

NORTHERN TERRITORY: THE JEWISH COMMUNITY THAT NEVER WAS

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In today's Jewish world, Australia is a force to be reckoned with. It is the tenth largest Jewish community. Its history includes solid contributions to Israel and Judaism. Its representatives play a leading role in regional and world Jewish forums. Its *aliyah* rate (migration to Israel) outstrips much larger communities. Its organisational structure is widely respected. Even though it has its problems, it is one of the bright spots on the world Jewish map. When Israel and World Jewry think of Australia, they generally think of Melbourne and Sydney and possibly Perth. Hardly anyone outside Australia has an idea that there are communities in other cities, much less in areas outside the State capitals. No-one, even in Australia itself, knows of Jewish communal life in the Northern Territory - this time, not out of ignorance but because there simply is no community there. Jewish individuals and families, yes; occasionally a gathering for a *Seder* or other Jewish ceremony; but there is neither a synagogue nor a *kehillah* (congregation) and there never has been.

What do Jews do if they want *matzah* or a *mohel* in Darwin, a prayer book or a Jewish newspaper? We will come to that, but first a little known story about an attempt to create not just a Jewish community but also a Jewish colony in the Northern Territory. The episode, just over a hundred years ago, has been researched by a number of historians including the late Dr George Bergman, who devoted some of his historical articles in the *Australian Jewish Times* in the 1970s to the subject, but it deserves more attention in the general Australian histories. It is good material for a documentary film.

The background is the following. The late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries were a time of great devastation and fear for Eastern European Jewry. The pogroms caused untold suffering to countless Jewish communities and eventually led to mass emigration which vastly increased the Jewish population of the

United States, Britain and some other countries, and even brought Jews to far-off Australia – not entirely to the pleasure of the existing Jewish communities. Jews and non-Jews were indignant at the pogroms, attended protest meetings that were often chaired by the leading citizens, and donated to appeals to assist the victims of the Eastern European outrages, but few wanted Russian Jewish immigrants on their doorstep, partly out of fear that it might affect their stability and social acceptability – Rabbi Francis Lyon Cohen called it the ‘happy standing’¹—of the established Jewish communities.

The problem was in the forefront of discussion in the nascent political Zionist movement. There had to be a haven for Jews who could no longer stay in Eastern Europe. A non-Herzlian initiative was taken by Israel Zangwill, the Anglo-Jewish writer, who in 1905 founded ITO, the Jewish Territorial Organisation, seeking ‘to procure a Territory upon an autonomous basis for those Jews who cannot or will not remain in the lands in which they at present live.’² Zangwill had previously been a supporter of political Zionism but broke with the movement over the Uganda issue.³ Where others insisted that the only possible homeland, which Jews could contemplate, was Palestine, Zangwill was not prepared to be so doctrinaire and was ready to accept a Jewish autonomous enclave wherever one could be established. Jews needed a homeland. Zangwill’s movement thought they had found one in Australia’s vast Northern Territory, which had in fact been mentioned to ITO by Alfred Deakin, the Australian prime minister.⁴

The idea had its detractors in Australia, but also its warm proponents, especially in Melbourne, Sydney and Perth. Its enthusiastic supporters saw the proposal as a practical policy to alleviate the sufferings of Russian Jewry.⁵ In Melbourne a branch of ITO was formed, while in Sydney various suggestions were put forward for the formation of a Jewish colony in Australia from 1906 to 1910. Of these, the most important proposal emanated from a non-Jewish member of the NSW Legislative Assembly, Dr Richard Arthur, president of the Immigration League of Australia, when he spoke at a protest meeting at the Russian atrocities in Bialystok in July 1906. At this meeting, Dr Arthur stated that since protest meetings had resulted in no positive improvements for Jews in Tsarist Russia, some other remedy had to be found to save at least some of the Russian Jews. Since England was overcrowded, and had introduced the Alien Restrictions Act in 1905, and the United States was likely to follow suit, the great, continuous stream of Russian migrants should be directed to Australia, which needed migrants. Dr Arthur stressed that Australia did not need people to settle in the

