A COMPARATIVE ANALYSIS OF EARLY JEWISH BURIAL GROUNDS IN AUSTRALIA

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ABSTRACT

In the early years of British settlement in Victoria, South Australia, Western Australia and Queensland, their colonial legislative councils had allocated Crown Land for burials with designated sections for various Christian denominations. New South Wales and Tasmania, as earlier settlements, allocated burial grounds under a different style of legislation which was only revised in the mid-1840s. As discussed by Israel Getzler, the nascent Jewish communities in each of the colonies lobbied to also have a designated section of Crown Land, with various levels of success.

In the 1840s, consolidated legislation was introduced. These revisions arose from similar parliamentary discussions about cemeteries and health in England, with the ideas that diseases could be spread by "miasma" wafting from burial grounds. This triggered the closure of city cemeteries such as in Sydney's George Street, where the current Town Hall now stands, and Devonshire Street and the opening of Haslem's Creek/Rookwood which was further away from the city.

This article is an edited extract from the submission to the Department of Environment and Heritage for nomination for state heritage listing of the Goulburn Jewish Cemetery. It is based on combined research and writing from both Gary Luke and Chris Betteridge who prepared the submission. Such a comparison of one location with other places of similar age, use and form can assist in establishing relative heritage significance and, as such, are of important historical

significance. This analysis has been limited to other compa-
rable burial grounds listed on heritage registers or otherwise
known to the authors. Such comparison is useful in helping
to assess the singularity or representativeness of a place, but
it must be noted that the other sites with which Goulburn
Jewish Cemetery is compared may not have been assessed
according to the same criteria or studied to the same extent.

Keywords: Jewish Cemeteries, Goulburn, Maitland,
Raphael's Ground, heritage listing

Jewish burial is considered as being of the greatest importance, with
those involved with the process of *tahara* (purification) considered
to have carried out the greatest of the commandments (*mitzvot*). As a
result, the first step to create a structure for a Jewish community was
the desire to establish a Jewish cemetery. In his book, *Neither Toleration
Nor Favour*, Israel Getzler discussed the Jewish struggle to achieve full
equality with their fellow Anglicans in the colonies, a struggle initially
shared with the other Christian denominations. In 1836, Sir Richard
Bourke, governor of New South Wales, passed legislation which put all
Christian denominations on an equal footing. While Jews were not spe-
cifically mentioned, subsequently all their requests for land grants for
Jewish religious purposes were complied with except in Van Diemen's
Land (later Tasmania) where Lieutenant-Governor, Sir John Franklin,
rejected the requests of the Jewish community.[1]

In this article, the history of various cemeteries, mainly from nine-
teenth century colonial Australia, is discussed. While the focus of this
article is on New South Wales, developments in Tasmania, the second
area of colonial Jewish settlement, Adelaide and Melbourne are also
included. The article will demonstrate that of these various cemeteries,
the two cemeteries – Goulburn and Maitland – which are still extant in
New South Wales, were established on private land. Yet, while Maitland
has been granted heritage status, this took much longer in the case of
Goulburn.[2]

Jewish cemeteries in New South Wales

The colonial Legislative Council of New South Wales decided in the
mid-1840s that all Crown land general cemeteries would be non-de-
nominational, and burials of all religions were to be intermixed.
Eighteen months of ardent objections led to retraction of the decision,

which was replaced by portions for nominated religions, areas to be based on the census. All cemeteries had 0.5% of the grounds apportioned for Jewish burials, matching the proportion of Jews in the population of New South Wales according to the census. Regardless of whether any Jews ever lived in the district, Jews were granted an allotment in over 750 regional and suburban cemeteries. Municipal councils at times requested release of an unused Jewish portion for use by an alternate religion. Approximately 55 regional cemeteries have at least one burial of a Jew. Apart from these, three cemeteries only were private burial grounds for exclusive use by their congregations: at Maitland, Goulburn, and Raphael's Ground. The cemetery at Yass is unique as the only portion allotted by the request of local Jews under the earlier system of the Church Act of 1836.[3] By 1850, there were exclusive Jewish cemeteries in Sydney, Launceston, Hobart Town, Maitland, and Goulburn, but apart from those at Goulburn and Maitland, these exclusively Jewish cemeteries no longer exist.

