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PROBLEMS OF INTEGRATION OF SOVIET JEWISH EMIGRANTS IN AUSTRALIA

by Anna Frenkel L.L.B., Ph.D.

Read at the AJHS Meeting, Sydney, on 29 August 1989.

The title of this paper derives from the study on which it is based,¹ but the Australian situation should be seen as its focus, not as its scope. The problems of integration of Soviet Jewish emigrants exist in all the countries of their resettlement and, therefore, are not peculiar to Australia as it may perhaps be implied from the title. I shall include references to studies made elsewhere in support of this cross-cultural perspective. As its purpose is to promote better understanding of Soviet Jewish emigrants as a group among the established Jewish communities in the host-countries of the West (in this context I treat Israel as a Western country), it applies, again, not exclusively to Australia.

A SPECIAL INTEREST GROUP

My interest in these emigrants arose from my initial contact with them as a Russian-speaking barrister. As a group, they were distinguished from other non-Anglo-Saxon emigrants by a number of characteristics and, therefore, faced problems of integration unlike any other immigrants to Australia. By 1980, when mass emigration of Jews from the Soviet Union was suddenly brought to a halt, it was estimated that close to a quarter of a million had left the USSR. Of them, some 6,000 were admitted as permanent settlers to Australia, divided almost equally between Sydney and Melbourne. The data from both centres² established the following group attributes:

- (i) homogeneity: a great majority were men and women (including married women) possessing university or technical qualifications and professional skills; were in the "working age-group" (18-54); few couples had more than one child;
- (ii) poverty: uncommon of "skilled professionals", all arrived without any capital and with a few possessions, which made them dependent on welfare help;
- (iii) emigrants or refugees? The fact that the Jews can leave the Soviet Union only on receiving a *visov* (a summons) from Israel, disqualifies them from the status of a refugee as defined by the United Nations, as they have a "home" to go to. Their admission as permanent settlers to Australia was due to successful lobbying of the Australian Immigration authorities by the heads of the Australian Jewish Welfare Societies. In their submissions they relied on "persecution in the country of origin" and "material deprivation as a condition of exit" for admitting Soviet Jews as a special category of emigrants on humanitarian grounds.³ In the final count, however, the successful outcome was determined by the additional factor, "possession of special skills";
- (iv) ethnic "marginality": although Jewish identification was a condition both for emigrating and settling in Australia, Soviet Jews felt too alienated from Judaism or

any expression of Jewish culture to join any local Jewish activities. Their lifelong socialisation under the Soviet regime had meant, on the one hand, total deprivation under the threat of persecution, of any access to Jewish knowledge and, on the other, an attachment to the Russian language and culture. As a result, they have been seen by the Australians, including Australian Jews, as "Russians" (in the sense of "Jews by default only"). To many emigrants, however, this specious designation had a derogatory meaning, as in Russia they had not been recognised as "Russians" but as "Jews by nationality" and treated as second-class citizens. Their ethnic position in the polyethnic Australian society was, therefore, marginal from the outset, and in socio-anthropological terminology they could be defined only as "an ethno-cultural group."

STUDY: THESIS AND METHOD

The problems of integration faced by Soviet Jews has been a subject of special interest to the sociology of migration that lent itself to a study in a socio-anthropological context. I approached it as a proposition (a "thesis") that it was their inability to find their Jewish identity that was the core issue of their finding a niche in a Western society. I further proposed that this inability has its roots in the ambiguity of Russian Jewry's position both under the Tsarist and the Soviet regimes, and undertook to investigate the former by a scrutiny of Russian-Jewish history, and the latter by anthropological method of "participant observation". Participant observation means a study of a subject-group by the closest possible involvement in its ongoing life, and compilation of case-histories based on interviews, preferably in the informant's own language, over a set period of time. My study, begun in 1981, took over six years and involved 40 families or about 100 individuals both in Sydney and Melbourne. All my informants knew of its purpose and co-operated fully.

"Integration", in the context of the sociology of migration, means "a process of becoming part of a host-society". Its equivalent in Israel is "absorption", reflecting the concept of "ingathering of Jews from exile". My study of the integration of Soviet Jewish emigrants in Australia has investigated the following separate (but often overlapping) aspects of their integration: I. Economic; II. Social; and III. Ethno-cultural.

Each aspect of integration has been affected by the following influences on the character-formation of these emigrants: (i) Soviet system of education and socialisation; (ii) attachment to the Russian language and culture; and (iii) life as a Jew under the Soviet regime.

ECONOMIC INTEGRATION

Like other emigrants of non-Anglo-Saxon background, Soviet Jews upon arrival in Australia faced the major problem of overcoming the language barrier. In their case, however, it was intensified by the following factors: their penury and, at the same time, possession of marketable skills. The Jewish Welfare Societies both in Sydney and Melbourne have, therefore, mobilised all the available government resources provid-

ing English tuition for migrants and, simultaneously, looked for employment opportunities for them. By 1979, most of them had already crossed the Rubicon in having acquired sufficient English for holding an unskilled job or attending a retraining course, and this gave them courage to begin planning a transition to financial independence. In practical terms this meant leasing a flat, buying a car, setting up a partnership for a small business, etc.

It was at this time that I began receiving requests from Jewish Welfare workers to explain to their clients in the Russian language the "legality" of such simple transactions. They usually came by telephone to my Barristers Chambers asking either for telephone advice or a permission to send me a client for a voluntary consultation. Such contacts revealed to me a behavioural problem comparable to the fear of a child taking its first steps without support. To emigrants from the Soviet Union, the working of the open-market economy at first sight appeared as full of hidden traps as depicted by the Soviet propaganda. They were especially apprehensive of the credit system as the mainstay of capitalist economy. Bank-loans, mortgages, buying on terms etc. had no equivalent Russian terms in their vocabulary, being based on an alien concept. For instance, the advantage of buying a car "on terms" as a means of transport to work, when one is unable to afford paying its full price, was totally lost to an emigrant, to whom this transaction meant only "incurring a debt". According to an Israeli study,⁵ the purchase of housing, etc. on credit represents a revolution in the behaviour of Soviet immigrants as consumers. To many it remained a cause of deep anxiety even after they had discovered that it is specially beneficial in conditions of inflation. This stems from the Soviet ethos of austerity, but also from the reality of everyday life: the shortage of consumer goods is such that one is happy to pay their full price whenever they appear (including the black-market price). It is interesting how this state of the economy is reflected in the language. Although Russian is my mother-tongue, the word *avoska* is a product of the Soviet regime. It is derived from the word *avos* meaning "if", and is the name for a string shopping-bag carried in one's pocket to be ready if . . .

It has not been easy for the Soviet Jews to learn to live in the private-enterprise economy where economic mobility is largely dependent on individual initiative. There is little scope for it in the Soviet Union's centralised system allocating jobs to everyone according to one's abilities. There is no unemployment in the USSR and, therefore, no "dole", but this does not mean that one does not have to change one's residence even to another city because of a job assignment.

I was learning of the differences between ours and the Soviet society through the mental make-up of the individuals confronting the daunting task of making their headway here. Although I was supposed to advise on a particular matter, it never ended at that. To many emigrants I was the first Russian-speaking person outside their own and the Jewish Welfare circles, and it was obvious that the process of learning was mutual. As my involvement with their concerns grew, so did my inability to cope with them in my professional capacity, and I decided to offer to the Jewish Welfare Society in

Sydney to give an informative lecture in the Russian language to Soviet Jewish emigrants about their civil rights and the legal system of Australia. This lecture, held on a Sunday afternoon in the Maccabean Hall, Darlinghurst, attracted a capacity audience and provoked an avalanche of questions. Shortly afterwards, early in 1981, I was asked to repeat it by the Jewish Welfare Society in Melbourne, and with the same result. These contacts with Soviet Jewish emigrants as a group had determined my decision to study their problems of integration into Western Society in depth. When I began my study in 1981, I had the advantage of comparing my findings with those of the late Dr. Elka Steinkalk,⁶ conducted in Melbourne. They were largely congruent, which was encouraging, especially, as her study was done by a survey method largely based on replies to questionnaires.

