip. After his defeat, Whitlam continued to be critical not only of Israel but also of the local Jewish communal leadership. In 1980, for example, when the Jewish community conflicted with Hayden over his meeting with Arafat, Whitlam again accused the Jewish community of 'crude political blackmail'.¹⁰⁰ However, it is interesting to note that Hocking's biography of Whitlam does not make any references to his relationship with the Jewish community, and her only reference to the 1973 Arab-Israeli war is in regard to its impact on the price of oil and the issue of the oil embargo.¹⁰¹

The Foreign Ministry bureaucracy at times also expressed annoyance with members of the Jewish community. In 1973, Rabbi Dr Israel Porush of the Great Synagogue wrote about the plight of a Russian rabbi, S.J. Shapira. A handwritten margin note commented: 'Porush's letter is about the limit. I don't think we can really make representations to the Russians in regard to a case that has nothing at all to do with Australia. At the same time I don't think we can appear to be unhelpful'.¹⁰² The departmental official suggested that they write to Rabbi Porush telling him to take up the case with his American contacts, and also suggested to send the letter on to the Australian Embassy in Moscow, to pass it on to the Dutch, but not to the Russians.¹⁰³ Despite their initial annoyance with Porush, departmental officials did follow up and there was extended correspondence about ways to assist Rabbi Shapira.

THE ARAB LOBBY

Whilst Whitlam clearly resented attempts by the Jewish community to lobby him, his reactions to efforts by the Arab community in Australia were very different. This was both due to what he perceived as their growing electoral significance,¹⁰⁴ and his ideological stance of moving towards the Communist and Arab worlds. At a meeting with Jewish community leaders Whitlam stated:

The Jewish community, because of its education and its wealth and its cohesion has been able to make its point of view well understood. The Arab has not. I believe it would be wise for the Jewish community to realise that the Arab community is becoming more articulate. It is of no advantage to the Jewish Community for any condemnations of one side or another.¹⁰⁵

He continued to stress the growing importance of the Arab community in Australia. When discussing his planned visit to the Soviet Union with Suslov in 1974, he referred to Jewish criticism of Soviet policies, but noted that 'the gradual increase in the size of the

Arab population in Australia meant that this pressure was being balanced'.¹⁰⁶

Whitlam's stance also reflected the shift in other social democratic parties in both Britain and France from support of Israel until 1967, to support for the Palestinian position, as enunciated by the PLO. In a study of policy change among left-wing parties, June Edmunds decided to focus on the Arab-Israeli conflict as a pertinent case study, due to the challenges socialist parties faced in regard to national issues.¹⁰⁷ As she pointed out, during the 1970s: 'The new left, which identified with Third World national liberation movements, began to adopt the Palestinian nationalist cause'.¹⁰⁸ Thus, in moving towards supporting the position of third world countries, it was understandable that Whitlam assumed a more pro-Palestinian position and was more amenable to the Arab lobby.

Whitlam's interest in interacting with the Arab community in Australia is shown clearly in his correspondence with Christian Lebanese businessman, Reuben F. Scarf, a key Arab lobbyist. Whitlam had developed a close relationship with Scarf through his electorate.¹⁰⁹ When the Labor Government refused visas to PLO representatives in early 1975, Scarf wrote to Whitlam and the Treasurer, Dr Jim Cairns, Opposition leader Billy Sneddon and his shadow Treasurer, and all the state premiers. In his letters, he stressed that Australian trade would suffer as a result of this decision and that Australia 'stands to lose billions of dollars in trade with the Arab world'.¹¹⁰ The majority of the political leaders replied to Scarf that they were not prepared to accept PLO representatives until the organisation renounced terror and recognised Israel's right to exist. In contrast, Whitlam replied that he believed that the Australian people should have the right to hear both sides:

I hope that it will soon be possible for the PLO to do so in Australia without producing the hysteria and social dissension which their recent invitation threatened to provoke. If the PLO wishes to send representatives to Australia, it should make the approach through Australian diplomatic posts and not through a self-appointed spokesman like Mr Hartley.¹¹¹

Scarf replied, endorsing Whitlam's hope that the PLO will soon be able to visit Australia, without 'producing hysteria', which, he claimed, was "whipped up by the Zionist propagandists".¹¹²

Scarf also took Whitlam's hint, and organised through the correct diplomatic channels for Gamal Omar El-Surani, director of an Arab League office in Cairo, who was also a member of the PLO, to visit Australia in June 1975, sponsored by the Arab League. This decision

was made when Dr Cairns was acting prime minister, but was supported by Whitlam who later replied in parliament that he would be prepared to meet El-Surani, because he was 'prepared to learn [from] opposing points of view'.¹¹³

Faced with a fait accompli, the Jewish leadership decided that the best way to deal with the visit was a low-keyed approach, although President of the ECAJ, Nathan Jacobson, did write a strong letter of protest.¹¹⁴ Barry Cohen, ALP MHR, warned the Jewish community that they would 'hurt their cause if they protested'.¹¹⁵ In an editorial on 15 May 1975, Symon advocated a quiet information campaign rather than mass demonstrations. She stressed that: 'Politics is the art of the possible and if we think that Mr Whitlam can be induced into changing his mind, we may be fooling ourselves.'¹¹⁶ The Jewish leadership felt that their policy had been successful as there was little media coverage of El-Surani's visit and four state premiers refused to meet with him.¹¹⁷ The same policy was followed with the visit of roving Arab League Ambassador, Lebanese journalist and PLO supporter, Dr Clovis Maksoud.

Whitlam's tendency to lean towards the Arabs in diplomatic policy was also seen in other interventions on behalf of Arab interests and against Israel. Peter Samuel of *The Bulletin* described two examples of such activities in an article published on 6 March 1976. The first took place around April 1974 when a local finance company teamed up with one of the Arab Gulf States in a move to buy a major office block development in downtown Sydney. This scheme involved more than \$10 million and was regarded by the Treasury as running counter to policy on foreign ownership of Australian real estate but Dr Cairns, reportedly with Whitlam's blessing, approved the plans. Later in that year the navy put out tenders for a new series of patrol boats for the Australian fleet but a senior Foreign Affairs official was reported to have told the Israelis that 'it would be no use their tendering because the Australian government would not buy Israeli ships, even if they were the best, because of the Government's Middle East policy.'¹¹⁸ Samuel was highly critical of government policy in both cases, which for different reasons did not eventuate.

The efforts by the ALP to develop links with the Arab world in terms of trade, diplomatic relations and other financial dealings were highlighted by what became known as the "Iraqi loans scandal" when Rex Connor, the Minister for Minerals and Energy, attempted to raise a loan from Middle Eastern countries for energy resources, working with businessman Tirath Khemlani, without going through the legal avenues. This scheme was revealed in July 1975, following a leak. Before the December 1975 election, the Whitlam team sought to raise funds from Iraq, in what became known as 'the Iraqi Money Affair',

negotiated by left-winger Bill Hartley and an unscrupulous businessman, Henry (also Henri) John Fischer. Owing to widespread dissatisfaction with the ALP, it was facing a severe funding shortage for the election.

Hartley devised a scheme to ask the Iraqi government of Saddam Hussein to lend funds to the ALP. Whitlam supported the proposal and suggested that Hartley approach the Scarf Foundation, established to promote trade between Australia and the Arab countries. Hartley decided to enlist Fischer to assist him in the negotiations.¹¹⁹ Fischer was a former Scarf employee from 1972-1975, when he worked as a trouble-shooter for Australian trade in the Middle East, and Whitlam supported this decision, one that Hocking described as 'a dreadfully flawed judgement on so many levels, perhaps best understood through the prism of shock and despair that characterised the months after the dismissal'.¹²⁰ Scarf later denied any involvement with the Loans Affair.