Sydney

In the early days of the European colony in New South Wales there were some Jewish burials in the town's early burial grounds. The first was a convict who came on the First Fleet but died two months after its arrival and was probably buried in The Rocks area. Jewish burials from those who arrived on the Second fleet were probably buried in a burial ground in Clarence Street and there were Jewish burials in the Old Sydney Burial Ground, now the site of the Sydney Town Hall and its immediate environs.

A few Jews were buried at St John's Cemetery at Parramatta. Ann Bockarah, the free arrival wife of the Second Fleet convict Solomon Bockarah, joined the household of Richard Atkins, the judge advocate, when Solomon died in 1791. The St Phillip's Church burial register has 'Jewish' written against his name, the first official record in Australia to note that someone was Jewish. Ann died shortly after, in 1793, and was buried at St John's Cemetery. Her monument still exists, being the earliest still extant tomb in Australia for a Jew.

In February 1820, an area for Jewish burials was set aside in the Anglican section of the Devonshire Street (Sandhills) Cemetery.[4] An official Jewish section was allocated in 1832 and gazetted in 1835. Burials from the Old Sydney Burial Ground, which may have included Jewish burials, were exhumed to make way for the construction of

Sydney Town Hall and were transferred to a site at Rookwood and are memorialised by the Cathedral Close Monument in that cemetery.
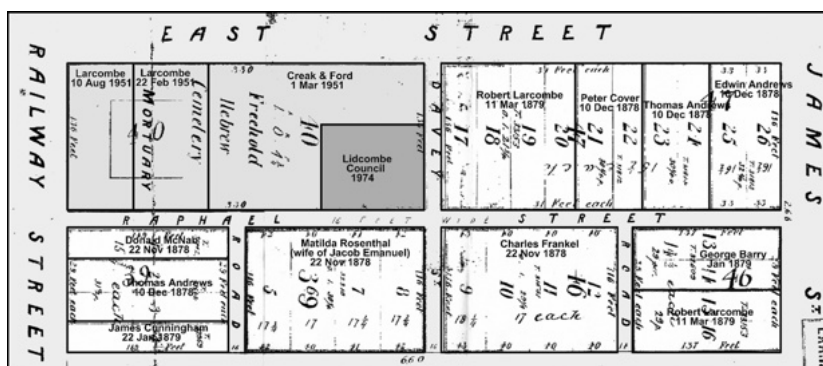
None of these early Sydney burial grounds survives. Burials from the Devonshire Street Cemetery were later disinterred and transferred to other cemeteries –130 to Botany Cemetery, 100 to Rookwood, and about 50 to Raphael's Ground, just west of Rookwood.

Raphael's Ground Cemetery, Rookwood

A dispute in 1859 over a circumcision caused a rift in the Jewish community of the York Street Synagogue, resulting in a break-away congregation forming in a rented building in Macquarie Street. The dispute extended into use of the cemetery at Devonshire Street where a few burials were disturbed by fist fights with one conflict being settled in a court case.[5] When the new cemetery for Sydney was to open at Rookwood, the Macquarie Street congregation chose to establish their own cemetery on private land. Joseph George Raphael, committee member of the Macquarie Street congregation, purchased the freehold title to 4.5 acres of land adjacent to the new Necropolis at Haslam's Creek (later Rookwood Cemetery) and donated part to the congregation as a cemetery, with himself and Lewis Wolf Levy as trustees. It was named the Raphael's Ground Cemetery and was jointly consecrated by Rev Alexander Bernard Davis and Rev S. Phillips, Ministers of the Macquarie and York Street Synagogues on 18 August 1867.[6] Only a small part of the 4.5 acres became a cemetery – much of it was sub-divided and sold off in the late 1870s, some lots to the Larcombe and Andrews families of monumental masons. There were further sales in 1951.

In his will, Joseph Raphael, who died in 1879, left the burial ground property 'unto the Presidents of the various Jewish Synagogues and their heirs and successors for persons dying professing the Hebrew faith'. When Levy died in 1885, there was no mention of the Jewish cemetery in his will, so the property was registered in the name of the Trustees of his will.[7]

In 1889 the Trustees decided to transfer the cemetery to the Trustees of the Great Synagogue, Messrs George Judah Cohen, Louis M. Phillips and Moritz Gotthelf, provided Joseph Raphael's widow and members of her family had free access to the ground at all times and were exempt from burial fees and charges.[8] The last burial in Raphael's Ground was in 1901.[9] In the 1920s and 1930s, two Raphael descendants realised the

Plan showing the land between Rookwood Cemetery and Lidcombe which was purchased by Joseph G Raphael, Committee Member, and Lewis Wolf Levy, President of the Macquarie Street congregation in 1867, but only a small portion of which, marked Lidcombe Council 1974, was actually consecrated as a Jewish burial ground. Esther Matilda Rosenthal was a relative of Joseph Raphael and Charles Frankel was a fellow congregant.

cemetery may be disbanded so they arranged approximately a dozen exhumations and re-burial in parts of Rookwood cemetery.