Now, I referred before to that heritage of the life in the Soviet Union that stood in the way of the successful integration of Soviet Jews into Australian economy. But mention should also be made of those factors which counter-balanced the detrimental effect of that heritage, and have earned for the Soviet Jewish emigrants the reputation of dedicated professionals and self-motivated and keen workers. These factors stem from the Soviet system of education and socialisation. The standards of Soviet education are generally high, but especially in the sciences, and this is being recognised by the admission of Soviet graduates into the membership of the Institute of Engineers (Aust.) without any requalification.

As to Soviet socialisation, in implementing the aim of Marxism - Leninism or creating a *Homo Sovieticus*, a new type of Soviet man, it indoctrinates a Soviet child from an early age with the notion of work as a contribution to society's welfare and, therefore, the main source of satisfaction in life. This concept of work stands high in the Soviet scale of values. It pales in comparison, with the western notion of "job satisfaction", and is closer to the Protestant work-ethic by emphasising the non-material aspect of work. That this attitude to work is an important factor in the successful economic integration of Soviet Jews has been noted in an Israeli study⁷ and reflected in their very high rate of employment in other countries.⁸ But economic integration should be considered from two aspects. One is objective, namely, the group's contribution to the economy. The other is subjective, the group's own estimation of it.

At the end of my study in 1987 my finding was that from the viewpoint of their contribution to the economy (and the return rewards) Soviet Jewish emigrants' economic integration in Australia was an unqualified success. All my informant-families both in Sydney and Melbourne were independent of welfare financial help. There were no unemployed of working age in my sample. In a large number of families both husband and wife were income earners, but many wives worked outside their specialty. In terms of material returns, all the families owned a car. In those of more than one income earner two second-hand cars were a norm. All lived in home-units or flats "partly-owned" (their euphemism for mortgage) with loans from the Jewish Welfare Co-operative Society or from their employer companies. The heritage of Soviet urban

living conditions showed itself clearly in their preference for apartments and not houses on land. Only two families with young children succumbed to "the Australian dream" in this sense. It was obvious that all have overcome the initial anxiety over "incurring a debt". As one of my informants said: "over there, owning money was a stigma; here it is a sign of affluence". Good earning capacity coupled with parsimonious living habits enabled Soviet Jews to attain a standard of living much higher than those of other emigrant groups over a comparable period of time. Their rate of employment was also much higher, and the data from other countries confirmed these Australian findings.⁹

But how do the emigrants themselves evaluate their economic integration? The lowering of occupational status was a frequent response to my query among my informants. Steinkalk's study likewise showed it as the main cause of dissatisfaction with life in Australia by 43% of her respondents. In Israel, 57% of men and 53% of women had lower occupational position than in the Soviet Union.¹⁰ American studies are even more specific. To quote an American psychologist:

... The loss of status is a threat to those whose profession . . . and position in the hierarchy of society became a large part of their identity. This kind of identity by status is very strong in the USSR. People who had it, cling to this status compulsively, for it reinforces their sense of being worthwhile and gives them the sense of security.¹¹

In Australia, this loss of status is specially felt by Soviet doctors whose degrees are not recognised, and the standards of re-qualification are very stringent. Fortunately, there were very few of them in the wave of emigration under my study - due to the wise policy of the Jewish Welfare Society of discouraging them from coming. Those who came did so, obviously, at their own risk and for reasons other than the hope of resuming their careers in this country. Most were wives of other professionals. All were offered assistance by the Fellowship of Jewish Doctors, but, during the period of my study only two Soviet doctors re-qualified as general practitioners in Sydney and two in Melbourne.

Now, to sum up the factors responsible for the successful contribution of Soviet Jewish emigrants to the Australian economy: (i) the high standard of Soviet education, especially technical; (ii) the Soviet concept of work as a productive effort; (iii) a contrasting, more "relaxed" attitude to work in Australia.

SOCIAL INTEGRATION

That emigrants, especially those whose native language is different from that of the host-country, tend to congregate in separate enclaves is a well known fact. Closeness to countrymen is a source of emotional as well as practical support in a new environment. It is from these "informal networks" that the newcomers learn the ropes of both the economic and the social integration into the mainstream society. Before the advent

of the Welfare State with its community and (lately) ethnic organisations, these informal networks were the only footholds available to emigrants for settling in a new society. Paradoxically, they still exist today to cater for the needs of those emigrants who, for one reason or another, cannot have them satisfied by the more formal organisations. The Association of Jewish Engineers in Sydney, and the *Shalom* Association in Melbourne, are voluntary informal organisations providing a social and cultural milieu to Soviet Jewish emigrants which, for a variety of reasons, to be described later, they cannot find in any of the existing more formal organisations. Both organisations were formed in the late 1970s as a kind of self-help groups, but developed in a different way. In Melbourne, a group of Soviet Jewish writers launched *Shalom*, a Jewish-Russian fortnightly in the Russian language as a nucleus of socio-cultural activities under the same name. This publication played an important role as a forum for debates on problems of ethnic identification of Soviet Jews and as a link with Israel through its own correspondent there. Its demise after more than seven years of publication by a voluntary effort was a great cultural loss. In Sydney, the original organisation was formed simultaneously with the Association of Jewish Engineers set up by Soviet Jews but open to engineers irrespective of nationality or religion. The existence of the early emigrant organisation as an independent body did not gain favour from the "established" Jewish organisations in Sydney, such as the Jewish Welfare Society, the Zionist Organisation and B'nei Brith. In fact, each of them made efforts to place it under its wing, but all met with a stiff resistance by the emigrants, suspecting that any patronage, however benevolent, would imply the power of control. They preferred to dissolve the early organisation altogether and to transfer its assets to the Association of Jewish Engineers. In 1987 the Association of Jewish Engineers amended its Constitution, restricting membership to Jews and members of their families but also extending it to graduates of tertiary institutions of any kind. Besides the new membership provision, the Association manifests its Jewish character by being affiliated with the Jewish Board of Deputies and devoting a large part of its activities to Jewish interests and Jewish benevolent causes. Apart from these, the life of the Association centres around social and cultural events which recreate the atmosphere of the "circles" of the Russian intelligentsia depicted in the Russian classical literature. The *lingua franca* is Russian, and Russian speakers invited as lecturers are still more popular than their English counterparts.

The Association purports to perform, therefore, a dual function: to assert the Jewish identity of its members and to sustain their Russian culture. It stands, therefore, in between an ethnic and a cultural organisation, according to their sociological definitions,¹² and I had to invent for it a new term: "ethno-cultural organisation". This term reflects the "marginality" of the group's ethnic position, and it has remained unchanged to the present time. Although there has been some movement towards a stronger Jewish identification (to be discussed later), socially the group maintains its isolation from the Jewish communal life as well as from social contacts within the mainstream society.

As nowadays, in line with the Government's promotion of the policy of "multiculturalism" it has become common to refer to Australians with an indication of their national origin, such as Anglo-Australian, Aboriginal etc., it would seem appropriate to refer to Soviet Jewish emigrants as Russian. However, and despite the fact that they openly assert their "Ruskost" in the sense of attachment to Russian culture, in some contexts reference to them as "Russians" has been found deeply offensive. This is yet another facet of their "marginality" for which I had sought an explanation. In my case-book there is a record of the following incident: X declared in a highly emotional tone: *Tolko etovo nie buatalo. Tam mi bili yevrei i is sa tovo biejali, a sdes mi russkie . . .* Fancy this: over there we were "Jews" and left because of this, only to be called "Russians" here. This man was a recent arrival. My first hunch was that because of his poor English he had taken an innocent remark as a slur. I tried to explain reference to origin as a current colloquialism. - No - he protested with the conviction of righteous indignation, - it had an offensive overtone. - To my question who the speaker was, he explained that he had overheard a conversation between two Jewish Welfare workers while waiting for an interview. I had to agree that, to him, in that situational context, the epithet "Russian" could not but carry a derogatory meaning. But I could think of other contexts where reference to Soviet Jews in Australia as "Russians" would be acceptable to them; even of their self-identification as Russian Australians.