Whitlam met with two Iraqi officials at Fischer's apartment on 10 December 1975, a few days before the election. He told them that his dismissal was a '*coup d'état*' and that the ALP needed a million dollars to cover advertising costs spent on the forthcoming election. After Labor's defeat, these negotiations came out into the open in February 1976.¹²¹ Scarf himself denied any involvement in these negotiations. He had become a Liberal supporter, although he still donated to the ALP.

Fischer later reported:

The whole conversation [in my apartment] lasted for approximately 1 hour and contained many statements by all parties on Imperialism and Zionist pressures and Mr Whitlam said the Jewish pressures were enormous in Australia and the Iraqis must understand what the democratic forces in Australia were going through to withstand these pressures.¹²²

In his statement, Fischer explained three main points were agreed to:

1. The securing of an assurance that Australia would have 'a more even-handed policy in the Middle East'.
2. A request for special information about what was going on in the Middle East between the United States, Syria, Lebanon, Israel, Egypt and Jordan.
3. Lastly they sought, and received, an assurance that Mr Hawke would not become leader of the Labor Party.¹²³

Thus, due to his ideological sympathy with the Palestinians, his belief in the growing power of the Arab vote in Australia and his desire to

create closer ties with the Communist and Arab worlds, Whitlam responded sympathetically to Arab lobbying, unlike his response to the Jewish lobby.

CONCLUSION

This analysis of Whitlam's policies on Israel and Soviet Jewry, the two major issues facing the Jewish world in the 1970s, demonstrates that he did implement a major shift in Australia's foreign policy, because of his overall philosophy in terms of the Cold War, his support for the developing world, his opposition to colonialism, and his belief in internationalism and the importance of the United Nations. His rapprochement with the Communist world occurred at a time of increasing détente between the United States and the Soviet Union during Nixon's presidency. Yet, unlike Whitlam, Nixon supported Israel during the 1973 war and the American Congress passed the Jackson-Vanik Amendment, connecting the most-favoured nation status with the granting of freedom of emigration to Soviet Jewry in 1974, something that the Soviets refused to accept.

Whitlam's turn away from support of Israel and Soviet Jewry was the result of a number of complex factors, which included pragmatism, given the growing number of Arab immigrants to Australia; his efforts to realign Australia with the Third World countries; the influence of Hartley and the left; and the financial pressures which led to the Iraqi loan affair. As noted above, in response to Whitlam's position on the 1973 war, the Jewish leadership took a partisan stance in the 1974 elections – the only time a recommendation has been made not to vote for a mainstream party. Thus, it can be claimed that Whitlam introduced a major sea change in Australian policy, resulting in the period of his leadership being seen as the 'nadir' in the relationship between the ALP and the Australian Jewish community.¹²⁴

The Jewish community responded to this sea-change by attempting to pressure Whitlam, but their efforts were counter-productive. During his diplomatic meetings with the Soviets, and in communication with Arab Australians, Whitlam openly expressed his antipathy to the Jewish lobby, and he also referred to this in his memoir of the period.¹²⁵ Given Whitlam's world-view, it is difficult to say whether a more low-keyed approach on behalf of Jewish community leaders would have achieved better results.

Whilst Pemberton argues that Whitlam's foreign policy approach was in keeping with the Labor tradition, largely established by Evatt, the Jewish community saw Whitlam's approach in regard to Israel and world Jewry as a significant break from Evatt's position.

However, the differences were more a result of the changing contexts between the 1940s and the 1970s in the left's perceptions of the Jewish state, rather than different approaches to foreign policy. Whilst in the 1940s Evatt was motivated by strong humanitarian concerns following the Holocaust, as a result of Israel's 1967 victory and occupation of the conquered territories, in the 1970s the Palestinians were seen as the victims, a position held strongly by Whitlam, who emerged as a supporter of the PLO and a strong critic of Israeli government policies. Thus, although both Evatt and Whitlam believed in the importance of Australia forging an independent foreign policy, supporting internationalism and the United Nations, their positions on Israel as the state for the Jewish people were different, due to the different context created by the 1967 Arab-Israeli war.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENT

I would like to thank Mr Isi Leibler for granting me access to the material in his archive: Isi Joseph Leibler Archive, Jerusalem (IJLA).

ENDNOTES

1. C. Reich, 'From "Endemically Pro-Israel" to Unsympathetic: Australia's Middle East Policy, 1967-1972', *Australian Journal of Politics and History*, vol. 56, part 4 (2010), pp.574-591.
2. Interview with Michael Elizur, Israeli Ambassador to Australia, 1973 – 1979 and 1983, Jerusalem, November 2000.
3. Jenny Hocking, *Gough Whitlam: His Time* (Carlton, Melbourne: Miegunyah Press, imprint of Melbourne University Press, 2012), p.122.
4. *Ibid.*, p.21.
5. These were the initials of the President, Lyndon Baines Johnson.
6. Gregory Pemberton, 1997. 'Whitlam and the Labor Tradition', in David Lee and Christopher Waters, (eds.), *Evatt to Evans: the Labor tradition in Australian foreign policy* (St. Leonards, NSW: Allen & Unwin; Canberra, ACT: Dept. of International Relations, Research School of Pacific and Asian Studies, Australian National University, 1997).
7. NAA: A1838 69/1/17, Part 5, 14 April 1974.
8. Wayne Reynolds, 'Labor Tradition, Global Shifts and the Foreign Policy of the Whitlam Government', in Lee and Waters (eds.), *Evatt to Evans*.
9. Hocking, *Gough Whitlam*, p.21.
10. *Ibid.*
11. *Ibid.*, p.56.
12. *Ibid.*, 189.
13. Gough Whitlam, *The Whitlam government 1972-1975* (Ringwood, Vic.: Viking, 1985), pp.25-181.

14. Emailed comment from Rawdon Dalrymple, 4 October 2012.
15. Pemberton, 'Whitlam and the Labor Tradition', p.131.
16. Dean Jaensch, *The Hawke-Keating Hijack* (Sydney: Allen and Unwin, 1989).
17. Pemberton, 'Whitlam and the Labor Tradition', p.134.
18. *Ibid.*, p.136.
19. Hocking, *Gough Whitlam*, pp.91-93.
20. See Chanan Reich, *Australia and Israel: An Ambiguous Relationship* (Carlton: Melbourne University Press, 2002) and 'From "Endemically Pro-Israel" to Unsympathetic: Australia's Middle East Policy, 1967-1972,' *Australian Journal of Politics and History*, vol. 56, part 4 (2010), pp.574-591.
21. IJLA: 794.1/370, vol. 1, 9 May 1974.
22. Tzvi Fleischer and Colin Rubenstein 'A Distant Affinity: The History of Australian-Israeli Relations', *Jewish Political Studies Review*, vol. 19, parts 3-4 (2007), at http://www.jcpa.org/JCPA/Templates/ShowPage.asp?DRIT=3&DBID=1&LNGID=1&TMID=111&FID=625&PID=0&IID=1927&TTL=A_Distant_Affinity:_The_History_of_Australian-Israeli_Relations, accessed 10 January 2011.
23. Whitlam, *The Whitlam Government*, p.124.
24. Sol Encel, 'Jews and the Labor Party', in Geoffrey B. Levey and Philip Mendes (eds.), *Jews and Australian Politics* (Brighton: Sussex Academic Press, 2004), pp.47-65.
25. Reich, *Australia and Israel*, 2002, p.114.
26. *Australian Jewish Times (AJT)*, 2 August 1973.
27. IJLA: 2422 [1960-1987] and 2423A [1952-1973], Notes of Isi Leibler's address to the VJBD, 22 October 1973.
28. Whitlam, *The Whitlam Government*, p.125.
29. CPD: 18 October 1973, in IJLA: Vol 78.
30. 8 November 1973, IJLA: Vol 78.
31. Pemberton, 'Whitlam and the Labor Tradition', p.157.
32. *The Sun*, and *The Age*, 6 December 1973.
33. *AJT*, 17 October 1974.
34. NAA: 'Australia Israel Relations', A1838/272 1175/10/1 Part 12. This letter was forwarded on by Michael Elizur, Israeli Ambassador to Australia, 22 October 1974.
35. *AJT*, 19 December 1974.
36. ECAJ Annual Report, 1975.
37. *Herald*, Melbourne, and *News*, 11 July 1974.
38. IJLA: Vol 78, 21 June-25 July 1974.
39. *SMH*, *Examiner*, 3 July 1974 and *AJT*, 11 July 1974.
40. 'Murder office not wanted', *The Herald*, Melbourne, 2 July 1974.
41. NAA: A1838/2, 175/10/15, 12 June 1974.
42. *Courier Mail*, 27 January 1975.
43. ECAJ Annual Report, 1975.
44. NAA: 1838/272, Item: 175/10/1/ Part 12, confidential memo, no date, no signature, around mid-1974.
45. NAA: 1838/272, Item: 175/10/1/ Part 12, confidential memo.
46. NAA: 1838/272, Item: 175/10/1/ Part 12, confidential memo.
47. See Rodney Goultman, 'The Sam Cohen Affair: A conspiracy?', *Australian Jewish Historical Society Journal*, vol. XV, part 1