By 1970, Raphael's Ground had become very neglected. The Board of the Great Synagogue decided to dispose of the monuments and donate the property to Auburn Council for use as a park. Fragments of some of the monuments have been buried in the old Jewish section of Rookwood opposite the Martyr's Memorial. The caretaker's cottage from the Ground was sold and moved across Raphael Street as a residence. The former Raphael's Ground was given to Auburn Council in 1974 for use as a children's playground. A plaque on this site reads 'Presented by the Great Synagogue of Sydney'.[10]

Goulburn Jewish Cemetery

In the 1840s, there was no Jewish burial ground in the southern region of New South Wales when two daughters of John and Rebecca Moses were drowned while crossing the flooded river at Yass in a horse and carriage accident in 1844. Samuel Benjamin and Elias Moses, business partners of Goulburn, allowed the burial of the young teenage sisters in part of the 22 acre properties they owned to the east of Goulburn township. Three months later Isaac Davis was shot during a bushranger holdup at his store in Boorowa. He died the next day and was buried in the same ground. Although not yet registered as a cemetery, this was the second instance where a news report called it the Jewish burial

The 'Jewish Reserve', a park developed on the site of Raphael's Ground Cemetery, Rookwood (Photo: Australian Cemeteries Index)

ground. After a third burial in early 1848 the partners formalised it as a cemetery with a registered deed of sale of half an acre of their property to the Goulburn Hebrew Association for use as the community's cemetery with three trustees. The cemetery is inactive now, closed for burials, but trusteeship has continued, making it the only Jewish burial ground in New South Wales under Jewish ownership and management. Approximately 30 burials were conducted in the cemetery, most before the 1880s when the community had dissipated, the last burials being two German refugees, Hugo Goldberger and Siegfried Vogel, who both died in 1943.
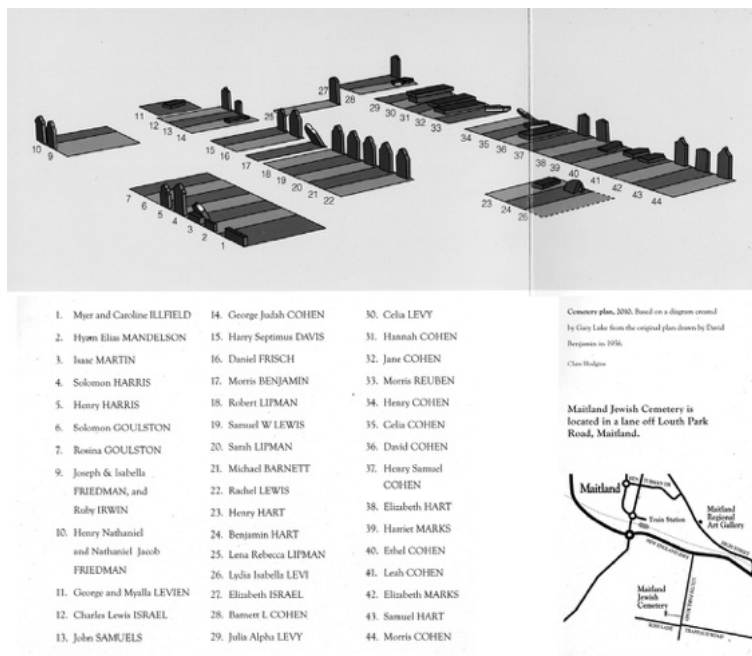
In recent research for preparation of a Conservation Management Plan, in a cash book, the only existent record of the congregation held in the AJHS Archives, two previously unknown burials have been discovered, along with events such as donation offerings by congregants for *mitzvot* (commandments) during High Holiday services. Compared to the other cemeteries where there are little or no contemporary records, this extensive correspondence and photographs have revealed how much the landscaping and even the layout of headstones as markers of burial locations have been altered.