For instance, one of my informants, a young musician, had felt so alienated from everything Jewish that upon arrival here he decided to become an "Unhyphenated Australian", in other words, to discard any ethnic identification and to devote himself totally to the development of a musical career. He was remarkably successful in both these goals. After only a few years he became a fluent English speaker with an unaffected Australian accent and articulation, and a concert pianist of acknowledged reputation. However, as he told me, he owed this reputation to his special interpretation of Russian composers. In the Australian musical circles he was proud to refer to himself as Russian Australian.

But Soviet Jews are not the only emigrant group of Russian birth - the criterion used in the Australian Census of 1981 - which shows some 28,000 such persons resident in Australia. The bulk of this number, or some 20,000, represents Russian emigrés or political refugees from Communism.¹³ (also known as "White Russians"). The majority of them live in Sydney and maintain a network of communal organisations "promoting Russian nationalism in its monarchist formula and affiliation with the Russian Orthodox Church".¹⁴ Their centre is the Russian Club in Strathfield where the portrait of Nicholas II, the last Tsar, and the Romanov coat-of-arms adorn the entrance, and their mouthpiece - a weekly *Yedinyeniye* (Unification). The Club promotes Russian culture by arranging literary evenings, poetry readings and concerts by Russian artists. Another Russian Club, of a different political persuasion, best described as "not-anti-Soviet", in distinction to the one in Strathfield, is the Russian Social Club in Lidcombe. It has the support of the Soviet Consulate and provides entertainment in the form of Soviet film-evenings and shows by visiting Soviet artists. The existence of these two clubs is of

itself evidence of the disunity among Russian Australians. Neither Club because of its political orientation can provide a social milieu for Soviet Jewish emigrants. Despite the polarity of their political positions against each other, the heritage of anti-Jewish discrimination is common to both, and that it is still alive is shown by the following facts:

Some years ago a member of the Ethnic Communities Council in Sydney conceived an idea of uniting the migrant Russian-speaking groups into an "ethnic" organisation. He convened the foundation meeting at the Russian Club in Strathfield and invited to it representatives of several Russian emigré organisation as well as those of the Soviet Jews. No sooner, however, than the purpose of the meeting had been explained, the representatives of the Russian Cossacks declared that they would not participate in any organisation with the Jews, and walked out. This was the end of this project which might have led to some socio-cultural interchange of Soviet Jews with other Russian-speaking groups.

Now, this overview of "other" Russian organisations in Sydney explains both the longevity and the purposefulness of the Association of Jewish Engineers. The ties of the Soviet Jews to their political and cultural past may make them "Russians" in the eyes of mainstream Australians, but *not* in the eyes of emigré Russians Australians. On the other hand, their muted expression of Jewishness finds little encouragement on the part of "established" Australian Jews. In other words, they are "Jews" to the right-wing nationalist Russians; they are non-Jews to the Jewish Australians. In their own eyes they are, therefore, still "Soviet Jews", passive bearers of Jewish identification with but a slowly growing Jewish consciousness.

Interestingly, social isolation of Soviet Jews both from the Jewish communities and the mainstream population of the host-country has been a phenomenon observed cross-culturally. To quote from an American study:

There is a unique relationship between Soviet and American Jews . . . American Jews fought for the freedom of emigration for Soviet Jews and, upon arrival, assisted them generously in the process of absorption. However, there is a limited contact between them . . . Only 5.4% of Soviet Jews have some kind of social contact with American Jews . . .¹⁵

The same study quotes from an interview with a Soviet Jew who explains why he cannot become an "unhyphenated" American:

I don't have their memories, associations, past . . . I didn't collect baseball cards, didn't start driving at the age of 15 . . . I wasn't absorbed in comic books . . . My personality and that of the Americans was formed differently . . . Language itself is not an important thing. Even if all of America began speaking Russian I would still feel myself in a foreign country.

And an Israeli study shows that after five years stay in Israel 80% of Soviet immigrants had friends only among those of their background, and that even in the absorption centres for professionals from different countries, Soviet immigrants tended to

have the fewest social contacts beyond the family circle. After five years stay in Israel, 60% of immigrants stated that they had lived a more satisfying social life in the Soviet Union.¹⁶

ETHNIC INTEGRATION

Be a Jew in your tent, and a man when you go outside. Judah Gordon (1830-1892)

The above epigraph says it all. The core problem facing a Soviet Jew in the West is his or her inability to *reassert* the belongingness to the Jewish nation, the identification with which was the precondition of emigration.

Larissa Bogoraz so expresses it on arrival in America:

Who am I now? . . . Unfortunately, I do not feel like a Jew. I understand that I have an unquestionable genetic tie with Jewry, I also assume that it is reflected in my mentality and behaviour . . . But I am accustomed to the colour, smell, rustle of the Russian landscape, as I am to the Russian language, the rhythm of Russian poetry. I react to everything else as an alien.¹⁷

Not knowing who one is in a new environment precludes one from creating "a tent" where one feels at home, and without it one cannot find a niche in a wider society.

In Australia, the debate on "Who Am I?" went on for years in the pages of Russian-language *Shalom*, an organ of Soviet Jewish emigrants. It has also been a recurrent theme in my interviews. But a number of my informants stated that the crucial question, "Who am I?" had arisen for them before the decision to apply for an exit visa for Israel. In the words of one of them:

It suddenly struck me that it meant a transition from being a "passive" Jew to becoming an "active" one. But how? It was a tantalising moment. If only I had the courage to prepare myself for it, risking persecution, as some had done.

To a Western Jew it is impossible to understand this experience without knowing the extent of ignorance of the Soviet Jews about anything Jewish. Mark Azbel, a famous physicist now living in Israel, so describes it in his book *Refusenik*:

My name is mentioned in the Bible, but I never learned about this until I was forty-two years old . . . I did not know a single Hebrew letter until I reached the age of forty . . . If I had tried to learn that would have been the end of my job . . . The standard history textbook . . . does not mention Judaea, nor Israel . . . There is no mention of Jews in any of school textbooks in the Soviet Union until Jews appear in the 19th century, completely without antecedents, as ruthless exploiters . . .¹⁸

But Azbel was at least able to learn from his parents about his Jewish origin at an early age. Most of my informants, aged about 40, were growing up at the time when their parents concealed their Jewishness, some because of fear of repercussions, and others because of a genuine conviction that the victory of Communism will eliminate all national distinctions. In most instances this question would arise when a child was called *zhid* by playmates and, later on, in having to declare his or her nationality during the roll-call at school. That being a Jew was an attribute with nothing positive to it, and that this notion, acquired early in life, had been later reinforced by discrimination

on entry to an university and during one's career, was the experience undergone by the majority of my informants under the Stalinist regime. Most of them, on reaching maturity, knew about Israel only what had been disseminated by the official propaganda. Zionism was denounced as a tool of Western imperialism, and the expression of any interest in it as a Jewish cause invoked a risk of arrest and imprisonment.