- (November 1999) and Philip Mendes, 'The Senator Sam Cohen Affair: Soviet Anti-Semitism, the ALP and the 1961 Federal Election', *Labour History*, vol. 78 (May 2000), pp.179-197.
48. Suzanne D. Rutland, 'Who Speaks for Australian Jewry', in Levey and Mendes (eds.), *Jews and Australian Politics* (Brighton: Sussex Academic Press, 2004), pp.29-43.
 49. IJLA: "Soviet Jewry", 1 September 1970. Phillip was a Sydney electorate with a substantial Jewish population.
 50. IJLA: "Soviet Jewry", 1 September 1970.
 51. NAA: A1838/272 1175/10/1 Part 12, 10 February 1973.
 52. NAA: A1838/272 1175/10/1 Part 12, 18 January 1973.
 53. NAA: A1838/272 1175/10/1 Part 12, 11 December 1973.
 54. NAA: A1838/272 1175/10/1 Part 12, notes by Cooper, p.222.
 55. NAA: A1838/272 1175/10/1 Part 12, 13 March 1973.
 56. NAA: A1838/272 1175/10/1 Part 12, 6 April 1973.
 57. NAA: A1838/272 1175/10/1 Part 12, 15 and 22 March 1973.
 58. NAA: A1838/272 1175/10/1 Part 12, 25 January 1974.
 59. NAA: A1838/272 1175/10/1 Part 12, 28 February 1974.
 60. NAA: A1838/272 1175/10/1 Part 12, 7 November 1973.
 61. ECAJ Annual Conference 1973/1974.
 62. I.M. Cumpston, *History of Australian foreign policy 1901-1991* (Canberra: I.M. Cumpston, 1995).
 63. NAA: A1838/272 1175/10/1 Part 13, draft document, p.55.
 64. NAA: A1838/272 1175/10/1 Part 13, draft document, p.55.
 65. NAA: A1838/272 1175/10/1 Part 13, Report, 3 December 1974, p.68.
 66. NAA: A1838/272 1175/10/1 Part 13, memo "For Publication on my Return", p.84.
 67. NAA: 1838 69/2/8/2, Part 1, 'Terrigal Conference: "The Soviet Union: Jewish Emigration, Political Prisoners, Dissidents"', February 1975.
 68. NAA: A1838/272 1175/10/1 Part 13, 12 November 1974.
 69. NAA: A1838/272 1175/10/1 Part 13, 19 December 1974.
 70. NAA: A1838/272 1175/10/1 Part 13, 13 April 1975.
 71. B. D'Alpuget, *Robert J. Hawke: A Biography* (Melbourne: Schwartz in conjunction with Lansdowne Press, 1982), p, 249.
 72. *Ibid.*, p.257.
 73. B. D'Alpuget, *Hawke: The Prime Minister* (Carlton, Vic.: Melbourne University Press, 2010), pp.215-216.
 74. *The Age*, 10 November 1973.
 75. *The Australian*, 26 November 1973.
 76. Cable to Isi Leibler, with a typewritten transcript of the article in *The Australian*, 26 November 1973 and a brief report of Hawke's television interviews, as well as media arrangements for Leibler on his return from overseas.
 77. *The Australian*, 27 November 1973.
 78. S. Lipski, 'Australian Jews and the Middle East', in Knight, J. and G. Patz (eds.), *Australia and the Middle East* (Canberra: Australian Institute of International Affairs, 1976), p.16.
 79. *Ibid.*, p.19.
 80. AAJ: ECAJ, 20 December 1972.
 81. *AJN*, "Govt Cooling to Israel", 11 May 1973.
 82. SLV: Boxes 76 and 105.

83. NAA: A1838/272 1175/10/1 Part 13, 20 August 1973.
84. Peter Samuel, 'Jewish leaders attack Whitlam', *The Bulletin*, 3 November 1973.
85. NAA: 1838/272, 175/10/1/, Part 12, 22 March 1974.
86. Wigoder, 'Australian Policy tilts against Israel', *Jerusalem Post*, 13 March 1974.
87. Charlotte Jacobson, 'Whitlam Shocks Australian Jewry', *South African Jewish Times*, 19 July 1974.
88. *Telegraph*, 12 July 1974.
89. Peter Medding, *From Assimilation to Group Survival: A Political and Sociological Study of the Australian Jewish Community* (Melbourne: Cheshire, 1968).
90. Lipski, 'Australian Jews and the Middle East', p.21.
91. IJLA: "Australian Jewry", ALP, Jews and Israel", Vol. 78, 9 May 1974.
92. IJLA: "Australian Jewry", ALP, Jews and Israel", Vol. 78, 9 May 1974, p.13.
93. *Examiner*, *The Age*, 10 May 1974, *Sunday Telegraph*, 12 May 1974.
94. *AJT*, 16 May 1974.
95. Creighton Burns, 'That even hand turns heavy: Whitlam's style at fault: Middle-East policy is right, but its execution confusing', *The Age*, Melbourne, 22 May 1974.
96. Leibler, email communication: 2 September 2012.
97. Whitlam, *The Whitlam Government*, p.126.
98. Logan, W.S., 'Australian Government ME Policy and the Domestic Jewish Vote: An Exercise in Electoral Geography', *Australian Journal of Politics and History*, vol. 28, part 2 (1982), pp.209-217.
99. Joan Child, ALP Member of the House of Representatives, Melbourne, August 2010.
100. ECAJ Annual Report 1980.
101. Hocking, *Whitlam*, p.115.
102. NAA: 1838/272, Item: 175/10/1/ Part 12, 5 March 1973.
103. NAA: 1838/272, Item: 175/10/1/ Part 12, 5 March 1973.
104. Whitlam, *The Whitlam Government*, p.124.
105. IJLA: 'Australian Jewry: ALP, Jews and Israel', Vol. 78, 9 May 1974.
106. NAA: 1838/272, Item: 175/10/1/ Part 13, November 1973.
107. Edmunds, June, *The Left and Israel: Party-Policy Change and Internal Democracy* (London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2000), p.5.
108. *Ibid.*, p.9.
109. Hocking, *Gough Whitlam*, p.363.
110. IJLA: 'ALP, Jews and Israel', 13 February 1975.
111. IJLA: 'ALP, Jews and Israel', 18 February 1975.
112. IJLA: 'ALP, Jews and Israel', February 1975.
113. *Herald*, Melbourne, 14 May 1975.
114. IJLA: "ALP, Israel and the Jews," 12 May 1975.
115. *The Age*, 15 May 1975.
116. Editorial, 'Our Options', *AJT*, 15 May 1975.
117. ECAJ Com Meeting, 25 June 1975.
118. Peter Samuel, 'Odd Bedfellow over M. East', *The Bulletin*, 6 March 1976.