Maitland Jewish Cemetery

Apart from the Goulburn Jewish Cemetery, Maitland Jewish Cemetery is the only other extant exclusively Jewish cemetery in New South Wales. In a rural area in Louth Park Road, West Maitland, the cemetery is on land acquired by the Jewish Community in 1846.[11] This was two years later than the first mention of the Goulburn site as 'the Jewish Cemetery' in that town.

Unlike Goulburn, the Maitland Jewish Cemetery was set aside prior to the first burials in 1849 for victims of scarlet fever – two young girl cousins belonging to the Cohen family. A cottage on the cemetery site, used for a caretaker and for the *tahara* ritual prior to interments, was demolished sometime between 1928 and 1936. The cemetery site was subjected to flooding in 1930, 1934, 1949 and the unprecedented Hunter River flood of 1955. A list of the legible memorial inscriptions was sent to the Great Synagogue in 1930 and the last burial, until 2010, was that of Isaac Lipman who died on 25 March 1934 and was buried in an unmarked grave.[12]

In 1949, there was correspondence between the Newcastle Hebrew

1. Myer and Caroline ILLFIELD
2. Hyam Elias MANDELSON
3. Isaac MARTIN
4. Solomon HARRIS
5. Henry HARRIS
6. Solomon GOULSTON
7. Rosina GOULSTON
9. Joseph & Isabella FRIEDMAN, and Ruby IRWIN
10. Henry Nathaniel and Nathaniel Jacob FRIEDMAN
11. George and Myalla LEVIEN
12. Charles Lewis ISRAEL
13. John SAMUELS
14. George Judah COHEN
15. Harry Septimus DAVIS
16. Daniel FRISCH
17. Morris BENJAMIN
18. Robert LIPMAN
19. Samuel W LEWIS
20. Sarah LIPMAN
21. Michael BARNETT
22. Rachel LEWIS
23. Henry HART
24. Benjamin HART
25. Lena Rebecca LIPMAN
26. Lydia Isabella LEVI
27. Elizabeth ISRAEL
28. Barnett L COHEN
29. Julia Alpha LEVY
30. Celia LEVY
31. Hannah COHEN
32. Jane COHEN
33. Morris REUBEN
34. Henry COHEN
35. Celia COHEN
36. David COHEN
37. Henry Samuel COHEN
38. Elizabeth HART
39. Harriet MARKS
40. Ethel COHEN
41. Leah COHEN
42. Elizabeth MARKS
43. Samuel HART
44. Morris COHEN

Cemetery plan, 2010. Based on a diagram created by Gary Luke from the original plan drawn by David Benjamin in 1956.

Clare Hodgins

Maitland Jewish Cemetery is located in a lane off Louth Park Road, Maitland.

Maitland Jewish Cemetery layout and plot listing. (Source: From Maitland City Council website, reproduced as Figure 7, Maitland Jewish Cemetery CMP 2012)

Congregation and the Great Synagogue regarding flood damage to the cemetery and, in 1954, a schedule of works and cost estimate for monument restoration were obtained from local stonemason Thomas Browne. In 1956, the year after the disastrous Maitland flood, David J. Benjamin and Ilse Robey from the Jewish Historical Society and Jewish Cemetery Trust visited the Maitland Jewish Cemetery, Benjamin observing that 'the condition of the cemetery is not good' and that it had 'suffered seriously in the disasters [referring to floods] of the last two years.' A plan was drawn, with numbers allocated to gravesites.[13]

In 1966, the Secretary of the Newcastle Jewish Cemetery Fund advised the Jewish Cemetery Trust that they would take care of Maitland Jewish Cemetery if authority could be obtained. Trustees were found and care was undertaken.[14] In 1977, the secretary of the Australian Jewish Historical Society (AJHS) initiated interest in and maintenance of the cemetery and the following year, a major clean-up of the site was undertaken, including full weed removal, leading to the reconsecration of the cemetery in August 1979.[15]

In 1982, Maitland Jewish Cemetery was classified by the National Trust.[16] On 23 August 1989, the control and management of the cemetery was transferred by deed from the Board of Management of the Newcastle Hebrew Congregation to Maitland City Council, and in 2001–02 projects documenting the cemetery were undertaken by Maitland Family History Circle and the Australian Jewish Genealogical Society.[17]