big cities, but rather the establishment of agricultural settlements. Yet, he argued, that Jews could adapt themselves to an agricultural way of life, as could be seen in the fact that his address was inspired by a letter from a Jewish farmer in Queensland.⁶ During his speech, he suggested that it might be possible to obtain part of the Northern Territory where there was plenty of good agricultural land which must be populated by whites to ensure against an Asiatic invasion. Thus, Dr Arthur linked three issues: finding sources of immigrants, settling sparsely populated areas of Australia, and alleviating the situation of Jews from lands of persecution. He was moved by humanitarian impulses but even more by Australia's own needs: he felt it would be in the interests of Australia to settle the Northern Territory.

His suggestion was that ITO should negotiate with the Commonwealth Government and, after investigating the area and confirming its viability for the purpose, obtain a million-acre grant on one of the Northern Rivers. He was certain that the Immigration League would co-operate, though he added, 'It must be understood that the people we want in Australia are those who will settle on the soil and become primary producers'. To further his idea, he had written to Zangwill and in his July 1906 speech, he expressed the hope that the Sydney Jewish community would try to establish the movement on a practical basis.⁷

Members of the Jewish community reacted to this suggestion with varying degrees of enthusiasm. When interviewed, John Jacob Cohen, MLA (later Mr Justice Cohen), welcomed the idea but stated that he welcomed the scheme and would give it any assistance in his capacity as a parliamentarian, although he felt that the project was more a matter for the federal government.⁸ Other prominent members of the community, however, had more serious reservations about the proposal. Louis Phillips, president of the Great Synagogue, for example, felt that the project must be given careful consideration for it involved many problems, such as the difficult climate of the Northern Territory, the fact that only one percent of Russian Jews were farmers, the question of funding such a scheme, and the fear that the government might not support this scheme of local autonomy for the Jews.⁹

The NSW Zionist League was divided over the idea and called a general meeting at the Great Synagogue Chambers on 1 July 1906. Rabbi Cohen, who had taken up office at the Synagogue the previous year and was wary of political Zionism, declined to attend because he feared that the scheme would become part of the program of the Zionist League, though subsequently he lent his support. At the meeting Dr Arthur argued that the Northern

Territory was 'as fit for population as some parts of Palestine' and said he had already urged the Commonwealth Government to view the proposals favourably as a humanitarian gesture but mostly because they would be to the benefit of Australia.

Percy Joseph Marks, a lawyer and community leader who years later founded the Australian Jewish Historical Society, sounded a note of warning. He felt the Commonwealth Government 'would not agree to the ideas of the ITO to found in Australia a Colony of Jews with self-government'. His views turned out to be almost prophetic, as the government rejected the plan on these very grounds and was not prepared to encourage what seemed like an ethnic ghetto with residents possibly living under their own laws. Interviewed by the *Hebrew Standard*, a number of prominent Jewish citizens welcomed the general idea but expressed reservations as to its practicability. John J. Cohen urged that the Board of Deputies of British Jews first be consulted and asked its views before any further steps were taken. It was axiomatic in Australian thinking in those days that the blessing of the Mother Country was required for any radical new departure, and as far as the Jewish community was concerned this ethos was reflected in the feeling that every policy had to be approved, if a religious matter, by the Chief Rabbi in London, and on general communal matters by the British Board of Deputies.

Albert Ernest Collins, a Legislative Council member for an agricultural area, asked how unskilled Russian Jews could be expected to become agriculturalists. He thought it was 'impossible to put poor men, that is to say men with very small potential backing, upon land in a new territory'. Collins said the better course was for the nations to use their influence to avert further pogroms and thus to prevent the creation of refugees. There was much discussion in the *Hebrew Standard* where the point was made that the Territory was wild and uncultivated and no more than 1313 persons comprised the white population, which indicated that the climate would be unsuitable for European Jewish settlers. In the end Zangwill also had his doubts: he called the Territory 'a derelict tropical desert' which was really not habitable by white people.¹⁰