119. Hocking, *Gough Whitlam*, p.363.
120. *Ibid.*, p.364.
121. Philip Dorling, "How Murdoch got his biggest scoop", *Sydney Morning Herald*, 19 November 2011,
<http://www.smh.com.au/national/how-murdoch-got-his-biggest-scoop-20111118-1nnar.html>, accessed 19 November 2011
122. Roughly typed 40-page statement with pen-mark ups from Henry John Fischer, aged 38, Department of the Senate, 28 April 1976, paper tabled. IJLA: 'ALP, Jews and Israel', p.33.
123. IJLA: Fischer statement, 'ALP, Jews and Israel', p.34.
124. Encel, 'Jews and the ALP', p.59.
125. Whitlam, *The Whitlam Government*, pp.124-126.

THE AJHS ESSAY COMPETITION FOR YEAR 10 STUDENTS 2015

The AJHS received 34 entries from Year 10 Students for its 2015 Essay Competition. 33 entries were received from students of Carmel College, Perth, and one essay was received from a student of Moriah College, Sydney. The essays were judged by a panel of three – Howard Wolfers, Susan Bures and Helen Bersten. Four of the essays were considered to be worthy of sharing the prize of \$2,000. The winning essayists were Hadassa Solomon, Joshua Raiter and Ella Tairy of Carmel College and Jacob Sukiennik of Moriah College. The subject for the essays was an aspect of Australian Jewish History. Excerpts from the four essays follow:

HADASSA SOLOMON: 'MY GRANDFATHER – JOE BERINSON'

In 1932 Rivka Berinson¹ gave birth to her third child and only son, Joe Berinson. Born on his home couch, Joe grew up in Perth speaking Yiddish at home to his elder sisters, stay-at-home mother and his father, who delivered baked goods on his cart and horse for a living. He attended High-Gate primary school and became dux of Perth Modern High School at the age of 16. My grandfather has always made it clear to us grandchildren that he would love one of us to become a doctor. Perhaps this desire stemmed from his own passion to study medicine after finishing high school, and his inability to do so due to the absence of a medical school in Western Australia at the time. As an alternative, Joe decided to study pharmacy and worked in this profession for many years. I often find myself listening to tales from my grandfather about having to physically mix chemical substances to create the right drug for a customer as opposed to current day pharmacists who need only to prescribe the already prepared medicine. Although my grandfather always reminisces about his days as a pharmacist with a smile on his face and a sparkle in his eyes, at the time, he was young, passionate and ready to contribute more to the public. He therefore looked into politics as the next stage of his life.

Ready to give back and make decisions for a country that had given my grandfather and his immigrant parents a lifestyle, which could be found nowhere else in the world, he became secretary of the Labor Party in Western Australia in the 1960s. The secretary of the Labor Party prior to my grandfather was a man by the name of Brian

Burke who described his successor in his biography² as 'The cautious, carefully spoken and successful pharmacist'. In 1969, with a wife, three kids in tow and another one on its way, my modest, softly-spoken grandfather was elected to Federal Parliament, representing Perth in the Australian House of Representatives. Despite having to work in Canberra at this stage of his life, the rest of his family still lived in Perth, and my grandfather would come home for the weekend and spend Shabbat and Sunday with his children and wife. My mother once told me that when asked if she felt as if she never saw her father growing up, she was shocked and bewildered. She hurriedly explained that although her father was away Monday to Thursday, when he came home for the weekends, he would give every second he had to his family and she never once felt as though her father did not have time for her.

JOSHUA RAITER: 'JEWISH MIGRATION TO WA IN THE LEAD-UP TO WORLD WAR II'

Dr Avrum Einihovici was born on 6 March 1895 in Balti, Bessarabia, Russia to Ghers (Hirsch) Einihovici, a merchant, and his wife Mirlia (Miriam). He was an ear, nose and throat surgeon... After eight months of hard trying and struggling to practise his profession [in Palestine] he migrated to Australia in 1939, arriving at Fremantle on 8 August 1939. He was extremely lucky and thankful to his sponsor Cyrus Caldera, who had been his professor at the University of Pavia³ and who had moved to Western Australia some time before Avrum himself. Without Cyrus Caldera's sponsorship he would not have been able to get into Australia and find work as easily as he did.⁴ He became registered as a medical practitioner, and was advised to go to the country to practise. He worked in Corrigin,⁵ helping with his medical knowledge and general wisdom. He acted as an interpreter for the local council and for Italian Prisoners of War who were working on farms in the area.

Dr. Einihovici moved back to Perth after the war and resumed his career as an ear, nose and throat surgeon. Among other activities he reorganised the Jewish stage and successfully produced and staged many Jewish plays in collaboration with his unforgettable friend Rev. Hirsch Grochowski.⁶

An ardent supporter of Esperanto, which he valued as a promoter of world peace, he was awarded the diploma of the British Esperanto Association in 1950, and later the upper diploma of the Australian association. He was very active in the Esperanto League of Western Australia and until 1987 regularly attended world congresses. Known as 'Tim', he was a member, freeman and dais president (1957) of West Australian Rostrum, an adjudicator for the West Australian

Debating League and president in the early 1960s of the Dante Alighieri Society. He was founding president (1947 – 72) of the Perth section of Friends of the Hebrew University. Keen to maintain a creative Jewish arts group in Perth, he produced many Yiddish plays.⁷

...The best proofs of his efforts for the Jewish community are the new synagogue at Daniella, and Carmel school, all vital to sustain the Perth Jewish community.

I believe that some major contributors to the WA Community, Jewish and secular, were Jewish migrants. They used their past experiences and knowledge to aid the greater WA society. A prime example of one of these people is Dr Avrum Einhovici. He, along with many Jews migrated here and there around Europe and eventually to Australia, to escape the threat of antisemitism. Australia provided a safe place, away from war and hate, to live in peace and practice as a Jew. Jewish immigrants could feel welcome and at home in Australia, and not be discriminated against. Antisemitism was no longer a worry. Jewish immigrants embraced the freedom of Jewish expression allowed in Australia, and gave them a reason to give back to Australian society, Jewish or not, and improve it.

ELLA TAIRY: 'PERTH'S THRIVING JEWISH COMMUNITY'

My experience with a community involves a group of people living in the same place, Perth, with a common characteristic, Judaism. 7,000 strong, Perth's diverse and vibrant community is a true illustration of the importance of community. Despite its small numbers and arguable desolateness, Perth has given its Jewish people the opportunity to come together and build a strong network and support system for all Jews living in it. With five synagogues, three youth movements, one yeshiva, one kosher food store and one Jewish Day School, Perth's Jewish community continues to deliver, support and uphold Judaism in the Diaspora.

The Jewish community in Perth has a long and distinguished history. It is not easy being a minority group in Australia, and the Perth Jewish community is no exception. Despite this, it has grown from small beginnings to a vibrant, unique and important part of the wider Perth community.

It is not unusual for a community's beginnings to germinate in a charismatic and compelling leader. 1892 marked the establishment of the Perth Hebrew Congregation, which is Perth's oldest and largest synagogue, led by Perth's first Rabbi, Reverend (later Rabbi) David Isaac Freedman.