In 2008, unmarked burials – recorded in the Maitland Courthouse register – were discovered and the following year Maitland City Council began support of research and conservation. In 2009–10, the Maitland Jewish Cemetery Project was initiated by Maitland Regional Art Gallery, resulting in exhibitions, publications and community events. The Australian Jewish Historical Society committee and members submitted objections to Council against the use of the cemetery for modern burials[18] but on 8 July 2010 the remains of Leah Abadee (1910–2010) were buried in the cemetery, 76 years after the previous last burial. Interest in the cemetery was revived in 2011 through 'The Maitland Jewish Cemetery Project' which that year won the National Trust of Australia (NSW) Heritage Award for Interpretation and Presentation. In 2012, Maitland City Council commissioned a Conservation Management Plan for the cemetery.[19]

The repaired memorial on the grave of George and Myalla Levien at Maitland Jewish Cemetery. This rare and unusual memorial by Maitland monumental mason Charles Cobby is similar in form to the memorial on the grave of Lydia Collins in Goulburn Jewish Cemetery although the Goulburn example has a chamfered top stone rather than a tapered half-cylinder stone between the headstone and footstone. (Photo: Sach Killem, 11 December 2013)

Yass

The Yass District Council was formed in 1842 and a formal cemetery was proposed for the town at about that time. The earliest recorded Jewish burial at Yass is that of 16-year-old Sarah Moses who died 2 February 1843.[20] At Yass, Jews Henry Hart, Moses Moses and his brothers Isaac and John Moses must have monopolised the early liquor trade in the district. By 1845, there were enough Jews in the district to warrant the establishment of a Jewish cemetery and John Moses initiated a successful petition for the establishment of a Jewish Burial ground in Yass.[21] The earliest Jewish burial recorded after the establishment of the cemetery is that of Moses Moses who died on 11 July 1858, aged 68 years[22] and was buried next to his daughter. Their memorials have since been set into a concrete slab. There were four Jewish burials in Yass between 1843 and 1872. As noted earlier in this article, the cemetery at Yass is unique as the only one with a Jewish section allotted by request

of local Jews under the earlier system of the Church Act of 1836, which was included as the Jewish portion when three separate denominational cemetery grants were amalgamated to form the current Yass General Cemetery.

Cooma

Ground for a cemetery in Cooma was consecrated in 1870. This was land next to the Congregational Church and burial ground on what is now Lot 30, DP 750535. The first recorded Jewish burial in Cooma was that of Reuben Lyons in 1874 but the newspaper coverage of his burial stated it was the third.[23] Family graves of members of the Shannon family are located on their house property, now Lot 2, DP 1139354.

Apart from the Goulburn cemetery, Raphael's Ground Cemetery and Maitland Jewish Cemetery are the two other examples of Jewish cemeteries in New South Wales which were established in private grounds. With Raphael's Ground Cemetery, the graves were moved, and the land sold; with Maitland, the cemetery has remained intact, and it has been listed as a heritage case. Hence, it is the Maitland case which is of the greatest relevance in terms of a heritage listing for the Goulburn Cemetery.

Other Jewish cemeteries in Australia

Cemeteries in Tasmania

Hobart Town

Burials from the beginning of the European settlement in Hobart Town were in St David's Burial ground, now St David's Park, at the corner of Harrington and Davey Streets, Hobart, and included all denominations. This area had been chosen by Lieutenant-Governor Collins and the Reverend Robert Knopwood on 27 April 1804.

Hobart had been formally laid out from a disorganised straggle of streets and structures to the present central grid by Governor Macquarie's surveyor, James Meehan, in a visit to the town in December 1811. This formed the streets and boundaries and gave locations for civic buildings, burial grounds, street widths and minimum setbacks for buildings.

The earliest use known by Europeans of the area now occupied by Windsor Court in West Hobart is as 'the Jews Burial ground'. On 21 May 1828, Jewish ex-convict Barnard Walford (from a family who changed their name from Moses) applied to the Lieutenant-Governor for land

to be set aside as a Jewish burial ground in Harrington Street. Walford died soon afterwards and was the first to be buried in the cemetery, but his tombstone was later removed to the Jewish cemetery at Cornelian Bay.[24]

Remains of early Jewish inhabitants interred from as early as 1811 were transferred from St David's to the new burial ground in 1828; however, these are not recorded in the Hobart Town Jewish Synagogue Burial Register. An undated cemetery plan *circa* 1950 has been located, showing the location of 20 headstones, of which only 12 were able to be read. The *Hobart Town Courier* recorded the deaths of Jewish citizens being interred at the Jews Burial Ground in Harrington Street as late as 1871, well after the date of the Register. However, 57 human remains were unearthed in an exhumation process in 2002. The Hobart Synagogue has identified the names of 51 people who were buried at the ground, though remains of each person were not identified in the exhumation. The final six human remains exhumed add up to the real number of burials, though their identity is at present unknown.[25]