Despite these objections, a few enthusiastic members of the community did try to further the project. Arthur Hyman, with Rabbi Cohen's co-operation, followed up with Zangwill. The subsequent correspondence led to Rabbi Cohen and Hyman being appointed as the New South Wales representatives on the International Council of ITO.¹¹ Zangwill became interested in the possibility of Australia as the site for Itoland, because he felt that Australia must choose between a white Jewish population and coloured Asiatics.¹² Between 1906 and 1907, Zangwill was in

contact with different Australians interested in the project. A Melbourne Jew, A. Marks, even made practical plans to buy up one million acres in the Northern Territory, in order to settle five hundred to one thousand families there.¹³

Deakin brought the idea to a head and an end when he told Zangwill in London in August 1908 that while Australia welcomed Jewish immigrants, it 'would never consent to an autonomous Jewish region inside its borders', although Australia would welcome Jewish immigrants.¹⁴ Zangwill, however, felt that without autonomy, there would be 'no compensation for all the sweat and travail'.¹⁵ Dr Arthur recounted the story in a speech to the Australian Zionist Federation in 1930.¹⁶

In 1910, Zangwill made a further attempt to approach the Australian government about creating an Itoland, this time with Western Australia in mind since it was: 'the remotest part of Australia, and Australia is the remotest country in the world... which is why it is filling up so slowly'.¹⁷ Once again, this suggestion led to a vigorous debate in both the general and Jewish press, but was vetoed for the same reasons as the earlier Northern Territory proposals. As the *Daily Telegraph* expressed it: 'It would be a foreign body, embedded in the Commonwealth, incapable from the very terms of its foundation of ever being assimilated into the Commonwealth and therefore likely to promote incessant friction and soreness'.¹⁸ Thus, the Australian government was not willing to give away a large area of Australia to form a separate, autonomous state.

Zangwill was very disappointed at the rejection of his proposal, and spoke in bitter terms against the narrow views of the Australian government at the ITO Annual Conference in 1912, stating:

Even Australia, which is in such pressing need of population, shows neither magnimity nor the political wisdom. For years I have been dealing with Australian statesmen, particularly in regard to Western Australia... but the most that could be hoped for, not only here but in any other part of Australia, is the settlement of 5,000 to 10,000 Jewish farmers.¹⁹

Nevertheless, as was stated in a leader of the *Sydney Morning Herald*, despite the impracticality of the scheme and its failure to be implemented, it did stir the imagination.²⁰

In the late 1930s and 1940s there was a new need for a refuge for European Jews. Dr Isaac N. Steinberg spearheaded a movement for a Jewish settlement in the Kimberley district of Western

Australia. Determined to do better than the Territorialists, Steinberg's Freeland League proposed what they considered a manageable scheme but their efforts came to nothing, despite a fair degree of Australian support. In the 1930s the Northern Territory was again mentioned as a refuge for 30,000 or more Jews; Rabbi David I. Freedman in Perth and the Yiddish poet Melech Ravitch in Brisbane supported the plan, but neither the Jewish community nor the Commonwealth Government took it seriously.²¹ Ravitch visited the Territory with an Italian driver and an Aboriginal guide and still wanted it to be considered though he noted that it needed '*mehr vasser, veniger bier* – more water and less beer'.²²

Did he see any Jewish life there? There wasn't any. Were there any Jews there? A few enterprising individuals, notably Vaiben Louis Solomon, but there were no Jewish religious facilities, nor did the handful of Jews who found themselves in the Territory show any interest in pioneering a community. Vaiben Louis Solomon (1853-1908) was the most notable Jew to live and work in the Northern Territory. He was a member of a prominent Adelaide Jewish family; his father Judah Moss Solomon (a nephew of the well known convict brothers, Emanuel and Vaiben Solomon) had been a member of the South Australian Legislative Assembly.