Rabbi Freedman was born in April 1874 in Budapest, Austria-Hungary and was educated In England. Freedman's story is

inspirational and it mirrors the story of the Perth Jewish community's growth and prosperity. In 1897, Freedman arrived in Australia where he married his wife, Anne, and fathered two sons. He became a freemason, established the Perth Hebrew Philanthropic Society and wrote a report in 1899 outlining the importance of a Hebrew and Jewish education. On 1 October 1915, Freedman was appointed as a chaplain in the Australian Imperial Force, leading him to serve briefly in Gallipoli, Egypt and France. Three years later, Freedman returned to Perth where he earned the title of Rabbi, and after a visit to Palestine, became the president of the Western Australian Zionist Association.⁸

Freedman's influence was not limited to Perth Jewry. In the years 1932-1938, Freedman was a member of the Senate of the University of Western Australia. In 1933 Freedman travelled to London as a delegate to the British Empire Service League's sixth biennial Congress and progressed into the Australian delegation to the fourteenth assembly of the League of Nations in Geneva. Then in 1936 Freedman was appointed an Officer of the Most Excellent Order of the British Empire.

There is no doubt that Freedman was instrumental in the formation of the Perth Jewish community. He spoke out publicly against the anti-Jewish feelings in Perth at a time when this was a politically sensitive issue. As an orthodox yet moderate rabbi, Freedman's charisma was undoubtedly a contributing factor to the large attraction of Jews to the congregation. The acceptance that members of the Jewish community felt came from the openness of the synagogue and its goal to educate its members.

...Rabbi David Freedman's positive and magnetic energy formed the initial pull for Jewish people to Perth. His influence was the seed that sprouted and has grown into the flourishing community that Perth Jewry is today.

JACOB SUKIENNIK: 'JEWISH ANZACS OR ANZACS THAT ARE JEWISH'.

Samuel, the third son of Harris and Sarah Weingott (nee Knopp) enlisted on 24 August 1914, with his older brother, Alexander, enlisting a month later on 7 September 1914.⁹ Samuel and Alexander's brother Barron, enlisted in the army after both Samuel and Alexander were tragically killed.¹⁰ ... There was a tradition of brothers following their family members' footsteps in war. The question can then be asked did Samuel and Alexander enlist to fight for their country because of their patriotic ideals or because as Jews, they felt that they needed to fight in the struggle for morality over tyranny? Most Australian men felt an obligation to join the army,

and although not everyone did, many Australians helped in little ways to contribute to the cause. Peer pressure was certainly prevalent during World War I, with wives of fighting men sometimes putting a white feather in the mailboxes of men as a call to arms. Many men also saw fighting overseas as an 'adventure', as many young Australians had never left their country.

After the deaths of Samuel and Alexander, the *Hebrew Standard* noted: 'The one consolation Mr. Weingott will find in his double bereavement is the knowledge that his sons have played the part of men in the struggle for righteousness over tyranny...'¹¹

But why did so many young Australian men enlist in the army? Because Australia only had a population of approximately 5 million, the number of men in the prime age for fighting was around 800,000. In the first month alone, 20,000 men enlisted. One of those men included Samuel Weingott. The idea of fighting in the war as being a masculine, manly thing to do heavily influenced enlistment. Men wanted to fight to prove their worth as the ideal masculine figure, and during this time they developed strong bonds of mateship with each other.

Almost a year later, after the devastation of thousands of not only ANZACs but also many other soldiers from all the nations involved, the need for more reinforcements was clear. In desperation the minimum height and age were lowered and the maximum age was increased.¹²

...Both Samuel and Alexander paid the ultimate sacrifice for their country, and even amidst the chaos, confusion and uncertainty of war, they managed to still keep their Jewish spirit well and truly alive. Their Judaism served as a consistency and gave them strength in a time of struggle. While the army promoted their physical strength, their Jewish values aided both their spiritual and mental strengths. Their Jewish tenets and principles offered something the brothers could always fall back on, and provided a familiar comfort of home and family. And while it would be impossible to determine whether Alexander and Samuel are Jewish Anzacs or Anzacs that are Jewish, they certainly displayed valiant characteristics of both the Anzac Spirit and what it is to be a proud Jew.

ENDNOTES

1. Joe Berinson's father, Shalom Berinson was born and grew up in Zfat, in then Palestine. He came to Western Australia in 1913. A decade later he went back to Zfat to marry Rivka. The couple returned to Perth in 1923.
2. Hamilton, *Burkie*, (Perth: St. George Books, 1988).

3. In Italy. Avrum Einihovici graduated in 1924 in medicine from the University of Pavia.
4. 'Dr Avrum Einhovici', *The Maccabean*, Vol 16, May 1987-April 1988, 1 April 1988 p.10.
5. Corrigin is a town in the central wheatbelt region of Western Australia, 229 kilometres east-southeast of the state capital, Perth.
6. The *Chazan* of the Perth Hebrew Congregation from the 1930s – 1950s.
7. Laura Raiter, 'Einihovici, Avrum (Tim) (1895–1988)', *Australian Dictionary of Biography*, National Centre of Biography, Australian National University, <http://adb.anu.edu.au/biography/einihovici-avrum-tim-12456/text22403>, published first in hardcopy 2007, accessed online 16 May 2015, <http://adb.anu.edu.au/biography/einhovici-tim-12456>.
8. Rabbi Freedman founded the first Zionist movement in Australia in 1900, before either Sydney or Melbourne founded a Zionist organization, and well before his visit to Palestine.
9. Australia entered the War on 4 August 1914.
10. Barron Weingott served in France in 1918.
11. The *Hebrew Standard of Australasia*, 2 July 1915.
12. <http://ergo.slv.vic.gov.au/explore-history/australia-wwi/home-wwi/training-preparation>.

BOOK REVIEWS

FISHNETS, FEATHERS AND HEELS: MEMOIRS OF AN AUSSIE BLUEBELL

By Rosalind Michaelis

(Little Red Apple Publishing, Haymarket, NSW, 2014), 86 pages

This enjoyable book is unusual in so many ways. It has been written by Rosalind Bilbe under her maiden name of Michaelis which is the name under which she was known for many years in the 1950s and 1960s when she was a glamorous dancer in Europe, the Middle East and the United States. The book is an A4 paperback and designed to be more like a scrapbook filled with the photos and memorabilia from her dancing days. The foreword is in fact written by the book's designer, Gary Woods. A smaller size would have had more pages, but would not have done justice to some of the glamorous poses of the Bluebell dancers and showgirls or the Las Vegas casino show spectacles. Throughout the book there are illustrations of photographs, postcards, playbills, programs, newspaper clippings, even airmail postage stamps, which give a taste of the exciting life led by the young Miss Michaelis.

The cheeky title sets the mood for Ros's whirlwind life as told in an easy conversational style that never flags. Most of the reminiscences spring from her photos and memorabilia but she has done solid research into her family background as well as the life of 'Miss Bluebell', Irish-born Margaret Kelly. Best known for her Parisian dancing troupe, The Bluebell Girls, Margaret Kelly was awarded a number of medals for her bravery during World War II when she hid her Rumanian Jewish husband from the Nazis. Marcel Leibovici was a musician who had come to Paris in 1922 and was playing the piano at the *Folies Bergère* when he met Kelly. In 1939 she was arrested as an enemy alien, but released after Marcel proved she was an Irish national born in Dublin (neutral and non-combatant). Shortly afterwards, Marcel was arrested and sent to a camp in Gurs where, because he spoke German, he was used as an interpreter. He managed to escape and returned to Paris where Kelly hid him for two and a half years. Her amazing life has been recorded in a biography by George Perry and a BBC TV documentary.

Rosalind, the second daughter of Alan Michaelis and Jean Duncan, was born in Toorak, Melbourne, in 1937. They lived in a very comfortable style with a cook and nanny. Alan, his brother Rupert and sister Elaine, were the children of George Michaelis and his wife Lillian (nee Gotthelf) and grew up in Elizabeth Bay House in Sydney, which the family owned from 1911 to 1926. (An unfortunate typo on page 10 makes the earlier date 2011 by mistake). Alan then spent some years in England. He was an all-rounder – writing detective novels, painting, playing sport, going to the theatre. By the time he met Jean Duncan in Melbourne, his family were living in Dorothea Mackellar's former home in Point Piper. Alan's grandfather Moritz Michaelis was born in Lügde, Germany from where he migrated to England before travelling with his wife Rahel to Melbourne to establish a branch of the family's manufacturing business in 1853. They settled in Acland Street, St. Kilda. Moritz published a memoir in 1899 entitled *Chapters from the Story of my Life* which was reprinted in 2003 for a huge family reunion at the home, Linden, where Rosalind and her son Martin were present.