Launceston

There were several small Jewish burial grounds in Launceston during the nineteenth century, the earliest being situated below the Anglican burial ground near the intersection of York and High Streets. Henry Button referred to that being exchanged for a small piece of ground on the corner of High and Balfour Streets.[26] A Jewish hotel-keeper, Henry Davis subsequently granted some land to the local Jewish community on 24 October 1836.[27] An 1878 survey of Launceston lists an area off York Street and near the end of Eleanor Street as the 'Jews' burial place'.[28] The last exclusive Jewish burial ground to be established in Launceston was purchased by the Jewish community in the mid-1840s.[29]

There were never more than 150 Jews living in Launceston, their numbers peaking around 1856–57. The synagogue was closed in 1871 because there were not enough males living in the city to form a viable community although the building itself remained standing. While the Jewish population of Launceston rapidly declined during the following years, burials continued in the South Street burial ground for some time, the last known burial there being that of Maurice Nathan, who died on 16 September 1893.[30] Understandably, the burial ground became quite neglected in the absence of a Jewish community,[31] in blatant contrast to the well-maintained Jewish burial ground in central Hobart, which

had the benefit of servicing a continuous Jewish community.[32] By the 1920s, the land around the surviving twenty headstones was serving as a grazing ground for the horses and fowls of the neighbourhood. Following the appointment of Harry Joseph and Sim Crawcour as new trustees of the synagogue and burial ground in 1925, the ground was cleaned up and the synagogue leased to the Masonic Lodge in 1927. The new trustees received financial assistance from two women from Evandale, ensuring that the area was properly fenced, and the head-stones maintained.[33] Over the next decade the burial ground declined further and only twelve headstones remained in 1938.[34]

In May that year the trustees offered the land to the Launceston Council. A plan of grave locations was prepared, the remaining headstones were removed for 'safe keeping', the dividing fence was dis-mantled, stone curbing was constructed along South Street and swings installed. There is no record of the bodies being relocated. In March 1942, air raid trenches were dug in Monash Reserve a distance from the cemetery site, but six months later they were levelled, and the park became a children's playground once more.[35]

Adelaide, South Australia

The Minute Book of the Adelaide Public Cemetery on 29 August 1843, noted the granting of a portion of the public cemetery for the exclu-sive use of the Hebrew Community. This application for a part of the cemetery was prompted by the death and burial of Nathaniel Philip Levi on 21 July 1843, the first member of the fledging Adelaide Hebrew Community to die. The area of land granted was situated on the west-ern boundary of the cemetery and measured 100 feet from the western boundary fence and 50 feet north and south. Sometime later, the Jewish portion was considerably extended to the north to border the portion of the cemetery that had been granted to the Roman Catholic Church in 1845. This increase can be seen in the 1847 map of the Cemetery (S. A. Archives GRG 35/585/42). However, this area was considerably more than the needs of the Jewish community and when a land grant was eventually issued to the Hebrew Community (Memorialised in the General Registry Office 4 Sept. 1852, Book 42, Number 443) the area was considerably smaller in size.

However, the area granted was still more than the needs of the Jewish community, whilst the neighbouring Catholic Cemetery was continually needing to expand. Therefore, portions of the Jewish

Cemetery were transferred to the Catholic Cemetery on 25 July, 1879; 6 December 1896; 10 January 1897 (30 feet on the northern boundary); and 1 May 1898 (18 feet on the northern boundary). Additional ground was sold to the Hebrew Community by the Government on 4 February 1908 for £75 making the cemetery the dimensions it is today.

The Jewish Cemetery remained under the control of the Hebrew Community who maintained their own records until the passage of the West Terrace Cemetery Act in 1976 when the Jewish Cemetery reverted to the State Government. However, special provision was made in the Act as follows:

> Section 10. Nothing in this Act contained shall be construed as authorizing the Minister to disturb or otherwise interfere with any place of internment within the area delineated on the plan set out in the first schedule to this Act and marked 'Jewish Granted MEM. No.443 Bk.42' without the written consent of the Board or Trustees or the Chief Minister of the Adelaide Hebrew Congregation.[36]