One could not imagine more bizarre circumstances for the terse announcement in *Izvestia* on 5 December 1966 that Soviet citizens of Jewish nationality having close relatives in Israel may apply for exit visa to proceed there. The Soviet Union was then supplying weapons to the Arabs in the tug-of-war in the Middle East, and the outbreak of an armed conflict with Israel appeared imminent. It was also waging a virulent anti-Zionist campaign at home. How to interpret, then, except as an act of provocation, an invitation to the Jews to declare an intention to emigrate to their "homeland", Israel?

A widespread feeling among the Jews was, at first, that it was a device to weed out dissidents among them. However, those of them who had nurtured Jewish and Zionist interests and were, therefore, already under the watchful eye of the KGB, applied for emigration late in 1966. But, then came the breakdown in Soviet-Israeli diplomatic relations followed by the Arab-Israeli war in June 1967, the so-called "Six-Day War". The Israeli victory in this war was as unpredictable as it was stunning to Soviet Jews. Suddenly, Israel emerged in a new light as a modern and viable State. Consequently, there followed a flood of applications for exit visas. It intensified after 1969, when about 3,000 were actually allowed to leave for Israel and continued, with peaks and falls until 1980, when it was suddenly brought to a halt by the Soviet authorities. This unpredictability in Soviet emigration policies has caused traumatic experiences to many Soviet Jews. Those who thought of emigration for its own sake but were not emotionally or otherwise prepared for life in Israel, hastened their applications for fear that they might be forever left behind, even though this meant an immediate loss of livelihood and an indeterminate living "in limbo" thereafter. On the other hand, those few to whom life in Israel meant the fulfilment of their Zionist or Messianic dream, had their applications refused year after year, up to a period of 15 years.

It has been estimated that during the period of mass emigration ended in 1980, about 250,000 Jews left the Soviet Union. On its resumption, under Gorbachev's *perestroika*, from about 1983, some 10,000 were able to emigrate. But from about 1974 there emerged a trend, continued to this day, for Soviet Jews who had left with exit visas for Israel, to change their destination on reaching a transit point (Vienna or Rome), and to apply for admission to another Western country, predominantly the USA. This trend has been a cause of recent measures of the American immigration authorities to restrict immigration to those Soviet Jews who have close relatives in the United States, and of the Jewish Agency's decision to foot the bill of the travelling expenses only of those who proceed to Israel. The Australian Government followed the line adopted by the United States and is presently considering applications only from those sponsored by direct relatives permanently resident in Australia. This spon-

sorship is deemed to cover two-thirds of the living expenses of those waiting for visas in Italy, as well as of their travelling expenses to Australia, the one-third to be contributed by the Australian Jewish Welfare Societies. However, in the case of those Soviet Jews who are allowed to travel directly to Australia (i.e. omitting the European transit points) their air fares are still being paid by the Jewish Agency.

While representatives of the Jewish Welfare Societies have been lobbying the Australian immigration Authorities to expedite the processing of applications of those Soviet Jews who have been waiting in Rome, and have paid visits there to assess their living conditions, the policy of the Executive Council of Australian Jewry (ECAJ) supported by the Jewish Welfare Societies is to discourage Soviet Jews from applying for permanent settlement in Australia. This policy, as announced in the Australian Jewish Press,¹⁹ relies on the American experience of the Soviet Jews "dropping out of the Jewish communities" upon their arrival in the USA and, therefore, disclaims any obligation to assist "the transfer of one Diaspora to another" at the expense of diverting financial help from those who emigrate to Israel. This American experience was noted in a sociological study:

The beginning of Soviet Jewish immigration in 1973 caused a certain amount of enthusiasm on the part of American Jews who viewed very positively the prospect of newcomers adding strength and vitality to their community. Americans soon found out, however, that Soviet Jews were not really Jews in the same sense as Americans perceive themselves. While strong in national identity and possessing a sense of Jewishness arising out of Soviet anti-Semitism . . . Soviet-Jewish newcomers were rarely concerned with manifestations of Jewishness as a primary goal in their new American homeland. The honeymoon between American and Soviet Jews was over by 1980.²⁰

It is undoubtedly true that Soviet Jews, whether they settled in America or Australia, do not manifest their Jewishness in a conventional way. They do not behave as Jews by observing Jewish festivals or rituals because they have no sense of tradition in doing so, and if their "ethnicity" were assessed by answers to a questionnaire about whether or not candles are lit in their homes on Friday night or whether they fast on Yom Kippur, their score, as a group, would be very low indeed. But, according to a noted American-Jewish sociologist, A.J. Epstein²¹ who investigated by this method the "Jewishness" of a sample of American Jews, "ethnicity" has two dimensions. One, which is manifested in behaviour, he calls "public culture", and another, "intimate culture". The latter can only be studied by "participant observation" of the ongoing life of a home; of the behaviour of informants in the company of friends (Jews and non-Jews), at ethnic gatherings, etc. Epstein believes that the real test of ethnicity is the *transmission of intimate culture*:

The fact that American Jews continue to display certain special characteristics that distinguish them from other ethnic groups, such as the importance attached to education, the low rate of alcoholism, etc. despite the fact that many have abandoned a number of traditional Jewish customs, shows that something else has to be studied to explain these phenomena, and that it belongs to the field of intimate culture.²²

As I had used "participant observation" in my study of Soviet Jewish emigrants

before I came across Epstein's book, the distinction he draws between two dimensions of ethnicity, each to be studied by a different method, has helped me to formulate the argument that it is wrong to assess their Jewishness solely by the standard of behaviour of the observant orthodox Jews. There should be a place, in every Jewish community, as there is, in fact, in Israel, for the recognition of the Jewishness of secular Jews. In their case, as with the Soviet Jews, one finds its manifestations, unexpectedly for the observer and at the unconscious level of the actors themselves, in the transmission of Jewish values going as far back as the *Halakhab*. I have found these values in the events not generally exposed to the view of the established Jewish communities in Australia. There is NO marrying out among the sons and daughters of emigrants - the generation grown up to maturity in this country. The concept of *mishpobah* among all Soviet Jews extends beyond the immediate family and often embraces the distant kin whom the emigrants had supported materially in the past and are now assisting in leaving the Soviet Union by all the ways and means they can. Considering the erosion of all ties with Judaism and Jewishness among the immediate ancestors of my informants, how to explain the transmission of Jewish values to their children over the gap of generations? In search of an answer I turned to the survey of the history of their forbears in Russia.

THE JEW UNDER THE RUSSIAN MONARCHY

I shall extract from my survey of this period one historical moment which represented the climax of aspirations of the five-million-strong Russian Jewry in the early years of this century. This world's largest Jewish diaspora had been confined by the Tsars for over 100 years to the Pale of Settlement, the *apartheid* policy of the time. While the aim of this policy was racial segregation and restriction of civil rights, its indirect result was the conservation of Jewish culture inherited from the period when the territory was part of Poland under the regime benevolent to the Jews.

The moment of my attention is 27 April 1906, the day of the opening of the First Russian Duma (Constituent Assembly) by Tsar Nicholas II. The Pale of Settlement was then a hot-house of revolutionary agitation aimed at the overthrow of the hated autocracy, but also a store-house of Jewish spiritual energy ready to burst out into the mainstream society in support of the Russian emancipatory movement. I propose to look at this event as it was seen by my father, a typical representative of the Russian Jewish intelligentsia. It was his hope that it would lead to the opening of the gates of the Pale so that Jews and the like-minded Russians could join hands as comrades-in-arms in a peaceful march towards the creation of the future democratic Russia. And it was this hope that had affected both his inner life and his external career, as it did of countless other Russian Jews of his generation. Because of this hope they did not avail themselves of the opportunity to leave the country of their birth for America or other lands as did the more far-sighted among them. No, the optimists did not take seriously the fateful admonition of Pobyedonostzev, the Procurator-General of the Holy Synod and the spiritual adviser of Nicholas II, that "the Jewish problem in Russia will be solved when one-third of Russian Jewry dies, one-third has assimilated, and one-third has

emigrated." Nor did they resign themselves to assimilation or death. On the contrary, they stayed because of their faith in the liberation of Russia and, through it, the removal of the shackles on their civil rights, including the right to live as Jews in the country of their birth.