By coincidence Jean's family hailed from Germany also, her maternal great grandfather Carl George Balk sailing to Adelaide where he met and married Lucia Mehrtens. The Duncans came from Inverness, sailing to Australia early in the nineteenth century. Son Fred and his wife Adelaide were both born in Adelaide. Both father and son were in musical theatre. Fred's children Jean and her twin brother Robert met their partners in Melbourne. Robert served in New Guinea during the war and afterwards worked for many years at Alan Michaelis's showroom.

During World War II Alan was a Captain with an anti-aircraft unit. He later was a Managing Director with the family leathersgoods firm of Michaelis-Hallenstein & Co. He was also a cricketer and Chairman of the Victorian Rugby Union. Unfortunately he died in 1953 when Ros was 16 and her mother, a famous former musical comedy actress with J.C. Williamson, took her daughters to London where they had previously spent a wonderful year with Alan in 1949. At that time, Ros was 11 years old and loved everything about their luxurious trip. She even knew a bit of French which came in handy on an excursion to Paris. Her father engaged a tutor for the girls while in England.

Ros's dancing career began at the early age of 17. Having been trained as a classical ballerina with the Borovansky` Ballet, she grew too tall for normal ballets and eventually joined the famous Paris Bluebells, a troupe of tall, beautiful dancers. Not bad for a self-confessed introvert. She went on to rub shoulders with many celebrities but it did not spoil her natural Australian spirit. She loved

horses and rode whenever and wherever she could in the leisure times when she was not performing. She made lifelong friends of some of her fellow performers and had romantic encounters with handsome suitors in a number of different cities.

In England in the mid-1950s Ros's mother remarried and her home in London was a bolt hole for Ros when she needed one. Ros did some swimsuit modeling before the call of the stage saw her dancing on the Continent as a Bluebell Girl. In her early twenties she went with the troupe to Las Vegas where she celebrated her twenty-first birthday. Many film stars were in the audiences and Ros met Esther Williams, Victor Borge and Nat King Cole among others.

She and her friend Annette even found time to enroll in a Personal Psychology course at the University of Nevada for six months. The 1960s saw Ros travelling back to the States again and on to more exotic locations such as Beirut, Cairo, Italy, Morocco and Spain. However it was back in England that she met the Australian she was to marry. She planned a long slow trip home via Canada and America by greyhound bus and Graham Bilbe would join her for the sea trip from Miami.

A shy, introverted young woman had become a glamorous star in her own right, had made lasting friendships, discovered new and amazing things about the world, but had kept her head and her sense of humour. To read her memoir is to go on this incredible journey with her. The Michaelis, Gotthelf, Balk and Duncan families could never have envisaged, when they migrated to this faraway land that a descendant would return to the Old World and have so many delightful adventures.

Helen Bersten

TRANSNATIONAL TRADITIONS: NEW PERSPECTIVES ON AMERICAN JEWISH HISTORY

*Edited by Ava F. Khan and Adam Mendelsohn
(Wayne University Press, Detroit, 2014)*

This fascinating volume of essays examines the movement of Jewish people from one nation to others as part of the migration process. It takes chain migration and step migration further as it follows the complicated paths taken by individuals, families and *rabbonim* as they criss-crossed the oceans in search of family reunion, better lives, wealth or careers.

Both historians and family researchers will benefit from the thorough research exhibited by all these writers as they flesh out the lives of people who arrived on one shore, either by coercion or by choice, and travelled to others in times of flux. Some travellers returned home after many years; others ended their lives on what were once foreign shores. All essays have copious endnotes after each chapter and there is a 25 page index. A solid eight page introduction precedes the whole collection while each section has its own two or three page preface. The contributors' brief biographies at the end are evidence of their scholarship.

The book is divided into four parts: the first, following the English speaking (Anglophone) diaspora with a strong emphasis on Australia; the second, tracing travel between Europe and America; the third, immigration from a transnational viewpoint; the fourth, examining new homelands in Argentina, America and Israel. The contributors to this volume are all American academics with the exception of Professor Suzanne Rutland of the Hebrew, Biblical and Jewish Studies Department in the University of Sydney. Both the editors, who have contributed the essays, used the resources of the Australian Jewish Historical Society in Sydney as part of their research. Thus, all three essays in Part I of this collection are of special interest to Australian readers.

In Chapter 1, Adam Mendelsohn follows the lives of three brothers, all of them rabbis, but in different cities. Samuel, David and Jacob Isaacs all benefitted from the new model of *hazan* cantor/rabbi/orator as sermons in English became an important part of Jewish worship in the nineteenth century. Samuel found fame in America while David made his mark in England, but Jacob went to Australia, where, although he served the Sydney community well for many years, he was never the orator his brothers were. All three men had been born in Holland, migrated to England and two became 'transnationals'. Mendelsohn also discusses other rabbis who served in Australian pulpits, such as Hermann Hoelzel (London, Hobart and Sydney), Alexander Barnard Davis (Portsmouth via Jamaica to Sydney), Isaac Pulver (Cheltenham to Cape Town to Hobart and Sydney) as well as Isaac Zachariah who went to New Zealand and Abraham de Sola (to Montreal), while Joel Rabinowitz left for Cape Town. Dattner Jacobson left Melbourne for New Orleans; Raphael Benjamin's travels took him from Melbourne to New York and Emanuel Myers was in Ballarat as well as Waco, Texas amongst other moves.

Ava Kahn, in Chapter 2, takes a wider view, examining the transmigrations around the Pacific Rim and shows how the lure of gold took Jews from Australia to California and back again. The early

Jewish congregations on the west coast of America were established by these early contacts rather than from later cross country travel of east coast American Jewry. She emphasizes the Solomon and Keesing families as examples of Jewish pioneers in California. John Solomon had left England in the early 1830s and become a leader in the fledgling Sydney Jewish community. He sailed to California as early as 1848 and again in 1850 when he took his whole family and other hopeful fortune seekers with him. In San Francisco, he set about establishing a Jewish community there.

Barnet Keesing, whose family had migrated from Holland to England and then New Zealand, married the daughter of a convict and they followed his younger brother to San Francisco where they became wealthy merchants, while maintaining a strong connection to the new community there. (Some of their family continued however to marry in the Antipodes.) They were joined in California by Joel Samuel Polack, brother of Australian convict Abraham. Both brothers became involved in trade with California and with the Jewish community there. Another convict, John Jones also migrated to California.

Jacob Frankel left his pulpit in Hobart for San Francisco where he eventually made a name for himself. He returned to Melbourne and then moved on to Wellington in New Zealand. Abraham Abrahamsohn reinvented himself many times and worked variously as a miner, tailor, merchant, matzo baker, and finally a *mohel*. He moved between Germany, Australia and America, eventually returning to Germany. Rabbi Meyer Samuel Levy left England for Melbourne and eventually ended up in Hawaii. The Anglo-Australian influence on the first Jewish communities in California was a lasting one and family trees grew large on both sides of the ocean.

With Chapter 3, Suzanne Rutland concentrates on Moses Joseph and other Jewish merchants in both Sydney and Adelaide, such as the Montefiores, J.H. Levien and Samuel Lyons whose shipping interests led to successful trade with America in the gold rush period. Moses Joseph was a convict who in 1847, with his brother Israel, successfully patented the canning of preserved meat. He later became a successful merchant with a fleet of fourteen ships. Other Jewish ship owners were ex-convicts Solomon Levey, Judah and Joseph Solomon, Vaiben and Emanuel Solomon, Henry Cohen. Free settler Isaac Simmons had at least fifteen ships. Regular trade was conducted with California. By 1850 the Montefiores had a permanent base in San Francisco.