The Minute Book of the Hebrew Congregation records approval being given on 25 May 1868, for the building of a 'new' *Matare*[37] House. This was erected later the same year at a cost of £I01/18/6. It was built of Glen Osmond stone and designed by David Garlick. This structure was demolished in the early 1970s. It was a plain rectangular building with a galvanised iron roof. No photography of the building has been located.[38]

Melbourne, Victoria

According to Edmund Finn, author of *The Chronicles of Early Melbourne*, the first Jewish cemetery was situated on the Northcote side of Merri Creek between High Street and Heidelberg Road, although the exact location of the site is unknown. The land had been donated by an early Jewish colonist by the name of Mr Abraham. The sole burial at the site was a Miss Young, the daughter of a Melbourne publican. The ground proved so rocky that digging the grave proved difficult. Although the task was completed, the body was later exhumed and reburied in Hobart. There were no other recorded burials at the site.[39] Burials from the Jewish section of the early general cemetery in Melbourne were transferred to Fawkner Cemetery when the ground was cleared to establish the Queen Street Markets. In August 1855, a Jewish section

was consecrated at the Melbourne General Cemetery at North Carlton. The Jewish section includes a *Metaher* House or 'Jewish Chapel', built in 1854, and this is the oldest building surviving in the cemetery.[40]

There is a recently established ultra-orthodox Jewish cemetery in Melbourne, but this is not comparable with the historic nineteenth century Goulburn Jewish Cemetery or Maitland Jewish Cemetery.

Brisbane, Queensland

Early Jewish settlers in Brisbane formed themselves into a congregation in 1864.[41] One of their first items of business was to arrange for fencing their two-rood burial ground, on land opposite the junction of Caxton and Boundary (Hale) Streets, Paddington, later part of Lang Park. The fencing was to keep cattle and horses from the area.[42] In the years from 1865 to 1900, the congregation had to restore the fence many times, after it had been destroyed by an unruly element in the locality. In 1902, the Department of Public Lands asked the Congregation's permission to re-inter those who had been buried there in the Toowong Cemetery, which had been established in 1876, so that the land at Paddington could be made a recreation reserve. This was agreed to in 1910, and the transfer of the remains of three persons was finally completed in 1913 under the supervision of the congregation's minister.[43]

Jewish sections in general cemeteries

In addition to Goulburn and Maitland which were exclusively Jewish, there were Jewish burials in general cemeteries associated with other towns in New South Wales which had active Jewish congregations including Bombala (which also serviced towns such as Bega); Grafton; Tamworth; Lambing Flat (later Young) where there are Jewish burials, mostly infants, from the gold rush of the 1860s[44] and Hay, which has about six Jewish burials. Many general cemeteries in New South Wales and the other Australian states and territories have sections devoted to particular religious denominations including those of the Jewish faith and a Jewish section was consecrated in Goulburn General Cemetery in 2013 for future burials.

Conclusions from comparative analysis

Goulburn Jewish Cemetery and Maitland Jewish Cemetery are the only two extant exclusively Jewish burial grounds in NSW, the Raphael's Ground near Rookwood no longer surviving as a cemetery. The Maitland Jewish Cemetery, like the Goulburn Jewish Cemetery, was

established in the 1840s and had a similar community. It is interesting to note that both sites appear to have had a 'cottage' structure erected on the site where prayers and cleansing rituals for the dead were held prior to interment. Devonshire Street and Raphael's Ground also had cottages, but the one at Raphael's Ground was later moved across Raphael Street.

In the 1840s, there was a strong possibility that there would be a statutory requirement for cemeteries to be non-denominational, with burial of all religions mixed. That could be the reason why the Jewish congregations at Maitland and Goulburn purchased their own grounds instead of using the general cemetery. The reason that other communities did not also do this is probably that, in the 1840s, no other towns had such robust Jewish communities, along with wealthy and influential persons. However, an article in the *Sydney Morning Herald* published in 1847 contains a report of the Legislative Assembly decision where it retracted those parts of the General Cemetery Bill 1845 which would have created cemeteries without separated sections for the different religious denominations.[45]

The Maitland Jewish Cemetery continued to operate until the first years of the 1900s as the main regional burial ground for a thriving Jewish community when many Jews moved from Maitland to Newcastle. A few burials were carried out at Maitland Jewish Cemetery up to 1934. With 53 recorded burials of which all but 7 are marked graves with monuments, it is the largest, most intact exclusively Jewish burial ground in the state and has had strong connections with the local synagogue in Maitland which was constructed in 1879. The synagogue building is still standing but stopped operating as a synagogue when the Jewish population in Maitland decreased significantly, following the construction of the railway line, and the congregation in Newcastle increased in size in the late nineteenth century. Other synagogues were constructed in Broken Hill and Forbes. However, neither Broken Hill nor Forbes has a separate Jewish cemetery, and the Forbes synagogue was a small timber structure, constructed in the 1860s.