In 1873 Vaiben set off with a party that planned to search for gold in the Northern Territory but he soon became a storekeeper in Palmerston, 22 kilometres from Darwin, employed by his brother Moss Judah Solomon, and before long was owner and editor of the weekly *Northern Territory Times*. Other business interests were as an auctioneer, builder, commission agent and speculator. He published the *Northern Territory Gazette*, a handbook about the Territory and its commercial potential. He became involved in local politics and was chairman of the district council. In 1880 South Australia granted representation in its legislature to the Northern Territory. Vaiben topped the poll to represent the Territory in 1890; he returned to Adelaide and in 1899 was Premier of the Colony for seven days. He was called 'Sudden' Solomon because he was swept into office so unexpectedly. He was also known as 'Black' Solomon because he once paraded through Darwin naked, with blacking over his body to make him look like an Aborigine. He was a member of the federal House of Representatives (his was the only family with two members in the first Commonwealth parliament) and subsequently returned to the SA parliament.

Solomon did not live an orthodox Jewish life even though his daughter Mary converted to Judaism and his second wife was Jewish. As a member of the 1897 constitutional convention he objected to Saturday sittings on the grounds of religious conviction

– strange when his own office was open on a Saturday. The story of Vaiben Louis Solomon is told by Trevor Cohen in an article in the *AJHS Journal*.²³

For almost everybody the Northern Territory was somewhere you left as soon as possible. It was certainly no place for Jewish family life. In the first part of the twentieth century including the interwar years there were no other Vaiben Solomons, and indeed hardly any Jews at all, in the Territory. One of the very few Jewish women to spend any time there was Betty Simons, a young British immigrant who moved to Darwin with her husband Phil and baby at the beginning of the Second World War because jobs in Sydney were so hard to find. Writing in *Keeping in Touch*, the senior citizens' bulletin issued by the Australian Jewish Welfare Society, she said:

It was Hicksville... The heat and humidity were terrible...After living in a tent for six weeks, my husband put up a shack of sorts...There were many strange experiences, such as sweeping snakes from under the bed, having showers from a kerosene tin, etc...I was the only Jewish woman in Darwin – probably in the whole of the Northern Territory – and apart from my husband, there was one other Jewish man. We tried to remember when Pesach might be, or Yom Kippur, but we were never sure.²⁴

The recent film *Australia* depicted life in the Territory at that period and it is unlikely that any of the characters on the screen might have been Jewish. Betty Simons provides the reasons why one does not even wonder about Jews or Judaism in the Territory in those days.

Apart from the Simons family who moved there voluntarily, there were Jewish soldiers posted there during the Second World War. At the Adelaide River War Cemetery, about 105 kilometres south of Darwin, Stars of David mark the graves of Leading Aircraftman Frank Arnold Jaques of the RAAF and Sergeant Maurice Morris of the Royal Australian Artillery. Jaques was buried on 18 January 1945, aged 22; he was killed in an aircraft accident outside Darwin. Morris was buried on 16 March 1945, aged 34.²⁵ Rabbi Jacob Danglow as Senior Jewish Chaplain toured military bases in the Northern Territory in 1943.

Between, say, 1939 when Phil and Betty Simons arrived and 1969, thirty years later, Jews occasionally found themselves in the Northern Territory on business or professional duty, but like most other people did not stay for long. The devastation caused by

Cyclone Tracy in 1974 changed Darwin radically and as the city rebuilt it became a more liveable place. The population increased, and so did the numbers of Jews. A second change came with the opening up of major sites in the Territory to tourism, which brought Jewish visitors, including rabbis, to the Red Centre, Alice Springs and elsewhere.

Probably the first rabbinic visitor to the Territory was Rabbi Dr Rudolph Brasch of Temple Emanuel in Sydney, who wrote:

In 1951, I visited the Northern Territory. I would never have guessed the wealth of experiences I would encounter... There was only one hotel in Darwin. It was so crowded that people had to share rooms, as I did with three visiting judges. Among the guests was a crocodile shooter. He had just returned from Arnhem Land, where he lost all his gear. When, in the evening, he was about to enter the dining room, he was stopped as he was not wearing a tie. A man of initiative, he went up to one of the windows and tore a strip from its somewhat tattered curtain and, once he had tied it around his neck, was 'properly' dressed.²⁶