To bring the transnational discussion into modern times, Rutland includes the hugely successful story of Frank Lowy and his family whose Westfield shopping centres are household names on both sides

of the Pacific. His contact with refugee architect Victor Gruen in America was a key factor in the development of his shopping centres. The Michaelis –Hallenstein tannery business in Australia and New Zealand was a result of Isaac Hallenstein learning the trade in California. In the twentieth century, Norman and Victor Smorgon created opportunities for their meat and fruit trade by visiting American markets. Jetset Travel was another example of modern transnational trade in the 1960s and 1970s when Belgian-born Australian, Isi Leibler, set up the company which serviced both sides of the Pacific for two decades. Rutland emphasises the educational and industrial skills combined with determination and initiative which these entrepreneurs in both centuries had in common. Partnerships and networking added to their success, as did the willingness to recognize opportunities and to take risks.

The remainder of the book focuses on other parts of the world, besides Australia. Part II is entitled 'From Europe to America and Back Again', and consists of two chapters, one by Rebecca Kobrin on Jewish Bankers, and the second on American Yiddish publications in Imperial Russia by Eric L. Goldstein. Kobrin's Chapter 4 follows the European immigrants who travelled to America on tickets, pre-purchased from agents who then became informal bankers, lending money to migrants, sending funds back to their homelands and generally financing years of mass migration from 1873 to 1914. The term 'hostlands', used to denote their new countries of residence, emphasises their still-strong ties to their former homelands. The names of the 'bankers', who used these migrants almost as commodities - Grochowski, Deutsch, Mandel, Jarmulowsky, and Kobre - became well known in their day, but after forced closures by the government, they have all but faded from memory. While in business, they 'both fueled and shaped this mass population shift.' (p.100). The second essay by Eric Goldstein (Chapter 5) deals with the transnational movements of Yiddish literature between Russia, Poland and America as well as the transformation of the works into popular reading material hungrily sought by consumers on both sides of the Atlantic.

Entitled 'The Immigrant as Transnational, Part III is the curiosity section dealing, as it does, with German Jews who were not actually German, Jews who wrote, dressed and acted as Gypsies, although they were not part of that ethnicity and Jews in China who were actually Russian. Tobias Brinkman uses a number of German sources in Chapter 6, but unfortunately, unlike Rebecca Kobrin who included the English translation of her Yiddish titles in her endnotes, Brinkman does not translate his German sources' titles. Rather than being German, since there was no Germany at the time, many of

these migrants came from Prussia, specifically Posen, which was part of Poland. Others came from Eastern Europe. They did keep in touch with relatives in their former homelands as well as making contact with Jews from their own backgrounds in various parts of the United States. Lara Rabinovitch's Chapter 7 is possibly the most fascinating of all. She describes the unusual lives of Jewish Romanian immigrants Konrad Bercovici, Marie Marchaud and Joseph Moskowitz, who identified as Gypsies in their everyday lives in New York while having no legitimate claim to such an identity. Rabinovitch describes this behavior as 'imagined transnationalism' (page 165) and 'double nomadic hybridity' (p.178). We cross the world to Harbin in China for Jonathan Goldstein's Chapter 8. He examines the retained Russian identity of the *Kharbintsy*, Jews who migrated to Manchuria from the late nineteenth century and then after many years onwards to Argentina, Australia, America, Brazil, Britain, Canada, Hong Kong, Japan and Israel. He singles out the family of former Israeli Prime Minister, Ehud Olmert for a detailed study from the migration of his grandfather to Harbin, his father's and mother's transition to Palestine and the sentimental return visits of Ehud and his brothers to China. Memories of Harbin have remained strong in many who made a second migration and regular reunions are held. Australian Mara Moustafine says that while in Harbin their underlying Russianness was a focus for the Jewish population, in the Harbin diaspora, it was the memory of their Manchurian 'homeland' (p.202).

Part III is entitled 'Creating New Homelands in Argentina, America and Israel' and also consists of three chapters. Chapter 9 by Ellen Eisenberg follows the journeys of Russian Jewish farmers, predominantly from farming regions in the southern areas of the Pale of Settlement, to America and Argentina and compares and contrasts the outcomes of the agricultural colonies they established. Chapter 10 by Joan Roland takes us to India where the Bene Israel began migrating to Israel and America and found they were regarded quite differently in each country. She examines the transnational movements of this distinct group of Jewish Indians who lived mainly in Bombay, the Konkan and Pune. Indian Jews have migrated to Australia, America, Canada and the United Kingdom. Roland has conducted extensive surveys and interviews over two decades to follow the paths of these immigrants. These transnationals were not refugees, but migrated in large numbers in the 1960s and 1970s possibly for better economic advantage. The final essay in this collection is by co-editor, Ava Kahn and describes the phenomenon of *kibbutzim*, established in Israel in the 1940s and 1970s by American migrants, which reflected their values of independent thinking,

gender equality and more liberal, pluralistic religious practices. She focuses on five kibbutzim; Sasa, Gesher Haziv, Ketura, Gezer and Adamit. The American Zionist Youth Movements strongly influenced these early settlements. All the American settlers questioned the kibbutz ideology, as it existed in Israel. Post 1967, the Americans introduced more democratic and less rigid systems in running the kibbutz, however the residents became seen as Americans in Israel, whereas in America they had been seen as Jews. The transnational identity was established as the American kibbutzniks maintained strong ties with their homeland.

These ten authors write with the expected enthusiasm of academics breaking new ground in historical research, as they bring to life the migration of people and traditions in wonderful images of transnationalism from the nineteenth to the twenty-first centuries and from the Old World to the New. The book highlights the global nature of the Jewish experience, with Part I focusing on the part played by Australian Jewry in terms of the Jewish transnational profile.

Helen Bersten

PRESIDENT'S REPORT 2014

During the past year the Society moved from the NSW Jewish Community Centre to a second temporary area adjacent to the Sydney Jewish Museum Library. When the Museum's new Education Centre is completed and their Library relocated, we will be moving to their former library area, which will become our permanent home.

During 2014, on Tuesdays and Thursdays, our Honorary Secretary and Newsletter Editor, Philip Moses, manned the Office. On Tuesdays he was supported by our Genealogist, Jeannette Tsoulos and Joe Kensell in the archival and library areas and also our new recruit and member, Beverley Smith. Our Thursdays, volunteers are Noela Symonds and Barbara Temple, and Noela also fills in when Philip Moses is away.

Discussions have been held with Norman Seligman and Charles Aronson of the SJM about achieving a rationalisation of our joint Library resources - with the SJM featuring Jewish history and the Holocaust, while the Society Library concentrates on Australasian Jewish History. This is ongoing.

During the year we held a number of outings and meetings:

These included an Open Day at the Maitland Jewish Cemetery on Sunday 9 March, which was attended by Philip Moses, Noela Symonds and Nigel Meinrath as well as Gary Luke. Gary Luke was closely involved with this successful event when there were over 100 people present. Following the speeches and a walk through the cemetery with a talk on the restoration work being carried out, there was a visit to the Maitland Synagogue.

This event was closely followed on Tuesday 11 March when approximately forty people were present for the talk on the Jewish Legion and Rabbi Falk which was presented by Professor Michael Keren and held at the Princess Gardens Retirement Village.

On Sunday 6 April Kim Philips spoke about her Spirits of Gallipoli project, researching the first ANZACS who are either buried there or commemorated at Gallipoli. This meeting was held at COA in Woollahra. Unfortunately we were not successful in getting the audio visual system to work, so Kim was given a hard task. There was some discussion following Kim's talk.