No synagogue was constructed in Goulburn, although the Goulburn Jewish community received a land grant for a school and synagogue. This land was later resumed and re-granted as part of the neighbouring public school. By the 1870s, the Goulburn Jewish population had dwindled. This exodus of Jews from the Goulburn district was possibly due to Jews of marriageable age moving to Sydney where there was a

growing Jewish community and the Great Synagogue had been estab-
lished. A similar migration of Jews happened in Sydney when Jews of
marriageable age later moved from outer suburbs where their parents
had settled after World War Two to the growing Jewish community in
the city's eastern suburbs.

There are 30 known burials in the Goulburn Jewish Cemetery but
with only 11 or so headstones remaining. Many headstones have either
disappeared or have been shattered. However, as an entity, Goulburn
Jewish Cemetery is considered rare historically in the context of the
Goulburn Mulwaree local government area, New South Wales and
Australia and is the only one of the two extant Jewish cemeteries to
retain physical evidence of a cottage where Jewish pre-burial rituals
were conducted. As this article has demonstrated, its singularity justifies
it being listed as a heritage site, as has already occurred at Maitland, and
this was the thrust of the submission made to the Department of the
Environment and Heritage, which has formed the basis for this article.

Endnotes

1   Israel Getzler, *Neither Toleration nor Favour: The Australian Chapter of
Jewish Emancipation*, Carlton, Victoria, Melbourne University Press,
1970, p. 12.

2   We would like to acknowledge the earlier efforts of the late Louise
Rosenberg, who served as honorary secretary of the AJHS for many
years, and Terry Newman, both of whom contributed to the preser-
vation of the Goulburn and Maitland cemeteries in the 1970s and our
knowledge about other Jewish cemeteries and burials.

3   Jewish burials in NSW, http://www.jewsofnsw.info/. Accessed 31
October 2020.

4   This first Jewish burial ground in Australia was reviewed in the *AJHS
Newsletter*, no. 119, September 2020.

5   Land Titles Office, Vol.52/Fol.115.

6   *Empire*, 19 Aug 1867, p. 5, https://trove.nla.gov.au/newspaper/
article/60843844.

7   Ibid.

8   Ibid.

9   Joseph Ernest Stone, died on 7 February 1901, buried 10 February 1901.
The Great Synagogue Burial Register has 'Raphael's' in the column for
grave location.

10 *Empire*, 19 Aug 1867, p. 5, https://trove.nla.gov.au/newspaper/
article/60843844.

11   *Conservation Management Plan, Maitland Jewish Cemetery: consultant report prepared for Maitland City Council*, Rookwood Management Services Pty. Ltd., 2012, p. 20.

12   Ibid.

13   Ibid.

14   Ibid.

15   Ibid.

16   Ibid.

17   Ibid., p. 21.

18   Ibid.

19   Ibid.

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27   L. M. Goldman and G. Cohen, 'The History of the Launceston Hebrew Congregation: Part 1' in Peter & Ann Elias (eds), *A few from afar: Jewish lives in Tasmania from 1804*, Hobart, Tasmania, Hobart Hebrew Congregation, 2003, p. 53.

28   Mallett, 'Living Above the Dead', p. 25.

29   Goldman and Cohen, 'The History of the Launceston Hebrew Congregation', p. 54.

30   L. M. Goldman and G. Cohen, 'The History of the Launceston Hebrew Congregation: Part 2' in Peter and Ann Elias (eds), *A few from afar*, pp. 111, 114.

31   Ibid., pp. 112–3.

32   Legislative Council of Tasmania 1903, 'Closed Cemeteries, Hobart' cited in Mallett, 'Living Above the Dead', p. 31.

33   H. Fixel, J. Acton and A. Elias, 'The Fall family of Evandale' in Elias (eds.), *A few from afar*, pp. 117–23.

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35   Marion Sargent, 'Our history: Forgotten resting place', *Launceston Examiner*, 19 May 2018.

36   No 57 of 1976, https://www8.austlii.edu.au/au/legis/sa/num_act/wtca57o1976279.pdf.

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