Rabbi Brasch met representatives of many faiths and spoke at Sunday church services in Darwin and Alice Springs. He visited mission stations and met 'ignored and forgotten children...the result of white men's lust'. He met the artist Rex Batterbee. People in Sydney began calling him 'Brasch of the Outback'. His visit advanced Jewish public relations, but he encountered no Jewish life. In more recent years other rabbis have been to the Northern Territory and made their own arrangements for Shabbat observance and *kosher* food, but only Chabad of RARA (Rural and Regional Australia) has actively looked for Jews and offered them the opportunity for Jewish observance and experience, especially on Pesach.

In the early 1990s the Australian Jewish Medical Federation had a conference in Alice Springs with Rabbi Phillip Heilbrunn of Melbourne as resident rabbi. *Kosher* facilities were created at the hotels, the group had a *Torah* scroll, and services were held every day. On *Shabbat* at the Rock the rabbi named a baby girl whose family were from Tasmania. He heard that someone in Alice Springs could supply or source *lulavim* (palm branches), which met the Jewish legal requirements for the festival of *Sukkot*. So the Territory was not without its connections with Judaism, however tenuous... and indeed from time to time the shops sell a few *kosher* items ranging from bagels to *matzot*.

From time to time there have been enterprising Jewish residents who sought out fellow Jews and brought them together for events such as the *Seder on Pesach*. Gusti Daws, who had lived in Israel from 1934-1967, told the *Australian Jewish News* in 1995 that there was some communal activity in Darwin but it was an uphill battle. 'Someone tried to hold regular services here,' she said, 'but they didn't work because nobody was prepared to keep it going'.²⁷ However, in the same press report Laurie Rosenblum, the then president of the Queensland Jewish Board of Deputies, stated that out of a total Territory population of less than 200,000 there were 230 Jews with 160 in Darwin, and there was interest in establishing a formal community. When a non-Jewish woman from Darwin asked him for advice about converting to Judaism and learning Hebrew he suggested she place an advertisement for a Hebrew teacher in a local paper, which she did - and she received several replies.

To establish a community would have required enough people prepared to undertake responsibility for communal activities, but even when this was floated the small Jewish group could not agree on what it wanted. It would have been even harder to create a synagogue, though land might have been made available by the government, or even to find and fund any form of communal centre. One might have thought that there would have been enough interest to set up a local branch of one of the Jewish membership organisations such as WIZO (Women's International Zionist Organisation), but this too did not eventuate. At one point B'nai B'rith talked about establishing a presence in the Territory but there was not enough support.

There was not even any interest in establishing a small Jewish cemetery, though one wonders who would conduct the occasional Jewish burial. Probably any Jews who require burial in the Territory are interred in general cemeteries. Those interested in a Jewish religious funeral would presumably bring a rabbi from elsewhere to officiate, as happens in other parts of Australia where there is no resident rabbi or established congregation. The *Jewish News* was informed in 1995 that there were 20-odd Jewish graves in the old part of Darwin Cemetery but no Jewish organisation has a complete listing.²⁸

Nonetheless there have been times when Jewish people have made immense efforts to carry out Jewish practices. In the 1970s a couple (I think they were Israeli) drove to Sydney in order to have their baby son circumcised; they contacted the Great Synagogue and we put them in touch with a *mohel* and offered other help. Occasionally a Northern Territory family have arranged for a child

to have a *Bar-* or *Bat-Mitzvah* at a Sydney or Melbourne synagogue. An example is the family of a Jewish geologist named Hallenstein who came to Melbourne for a *Bar-mitzvah* at Temple Beth Israel during Rabbi John Levi's incumbency there.