Then on Sunday 13 July we were reminded by Richard Tanner of 1788 and the re-enactment of the First Fleet's arrival in Sydney Harbour with the accompanying travails in its re-creation. This was another meeting held at Princess Gardens and our attendance was improved by the presence of some residents of the Village.

June 2014 saw the issue of the Sydney edition of the *Journal* -Part 4 of Volume XXI. Our thanks go to Suzanne Rutland for an outstanding collection of subjects. The *Journal* is the lifeblood of the Society and contributions are always sought. For the June issue we included the essay that was chosen as the winning entry in the Society's initial Year 10 Morris Forbes and Hannah Himmelferb Endowment Australian Jewish History Competition. 12 entries had been submitted by Year 10 students from New South Wales, Victoria and New Zealand. I would like to acknowledge the efforts of the three Judges, Helen Bersten, Susan Bures and Howard Wolfers and thank them for their participation.

I would also like to thank Brian Lenny who has continued with his review of past Australian Jewish newspapers, *Window on the Past*, entertaining us with remembrances of life 100 years and more ago. His latest contribution was based on a single issue.

Preparatory steps have been taken for our 2015 Year 10 Essay Competition. Email notice has been sent to all Jewish Secondary Schools in Australia and I have received a number of acknowledgments. We have also made an approach to AUJS to cooperate in a separate Essay Competition for University Undergraduates. We are awaiting their response.

The Society is one of the participants in the Australian Jewish Centenary of Anzac Project. Ralph Hirst is the Treasurer, and the Society's Library Fund is being used as the medium to receive tax deductible donations as the objects of the Project are identical with our Society's.

Reviewing the year that is past, I could not leave it without noting some of the issues that are facing the Society:

There has been a decline in the number of our members

We need to attract younger members of the community to the Society, and in particular to becoming involved on the committee.

Again this year there has been no nomination for the Vice-Presidency of the Society.

We need to consider the timing of our committee meetings should they continue to be held on a Tuesday morning? Would an evening be more attractive?

We need to reconsider the day and timing on which we hold our meetings. Would we attract a wider audience on an evening in the week?

We need to improve our public relations and our publicity. Who, outside the members who receive notice of this meeting by email, are aware that we are holding this Annual General Meeting?

We have much to do and much to improve.

Russell Stern 16 November 2014

ERRATA

ERRATA *AJHS JOURNAL* VOL XXI PART 4 2014

In the Table of Contents, June 2014, Volume XXI, Part 4, Anthony T. Hughes is incorrectly listed with his middle initial as Anthony J. Hughes. In the actual article his name is listed correctly with his middle initial 'T'.

GENEALOGICAL ENQUIRIES

2014-APRIL 2015

This list represents enquiries made to the AJHS until April 2015, where we were not able to supply information. If you did not initiate the enquiry but would like to add information, please write to our genealogist at 146 Darlinghurst Road, Darlinghurst, NSW, 2010.

LEVIN, Isaac. He was from Vilnius. His daughter Hinda was born in Vilnius in 1926. She survived Bergen Belsen and lives in Sweden. She believes her father went to Australia or New Zealand. An Isaac Levin died in 1959 and is buried in Rookwood. Seeking descendants who may have more information.

SMITH, Caroline, née Goldman and son John (born UK 1832) settled in Shoalhaven. No other info available. Any information welcome.

NEW MEMBERS, 2014-2015

The following became members during the year:

David Golovsky

Jon Green

Maureen Kremer

Geoffrey Lewis

Michael Lewis

Anne Slade

Beverley Smith

Robert Steinberg

Jana Vytrlik

CONTRIBUTORS

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

Helen Bersten, OAM, BA, Dip Lib, a member of the AJHS Editorial Committee was the honorary archivist of AJHS Inc from November 1979 to May 2011 when she retired after almost 33 years of dedicated service to the Society. She writes book reviews for the journal and has compiled cumulative indexes to the Society's journals and newsletters.

Carol Bunyan, BA, graduated from ANU in 1978 and is a former public servant. She is a volunteer researcher for the Hay Prisoner of War and Internment Camp Interpretive Centre aka Dunera Museum and the Dunera Association. Her focus is the 'Dunera boys' but her research also encompasses Italian and Japanese internees and POWs interned at Hay, her place of birth.

Robert Goot AM, SC, is a barrister who has occupied leadership roles in the Jewish community over the last 40 years. He has held the positions of: Chairman of the Australian Campaign for the Rescue of Soviet Jewry (1971-1980); President of the NSW Jewish Board of Deputies (1978-1982); President of Moriah College (1989-1996); President of the Sydney Jewish Museum (1996 -2000) and President of the ECAJ (2007-2010). Currently he is: President of the ECAJ (since 2013); a Vice President of the World Jewish Congress; a member of the Leadership Council of the Claims Conference and Chairman of Trustees and a Life Patron of Moriah College.

Alan Milston, who died in 2012, was actively involved in the NSW Friends of the Hebrew University, initially representing the Zionist Youth League in 1946, while still in the RAAF, and later serving in various capacities on the executive of both state and federal bodies, including being state president. He graduated as an

engineer from the University of Sydney and then undertook postgraduate study in London in 1947 returning to Sydney in 1948 where he established himself as an engineer.

Philip Moses, BEcon, developed an interest in Australian Jewish history in his retirement, following a family tradition as both his grandfather, Phillip Moses, and his father, Braham Moses, had been members of the Society. Since he joined in 2003, he has been tracing the descendants of Solomon Moses. In 2004, he became a committee member and undertook the task of entering the thousands of handwritten index cards of the archives onto a computer database. In 2009 he became Honorary Secretary of the Society and in 2011 he took over as Editor of the Newsletter.

Suzanne D. Rutland, OAM, MA (Hons), PhD, Dip Ed, is Professor in the Department of Hebrew, Biblical & Jewish Studies, University of Sydney. She has published widely on Australian Jewish history, including Jewish migration and Jewish women in Australia, as well as writing on the Holocaust, Israel and Jewish education. In 2005 she published *The Jews in Australia* (Cambridge University Press, 2005). She received a government grant from the Australian Prime Ministers Centre for research on Australia and the campaign for Soviet Jewry. In 2015 she published the book on this topic with Australian Jewish News journalist, Sam Lipski, entitled *Let My People Go: The Untold Story of Australia and Soviet Jews, 1959-1989* (Melbourne: Hybrid Publishers). In 2008 she received the Medal of the Order of Australia for services to Higher Jewish Education and interfaith dialogue.

Russell Stern, BA LLM, is currently President of the Australian Jewish Historical Society Inc. and a dedicated researcher into Australian Jewish service personnel.

George M. Weisz, MD (1965), BA (1992), MA (1994), graduated from the Hebrew University in Jerusalem in 1965 and specialized in orthopaedic surgery in 1970. He undertook postgraduate study in Chicago and Toronto and since 1975 practiced in Sydney as an orthopaedic/spinal surgeon. In 1992 he graduated with a BA in European History at UNSW and MA in Italian Renaissance studies at Sydney University (1994). At present he is a consultant in medico-legal matters and researching medical issues of the Holocaust, as well as medicine in Renaissance paintings.

Rob Wills, BA (Hons), M.Phil, has his first degree from the

University of Sydney, specialising in Old Icelandic. He studied in Iceland and then did an M.Phil. on family sagas at London University. Joining the public service as a diplomat, he served in Ghana and Denmark. His research now focuses on Australian history. Publications: *humin hopes - The 1855 Diary of Charles Moore, English Immigrant to Australia on the Constitution*, and *The Castle of Andalusia: a comedy by John O'Keeffe performed on Norfolk Island by convicts in 1840*. His latest work is *Alias Blind Larry: the mostly true memoir of James Laurence the singing convict* (Australian Scholarly Publishing, 2015).