*Encyclopedia Judaica, Vol. 13, 4th edition
Keter Publishing House, Jerusalem, 1978*

By intersecting my father's biography with the history of the period preceding by a decade only the October Revolution, I should be able to recreate the spirit of "secular Messianism"¹²³ as the credo of a Jew of the Pale who was both the bearer of the Jewish "intimate culture" and a member of the Russian intelligentsia. As Wright Mill said: "Every individual lives in some society . . . and lives out a biography within some historical sequence. By the mere fact of his living he contributes, however, minutely, to the shaping of society and to the course of its history."¹²⁴ David Einhorn, a Russian Jewish poet, wrote at the time: "I do not know how others number the years, but I count them from 1905."

My father was not in St. Petersburg when Tsar Nicholas opened the First Duma in the Throne Room of the Winter Palace.²⁵ Nor was he able to see the scene reproduced in the photograph below and yet he had lived through every moment of it, judging from his description of its every detail to me. I shall ask the reader to look at the photograph when reading the following lines:

On the left side we see the Imperial Council and the Tsar's retinue, with men in formal wear and the ladies of the Court bedecked with jewellery. On the right side are standing the elected deputies dressed in the contemporary garb of merchants,

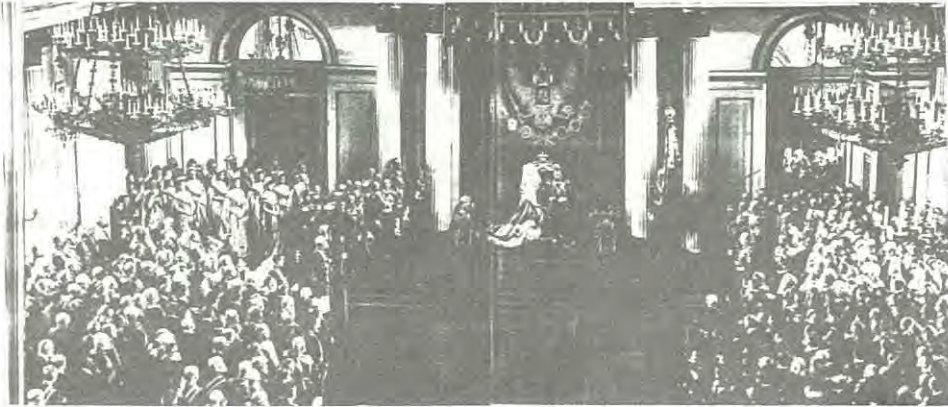
workers and peasants. Among the deputies are several Jews. One of them is Maxim Vinaver, a lawyer (my father's colleague) and a noted Jewish leader. For the first time the Jews of Russia had a public platform where they could present their case to the representatives of the Russian people as well as to the entire country. Moreover, it was Vinaver who was given the honour to deliver the Duma's Reply to the Tsar's address from the Throne.

Referring to the omission in the Tsar's address of any reference to the removal of civil inequalities of the Jews, Vinaver said:

It is becoming clear to us, Jews, that the Government has made up its mind to tread the old path. Let it be known to you that we Jews are joining the chorus of those voices which say unto you: Go away! We say with the voice of five million people:

So long as you connive at civil slavery there will be no peace in the land.²⁵

These were courageous words, the kind, perhaps, never yet heard within the walls of the Throne Room, quite apart from their being uttered by a Jewish lawyer, denied the membership of the Russian Bar. But Vinaver was enthused by the striking anti-Government coalition among the elected deputies and underestimated the reaction of the opposition that the speeches like his would provoke.



*The opening of the First Duma by Nicholas II in the Winter Palace on 27 April 1906
This photograph shows the nobility on the left side of the throne
& the elected deputies on the right side.*

Chloe Obolensky - The Russian Empire 1855-1914
A Portrait in Photographs

And this is what happened. The Tsar used his residual power in dissolving the First Duma. As a protest, the liberal coalition, representing some 200 deputies, travelled to Finland, so as to be beyond the reach of the Russian secret police, and there issued the so-called Vyborg Manifesto, calling on all Russians to strike in protest to the dissolution of the Duma. But the only result of this action was the Order depriving all the signatories of the Manifesto, including Vinaver, from all electoral rights to the Second Duma. This secured its reactionary composition, and the same applied to the last two Dumas. The Jewish problem was never placed on the agenda, and the Government continued to resort to its policy of drowning the rising tide of the Revolution in Jewish blood.

My father was in Minsk, his home-town, on the day of the opening of the First

Duma. He could have been in St. Petersburg, having the right of residence there as a graduate of St. Petersburg University, but as he was denied the right of practising on his own, except as an assistant to a Russian lawyer, he considered this beyond his dignity and preferred the work of a legal consultant to a bank in Minsk, in the Pale, then vibrating with activities already mentioned before. The day after the Opening, pogroms swept over the main cities of the Pale, including Minsk, ostensibly being provoked by the celebrations of the event. In Minsk, my father was among the enormous crowd that gathered in the Station Square when the Governor-General of the Province, Kurlov, ordered the troops to fire into the crowd so as to disperse it. Over 100 persons, nearly all Jews, were killed and 400 wounded. Miraculously, my father was left unhurt. Only some months previously, the day after the issue of the October Manifesto by the Tsar promising the Constitution so as to quell the general strike which paralysed the whole country, Minsk was the scene of a similar celebration. It similarly brought on the loss of life of at least 100 Jews.

One had to possess unlimited optimism, therefore, to treat these anti-Jewish excesses as the last spasms of the dying regime, but this was characteristic of a considerable part of my father's generation born in the Pale in the 1880s - too young to remember the pogroms of 1881-2 following the assassination of Tsar Alexander II. They knew, however, that even the mock-trials of the pogrom perpetrators could not hide the fact that they were hirelings of the "Black Hundreds", the secret army of the Tsar. Russian anti-Semitism, therefore, no matter how brutal, was directed "from above". According to this way of thinking, the Russian people were to be absolved from any ill-will against the Jews. They had been ignorant tools in the hands of the reactionaries, but now they were awakening, co-operating with the progressive elements in Russia. In other words, they were to be seen as allies of the Jews.

My father was born in 1877 in Minsk, one of the largest cities in the Pale of settlement. His father was a *maskil* determined to bring up his three sons in the spirit of *Haskalah*. They all went to a *Heder* before sitting for entrance examinations to a gymnasium, to pass which they had to get top marks because of the *numerus clausus*, and underwent the same stringent selection-test for admission to the university. My father did not attempt to enter the university on getting his matriculation but spent some time in a *Yeshivah* learning Talmud. His decision to become a lawyer stemmed from his reverence for the principles of social justice found in the *Halakhah*, and it was his dream to be able to apply them at the reformed Russian Bar after the downfall of Tsarism. His belief in its inevitability was purely Messianic in the sense that he was not an activist by nature; a passive sympathiser but not a joiner of any political party or movement. This non-involvement has always surprised me, as Minsk was the birth-place of Hoveve-Zion, the proto-Zionist movement, as well as of Paole-Zion, its left wing. It was also the venue of Zionist Conferences and those of the Bund (the Jewish Labour Movement). One of the Bund's most prominent leaders, Vladimir Medem, was my father's classmate in the gymnasium and one of his closest friends. Born in Minsk, Medem was baptised at birth but later returned to Judaism. His biography says

that he did so under the influence of his Jewish friends, and my father must have been at least one of them. My father's name was Alexander Boas Ginsbourg. The surname denotes West-European origin. Boas is a biblical name but Alexander stems from the Greek. When I was a child I liked to think that he was named after Alexander the Great, as it was after his conquest of Judea that the Jews together with the Greeks set up colonies in Tauris (now Crimea) still existing there since antiquity. I also thought that the composite origin of his name reflected the versatility of his knowledge: he was a classicist, knew several European languages and was very well versed in Judaism. But he was not destined to be a practising lawyer. Although his faith in the favourable outcome of political events had survived the fiascos of the Dumas, the notorious Beilis case and the loss of many of his friends charged with participation in terrorist activities, it was lost at the overthrow of the Kerensky Provisional Government by the Communists (the October Revolution). This event made him a man broken in spirit for the rest of his life, as it occurred only six months after Kerensky, as the Head of a new Government, abolished the Pale of Settlement, lifted all restrictions on the Jews, including the incapacity of lawyers to practise on their own and, generally, recaptured the spirit of hope surrounding the October Manifesto and the opening of the First Duma.