An instance of great determination is the 250-kilometre drive from Jabiru, a mining town in the Top End, undertaken in 2006 by an American Jewish family, Jeffrey and Gale Davidson and their son Eitan, to attend a *Seder* in Darwin organised by Chabad. Jeffrey Davidson had come to Jabiru to take up a position as a community relations manager for Energy Resources of Australia. They told the *Jewish News* that they ordered *matzah* and *kosher* meat from Melbourne.²⁹ The Chabad *Seder* is an ongoing project run from Melbourne, which sends rabbinical students to Darwin with boxes of *kosher* provisions. The Chabad students find Jews in the most unlikely places in the Northern Territory, though the people they meet are often taken aback to see them.

Few Jews stay in the Territory for long periods. Most people keep in touch with 'home' – either in larger communities like Melbourne and Sydney or overseas like Israel, the USA and South Africa – and some miss the festival observances they were used to, though others do not mind severing their Jewish links. Some knowledgeable parents give their children a basis of Hebrew education. On request the NSW Board of Jewish Education (Academy BJE) sends teaching material to Darwin. The equivalent organisation in Melbourne, the United Jewish Education Board, probably does likewise. Both educational bodies do certainly help with distance lessons when necessary for Jewish children in many parts of Australia.

A unique contribution was made by Dr Howard Goldenberg of Melbourne who regularly worked as a visiting doctor for Aboriginal communities in remote places, wearing a *yarmulka* (*kippah*), observing *Shabbat* and *kashrut*, and sharing his Jewish culture with his patients and colleagues whilst learning to appreciate indigenous culture. His story is told in his book *Raft*, published in 2009.³⁰ Several Jewish nurses have worked in the Territory, including 'Bubbles' Segall and Llana Hadden.

Some Jews find themselves in Darwin on Defence Department postings. As senior rabbi to the Australian Defence Force I received in 1999, through a Christian chaplain, a request for the circumcision of the son of a Jewish lady married to an ADF officer. Not being a *mohel* I was unable to help personally but Dr Robert Lewin of Sydney flew to Darwin at army expense to carry out the *b'rit milah*. A friend who was in Darwin on business was the *sandek* who held the baby during the ceremony.

On another occasion three Jewish members of the navy wanted to be invited to a *Seder* in Darwin; the best I could do was to put them in touch with a Jewish doctor who was working at a hospital there. In 2003 a Christian chaplain emailed me for information about 'a place in Darwin where the Jewish community gather for worship'. He was compiling 'a list of places of worship for the ships that visit here'. I gave him names of people who might be prepared to host Jewish visitors.

A request in 2002 (I am not certain whether the inquirer was connected with Defence) was for 'assistance in getting grocery items to Darwin'. The inquirer wrote, 'I will be there for a short period of time prior to *Pesach* and need *matzah*, *matzah* meal and various other products in order to survive the holiday. I am American and totally unfamiliar with Australia.' We doubted whether supermarkets in Darwin stocked *Pesach* foods, so we advised placing an order with the kosher shops in Melbourne and Sydney.

Now that tourism brings Jewish people to the Territory, a Jewish visitor is occasionally taken ill and wants a rabbi, and generally a Jewish doctor or nurse fulfils this role.

Not until recently were Jews involved in the political life of the Territory. A long-term resident, Dawn Lawrie was one of the first elected members of the NT Legislative Council in 1971, later serving as Administrator of the Cocos (Keeling) Islands and as the Territory's first anti-discrimination commissioner. She was not previously known for Jewish involvement, but when she organised a *Seder* in Darwin she obtained *haggadot* from Rabbi John Levi and sent back one of the books signed by the 20 or so people present. Her daughter Delia Lawrie is in NT politics but rarely comes to Jewish functions.

Jon Isaacs, a member of a Sydney Jewish family, served as Leader of the NT Opposition from 1977-1981. He was the son of Maurice and Eva Isaacs (nee Indyk) with an honours degree in philosophy from Sydney University. He arrived in the Territory in 1972 as a union executive and in 1978, aged 28; he became Leader of the NT Labour Party. After leaving politics he moved from the NT.

The only comprehensive report on Jewish life in the Northern Territory was a three-page feature article by Walt Secord in the *Rosh HaShanah* issue of the *Jewish News* in 1991. Since that is almost twenty years ago it cannot be taken as automatically applying to conditions today, and many of the people who were interviewed may have left the Territory in the meantime, but it may well still represent the trends.