But the march of events produced a curious twist in my father's biography. During the Civil War the bank, in whose employment he remained for many years, entrusted him to save the bullion, first by taking it to Siberia, and then to its branches in the Far East. My mother and myself later joined him there. In a strict sense, therefore, my father was not a refugee nor a political emigré. He remained forever a Jew loyal to the Russia of his dreams. When I went to the Soviet Union for a short visit this year, I met some Jews whose parents had felt the same strong ties to Russia as my father did and who, therefore, sought accommodation with the Soviet regime in its early period, often to their peril. I have also met others whose parents had been determined to emigrate following the pogroms, as more than a million did, but missed their chance. Their children, without exception, envied my fate.

HOW REFUGEES FROM POGROMS BECAME JEWISH AUSTRALIANS.

It was, therefore, due to a totally unpredictable turn of the wheels of fortune that I grew up in a small but vigorous Jewish community in the Far East. I vicariously escaped, therefore, the inescapable fate of my contemporaries remaining in the Soviet Union to lose their Jewish identity and yet being exposed to vicious anti-Semitism.

But there were hundreds of thousands of Jews in the Pale who saw no future in Russia after the pogroms. Australia was then too little known to the world at large to become a target-country for Russian Jewish immigration, but there were a few enterprising individuals among them who braved the unknown and a long voyage by land and sea to come to Australia on their own with the intention of permanent settlement. The progenitors of two well known families, the Taft (predominantly of Sydney and Melbourne) and Silbert (originally of Western Australia) were such individuals. I intend

to summarise some facts of their biographies here so as to show how different was the process of integration of a Jew of the Pale from a Jew of the Soviet Union into Australian society. I derive the facts about the Silbert family from Eric Silbert's book *Dinkum Mishpohab*²⁶ and about the Taft family from the unpublished biography of his father kindly placed at my disposal by Professor Ronald Taft. The two families have this in common: both made great "quantitative" contributions to Australian Jewry. The progenitor of the Taft family had about 130 direct descendants, of whom over 100 are still alive. And Silbert's book includes a family-tree with some 500 names, counting spouses. Many members of both families have made important contributions to various fields of endeavour, thus integrating also "qualitatively" into Australian society.

Eric Silbert's father, Barel, was brought to Australia together with brothers and sisters, orphaned at an early age, by his older sister Fanny who married her uncle, Abraham Silbert. Abraham had been to Fremantle before, and set himself up there as a produce merchant. He and Fanny arrived there in 1900 from Breslau in the Pale of Settlement where they had been married. Barel followed with other children about two years later, at the age of 14. He worked for some time in Abraham's business but, having learned English quickly, soon became economically independent. He met Minnie Masel through the Fremantle synagogue. They were married there, and in 1922 Minnie gave birth to Eric, the author of *Dinkum Mishpohab*. Minnie's father, Joseph Masel, came from Grodno in the Pale of Settlement. He had been educated as a rabbi but was also a businessman. Seeing that there was no future for the Jews in Russia he decided to emigrate, and arrived in Adelaide with his eldest son Esor in 1887. He decided to settle in Fremantle, opened there a clothing business and immediately brought there the rest of the family from Russia. Eric's grandparents on both sides were Yiddish-speaking but his parents (Barel changed his name to Barney) already felt alienated from "the ghetto way of life." Barney liked Yiddish, feeling no need to perpetuate it, and Minnie received a secular education, had travelled widely before her marriage to Barney, and agreed with him that their children should be brought up as Australians. This meant that Eric and his brother were encouraged to play sport from an early age, and to socialise with non-Jews as well as Jews, as did their parents. Eric's education began in St. Joseph's kindergarten where he was taught by the nuns, and the primary school also run by a religious Order. Later he attended Christian Brothers' College as one of a few non-Catholic boys, and as he was not academically inclined, his parents decided that he would do better in a boarding school. Their choice was *Aquinas*, also the Brothers' establishment. The effect of this on Eric was that he only casually refers to his Jewish education, namely, the Sunday School and pre-Barmizvah studies, and calls them "ghetto-inspired institutions".

The result of this upbringing was that Eric chose a very 'un-Jewish career,' he joined the Royal Air Force at the outbreak of the Second World War. He later qualified as a wireless operator, which earned him a commission and a number of awards. After the war he considered remaining with the RAF, but this is not what his family wished for him, their argument being that "no Jewish wife and mother would like to share that

kind of life". Consequently, at the age of 24 Eric married a Jewish girl, Joan Tate, his childhood friend. As he says in his book: "Other than marriage, Judaism at this point was to become the most significant point in my life". This came about by their introduction to the Liberal Judaism, and Eric and Joan became pioneers of the Liberal Jewish movement in Perth. This involvement brought Eric to Israel as one of the Chairmen of the Menzies Forest. Simultaneously, he served as President of the West Australian Board of Deputies. He also played an active role in Apex, the Rotary and other mainstream Australian service and welfare organisations.

It is interesting to note that in the upbringing of their own four children, Eric and Joan followed the same path as their own parents, namely, "not tying them to Jewishness from an early age, but rather making this a matter of their own choice". Their son went to the Christ Church Grammar School, and the daughters to the Methodist Ladies College in Perth. Nevertheless, as Eric says, there were very few intermarriages among the numerous descendants of Silbert and Maisel clans.

As to the Taft family, Professor Ronald Taft's father, Grisha (Hirsh) Tafypolsky, came to Melbourne from Kiev in 1906. Why did he chose Australia? As I read in his biography written by his son, it was only his independent spirit and the love of adventure: first he went to America to visit his relatives who had fled there from the Russian pogroms, then returned to Russia to marry Olga Mushatovsky, and they both decided to board the ship to take them to Melbourne. At that time there were no more than 300 Russian Jews in Australia and about 100 of them had settled in Melbourne. Grisha had a flair for languages, and quickly learned enough English to set up a stationery shop in partnership with another Jew in the centre of Melbourne. The business did very well from the start and still exists today as H. Taft and Co. in Collins Street. Grisha had eight brothers and sisters and he brought all of them, together with their father Abram, then an old man, to Melbourne as soon as he felt settled. In 1922, after Grisha had moved to the Eastern suburbs of Melbourne, where at the time very few Jews lived, he brought over from Russia 16 members of his family and some time later several members of his wife's family. They were all helped in setting up small businesses or in getting employment by Grisha and his brother.

As Ronald Taft says in his autobiography, it was the arrival of his numerous relatives from Russia, when he was a teenager, that had stimulated his life-long interest in the problems of migration. That Grisha found his home in Australia is best evidenced by the fact that he originated the first "chain migration" from Russia to Melbourne. But his attachment to his new country went further. Ronald, his son, was brought up exclusively in the English language and went to a denominational school. He does not even speak either Russian or Yiddish, nor was he given a traditional Jewish education despite the fact that he is a direct descendant of the "ghetto generation". Ronald explains this by his father's broadmindedness, despite the fact that he was himself deeply involved in promoting cultural aspects of Judaism in Melbourne. In 1911 Grisha became a foundation-member of the Kadima library and of the Yiddish Cultural

Group. In 1916 he joined *Chevre Kadisha*, the Jewish Orphanage, and other benevolent Jewish organisations, later becoming life-governor of some. Also, both in his lifetime and by his Will, he included in his *mizvot* beside the Jewish also Australian benevolent causes. He was a member of the Masonic Lodge, served on the Committee of the Victorian Children's Association etc., at times being the only Jew in their governing bodies. As to Professor Ronald Taft, his son, he inherited his father's interest in causes of wide Jewish concern and has written extensively on problems of migration generally, and, on Jewish migration in particular.

Now, my purpose in introducing these two family histories is a threefold one. First, it is to show the tolerance of Australian society in permitting the refugees of oppression to cultivate a double loyalty to their own group and to the mainstream society. Secondly, to compare the circumstances attending the arrival of these first refugees from Russia with those of the Soviet Jewish emigrants described above. And, thirdly, to compare both groups' "Jewish behaviour".

As we know from Hilary Rubinstein's article in the AJH Society *Journal*¹⁷, the Australian Jews viewed with disfavour the prospect of large Jewish refugee emigration from the Russian pogroms. They feared "the invasion of hordes of petty traders into the country with openings only for the tiller of the soil and for the skilled artisan." In practical terms, it meant that the forbears of Silbert and Taft families had no Jewish Welfare Societies to meet them and to offer help on arrival. No, they had to rely solely on their own motivation and limited skills to find the niche in an environment differing so sharply not only in language and culture, but in climate and calendar from the Russian Pale of Settlement.

We know that the forbears of both families showed little or no concern for the Jewish education of their children. They fostered their "un-Jewishness" at their formative years. There could be two reasons for this behaviour. One is the usual parental concern for the children's integration into the mainstream society. Another is the sense of emotional security in their own ethnic identity by the parents. This security is what Epstein calls "intimate culture", the concept I discussed before. It encompasses unconscious transmission of ethnicity to the next generation, which the Jews of the Pale passed on to the succeeding generations. The descendants of both families knew their origin and what it meant in terms of traditional Jewish values, and this sense of ethnic security enabled them to venture forth in contributing to the values of Australian mainstream society. Let me repeat what poet Judah Gordon said: "Be a Jew in your tent, and a man when you go outside". In other words, one must feel comfortable in one's own tent to be able to behave like a man on stepping outside.

NOTES

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2. Federation of Jewish Welfare Societies, Sydney and Melbourne

3. A letter from Walter M. Lippman, Executive Vice-President, Federation of Jewish Welfare Societies, Melbourne, 10 April 1985
4. Based on definition of "Ethnic" group and "Cultural" group by Orlando Patterson in "Context and Choice in Ethnic Allegiance: A Theoretical Framework and Caribbean Case Study" in N. Glazer and P. Moynihan, eds, *Ethnicity: Theory and Experience* Harvard University Press, 1975, pp 305-349
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7. Horowitz, supra
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18. Mark Abel, *Refusenik: Trapped in the Soviet Union*, Hamish Hamilton, London, 1981 p. 7
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24. Wright C. Mills, *The Sociological Imagination*, Pelican Books, 1970
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ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

Map - The Jewish Pale Of Settlement - Zvi Gittelman, *The Century of Ambivalence*;
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A Portrait in Photographs

ED: I have discussed with Dr Frenkel the intended significance of her remarks towards the end of her Paper regarding the effect of "intimate culture" on the mass of Russian Jewry prior to the Russian Revolution. I believe that it is desirable to avoid any misconceptions on the part of readers, while I appreciate of course that the author is entitled to present the matter according to her own knowledge and understanding of the subject. However, I am constrained to question

any suggestion - if intended - that the great majority of the Russian Jews would not have been concerned to provide their children with Jewish education, distinct from secular education, relying on their sense of "intimate culture" to maintain and preserve their Jewish identity. But, it depends on what the reader will understand by this concept. Dr. Frenkel agrees that most of these Jews would have manifested attachment to traditional values, including religious education. Nevertheless, she maintains that some of them continued to cherish their Jewish identity even when they abandoned religious customs to which others clung tenaciously.

It need not be disputed that some did in fact believe that their identity as Jews would persist notwithstanding their rejection of religious orthodoxy. However, while the majority of the Maskilim preserved their national-religious identity, some of the Jewish youth were thereby estranged from traditional Judaism (*Encyclopaedia Judaica*, Vol 14). Further, as is explained by Louis Greenberg in *The Jews in Russia*, Vol. 1 (pp 188-9), "the great mass of orthodox Jews repudiated everything Haskalah represented ... That these fears and suspicions were partly justified we have seen demonstrated in the eventual weakening of Judaism and in the derelictions from the Jewish ranks which followed in the wake of the Haskalah." As that writer concludes, only a change in the form of the Russian government could achieve emancipation. Even the Hebrew language was in danger of disappearing as a cultural medium. This prospect was lamented by the poet, Gordon, an exponent of emancipation:

*Alas! Am I to be the last of the singers of Zion
and you the last of the readers! (Ha-Shabar, 11, 354)*

There developed, on the one hand, such as the Bund and others who sought to liberate the Jews from religious tradition by developing secular culture and national schools in Yiddish. On the other hand, the Zionists wanted Hebrew and stressed the unity of Jews everywhere. Accordingly, I would say that the influence of so-called "intimate culture" has to be carefully considered, avoiding generalisation, and giving due weight to all the historical facts of the situation. In my view, traditional, albeit orthodox, Judaism and its mores played a large role in the culture which preserved the identity of the Russian Jews.

THE SYDNEY MUSICAL SOCIETY

* by Harris S. Morris, B.A., B.Sc.

The Sydney Musical Society was formed in 1935 through the enthusiasm and driving force of Joel Joseph, a Londoner who arrived in Australia in 1925. Joe, as he was always known, had been a keen follower of the Gilbert and Sullivan tradition as presented by the D'Oyly Carte Company, and had taken part in many amateur productions in London. He became choirmaster of the Bondi Junction Synagogue (later the Central). He married Sadie Klineberg, and so into a family who were to become with their cousins and friends the foundation members of the Sydney Musical Society. His brother-in-law, Philip Klineberg, was its first president.

The inaugural meeting called to consider the formation of a musical society was held in May 1935 when about 15 people attended, consisting mostly of young ladies. The chair was taken by Captain (later Major) Hatfield, who was accompanied by Norman Thomas, then M.L.A. for Bondi. It was decided to form a society and to commence rehearsals for "The Mikado". Rehearsals were first held at the School of Arts, Bondi Road. To quote from the foreword of the programme of "The Mikado", the first production to be presented to the public at the Savoy Theatre was on 18 and 20 February 1936:

The Sydney Musical Society was formed at the instigation of Mr Joe Joseph, our producer, early in 1935, but it was not until the middle of the year that rehearsals were well under way. There were many difficulties to overcome and the early days of the Society were hard ones. A rehearsal hall suitable to everyone was not easily found, finance was scarce and the executives and cast needed careful selection and constant amendment.

The Society was formed not only with the object of providing an outlet for young Jewish people with musical tastes, but also as a social meeting place where those of similar interests could be introduced to each other on a mutual footing. In this particularly we have been manifestly successful and our rehearsals are always happy evenings of music and relaxation.

It is also to be stressed that this is the only Jewish Gilbert and Sullivan Society in Australia, surely an effort worthy of praise.

This first production was notable in that the whole of the cast was Jewish, apart from one principal, Bert Cruikshank, a leading tenor with the Gilbert and Sullivan Society. Joe Joseph produced the show and played the principal role of Ko-Ko. He was to continue in this dual capacity as producer and principal in the many productions that were to follow.