The article is titled, 'The Menorah Meets the Dreamtime'. It

begins: 'There are Jews in the Northern Territory? Yes, and *Australian Jewish News* staff writer Walt Secord found them doing everything from breaking in camels to dispensing spectacles'. Where the Jews lived in 1991 and what they were doing, is reported. Most came to the NT for professional or business reasons; a few followed their children and grandchildren. Walt Secord writes, 'Long-term Jewish residents are downright brutal when newcomers ask about the possibility of pursuing an Orthodox lifestyle in the Northern Territory. "If you want to be Orthodox, you have no place in the Territory. If that is what you want, you should ask yourself what you are doing here".'

In 1991 there were meetings in Darwin with up to 70 people in attendance, but some were only interested in social functions, and there was a crisis when certain individuals were found to have a conversionist agenda. The numbers of Jews were and are certainly higher than the national census suggests since some may not want to identify as Jewish. How then did the *Jewish News* trace NT Jews? By advertising in the local papers and being interviewed on the ABC morning show. They got a number of responses and found that five or six years seemed to be the most that the majority of Jews stayed in the Territory and whenever there was a chance of forming a community the leading lights left and it took time for a new group to form and stabilise.³¹

Will there ever be an official community, in Darwin at least, with some degree of permanence, structure and religious facilities? If present trends continue, the most we can say is that the answer is blowing in the wind. So what impelled me to embark upon this story if I have to leave it open-ended? Perhaps nothing more than the coincidence that I was once on a flight to Australia that touched down at Darwin Airport and I wondered what life would be like for a Jew there. To that question my researches lead to a one-word answer: 'Difficult'. My only experience of being a Jew in the Territory was a holiday which my wife and I had at Uluru, where we brought our own food and said our morning prayers at dawn at the foot of the Rock. In touch with the Dreamtime we looked forward to a time when the whole world will be at one with its Creator. Our thoughts about Judaism in the Northern Territory are less optimistic.

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ENDNOTES

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2. Maurice Simon (ed), *Speeches, Articles and Letters of Israel Zangwill*, (London: Soncino Press, 1937), p.234.
3. 'In 1903 the British government offered territory in Uganda for a Jewish homeland. Theodor Herzl thought the offer was worth considering but the Zionist movement was heavily against it'.
4. Joseph Leftwich, *Israel Zangwill: A Biography*, (New York: T. Yoseloff, 1957), p. 230.
5. *HS*, 8 December 1905.
6. *Ibid.*, 6 July 1906.
7. See Suzanne D. Rutland, 'The Jewish Territorial Organisation: A Jewish Colony for Australia?', in 'The New South Wales Jewish Community, 1880-1914', BA (Hons) Thesis, University of Sydney, 1968, p.102.
8. *HS*, 13 July 1906.
9. *Ibid.*
10. Leftwich, *Zangwill*, p. 230.
11. *HS*, 9 October 1908.
12. *Ibid.*, 10 May 1907.
13. *Ibid.*, 8 February 1907.
14. *Ibid.*, 9 October 1908; cf. George FJ Bergman, 'A Jewish Colony in the Northern Territory?', *Australian Jewish Times (AJT)*, 6 February 1975.
15. Leftwich, *op.cit.*, pp. 230-231.
16. Alan D Crown, 'The Initiatives and Influences in the Development of Australian Zionism, 1850-1948', *Australian Jewish Historical Society Journal (AJHS)*, vol 8, part 6, (1979), p. 331.
17. *HS*, 14 October 1910.
18. See *Daily Telegraph*, 11 October 1911. A further comment repeated the same concerns on 9 January 1911.
19. As quoted in *HS*, 9 August 1912. See Rutland, "The New South Wales Jewish Community", p.106.
20. *Sydney Morning Herald*, 1 August 1910.
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22. *Australian Jewish News (AJN)*, 6 September 1991.
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28. *Ibid.*, 8 February 1995.
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31. *AJN*, 6 September 1991.