The musical director, Ralph Levy, was a graduate of the Sydney Conservatorium of Music, and for some time choirmaster of the Great Synagogue. Sam Cohen, assistant musical director, who played Pooh-Bah, had been a member of the Sydney University Gilbert and Sullivan Society. The accompanist, Norah Lurie, was to become a noted concert pianist after a period of overseas study. George Amsberg, a well known barrister, later to become a judge of the District Court, played the Mikado of Japan, a part he had taken on earlier occasions with the Gilbert and Sullivan Society.

In its second season the Society turned to a double production with "Trial by Jury" as curtain raiser to "The Sorcerer". The latter had not been produced in Australia for many years and its enthusiastic reception by appreciative audiences induced J.C. Williamson to include it in their forthcoming professional Gilbert and Sullivan season. The show ran for three consecutive nights from 24 August 1936, a rather demanding feat for a group of amateurs who had to carry on with their normal working lives as well. As before, all principal parts but two were taken by Jewish players, giving an opportunity to some former chorus members to gain experience in principal roles. The all Jewish chorus had grown from 22 in the first production to 32, an indication of the success of the Society in providing an opportunity for participation in cultural activity while enjoying the society of other young Jewish people. Active membership had grown to 50, and social activities, including the Annual Ball, were strongly supported. By this time rehearsals had moved to the Maccabean Hall, where the Society continued for some years to meet in the Dugout, the clubroom of the Ex-Servicemen's Association.

It was decided to present the third season at the Conservatorium of Music where on 16 and 19 June 1937 "Iolanthe" was produced. Here the stage was larger so that scenery from J.C. Williamson could be used, and the dressing rooms were better suited to the bigger chorus numbers than had been the case at the Savoy. Also the Conservatorium Hall could better accommodate the growing audiences that the Society was attracting. The chorus continued to be all Jewish with new names appearing in the programme, an indication of the wider appeal the Society made to young people, both musically and socially. A number of small principal parts again were filled by former chorus members, with three major principals introduced for the first time to appear again in later seasons – J.C. (Clarrie) Bell, Bonnie Judd and Marcia Schofield. Joe Joseph filled the role of Lord Chancellor and as before produced the show with his usual good humour and insistence on high standards. The critics gave a good review and the Society was encouraged to present "Iolanthe" again, on the following August, this time with proceeds going to the Picton Lakes Village (T.B. Settlement) of which Phillip Lazarus was President.

On the following Saturday the Society played its social role at the "Iolanthe" Ball, a highly successful occasion at the Chicken Inn, Pitt Street. Rehearsals were commenced almost immediately for the next production – "The Yeomen of the Guard", an ambitious project for this amateur group. It was made possible by changes which were to raise dramatically the Society's musical and acting standards. The key position of Musical Director was filled by Ivan Rixon who brought the benefits of his wide experience as conductor and musical director of symphony orchestras and other musical societies. The Ivan Rixon Glee Singers were regularly presented by a leading radio station. Ivan set high standards for principals and chorus and assembled a professional orchestra for the productions. A firm disciplinarian at rehearsals, he possessed a warm and friendly personality and was a source of confidence and inspiration to all in the stress of public appearances.

Leo Darnton, a former member of the D'Oyly Carte Company and at that time a teacher of singing and dramatic art in Sydney, brought the benefit of his wide experience on the professional stage. Leo portrayed Colonel Fairfax with practised aplomb, and his sotto voce comments to members of the chorus helped to relieve the tension of stage nerves. Joe Joseph continued his fine work as producer, also playing the part of Jack Point with his accustomed skill. Joe and Ivan brought together a fine team of principals who were to stay with the Society for many further seasons – Bonnie Judd a charming contralto as Phoebe, Marie Ryan in the leading role of Elsie Maynard, Gwen Gillard in the part of Kate, Marcia Schofield continuing her outstanding performances as (contralto) Dame Carruthers. For the first time the Society had the valued assistance of Bill Mason, a fine bass as Sergeant Meryll, Beau Pinkerton, whose remarkably pure tenor voice was heard as Leonard Meryll. E.A. Nicholls, noted throughout the Gilbert & Sullivan audiences of Sydney for his studied interpretations, took the part of gaoler Wilfred Shadbolt.

The season for two nights, 16 and 17 February 1938, was again to benefit the funds of the Picton Lakes T.B. Settlement. The Conservatorium was packed, people seated even on the steps in the aisle. The cast and friends celebrated at an after-show supper party at the Dungowan – dancing till 2 a.m. – tickets – 2/6.d. Meanwhile, Philip Klineberg, who had guided the Society as President since its inception, was transferred to the country by the Department of Education. He was succeeded by Harris Morris who occupied the position until the war years brought changes to the composition of the Society, and his own enlistment in the R.A.A.F. In recognition of his initiative in founding the Society and his continuing guidance and support, Joe Joseph was elected the first Life Member. To show appreciation of the continued use of the Dugout for weekly rehearsals, and to assist the funds of the N.S.W. Jewish War Memorial, a Grand Concert was presented in the Maccabean Hall on 13 April, 1938. The principals supported by chorus appeared in a varied programme, with appreciation expressed by President Mark Owen.

Social activities continued with a "mystery hike" on Anzac Day, meeting under the clock at Central Station, the unknown destination turning out to be Heathcote with a hike to Burning Palms. On 30 July 1938 the Stratford Ballroom was the venue of the fourth Annual Ball. Meanwhile, chorus and principals were hard at work in rehearsal for "Ruddigore" which was presented to full houses at the Conservatorium on 3 and 4 August 1938. On this occasion the profits went to the Rotary Club's Appeal for the N.S.W. Society for Crippled Children. To quote the *Herald's* critic – "Even at the back of the hall almost every syllable of the dialogue was clearly audible, and the songs tripped along crisply and blithely. Altogether this "Ruddigore" was a lightly enjoyable performance." So the Society continued to occupy a position of some eminence in the musical life of Sydney, maintaining and enhancing its high standards under the leadership of Joe Joseph and Ivan Rixon, with valued assistance from experienced principals and the enthusiastic efforts of its Jewish chorus. The social life of the Society was actively supported, with house parties, hikes, picnics, dances and car drives.

"The Mikado" was presented for a second season in February, 1939, a performance of a much higher standard than that of the first attempt. "A brilliant performance," wrote the *Herald* critic. "The Gondoliers" followed in August of that year. "A very creditable performance" wrote one critic, while the *Herald* stated that "Gilbert and Sullivan delighted a crowded house at the Conservatorium on Saturday night last when the Sydney Musical Society gave a sterling performance of "The Gondoliers" under the musical direction of Ivan Rixon and his excellent orchestra. The chorus, as is usual with this company, was animated and gaily dressed and their choral numbers greatly added to the enjoyment of the performance". The Society continued to expand its repertoire with "Princess Ida" in February, 1940, in aid of the Lord Mayor's Patriotic Fund. In August 1940 "The Sorcerer" and "Trial by Jury" were repeated "in aid of war charities". Again, a new venture with "The Pirates of Penzance" in May 1941, repeated in June in aid of Toc H. Hostels Overseas Fund. The Woollloomooloo Police Boys Club benefited from a revival of "The Mikado" in September of that year.

Performances of "Iolanthe" were presented in March 1942 in aid of the Russian Medical Aids and Comforts Committee. By this time the effects of the Second World War were being felt as members, both male and female, enlisted in the armed services. Most were from the chorus, but President Harris Morris, producer Joe Joseph and Musical Director Ivan Rixon were amongst almost 40 names listed in programmes as members of the forces. With the absence of so many young Jewish women and men it became necessary to open the ranks of the chorus to others, so that the Society could continue to present productions of an acceptable standard.

The venue for rehearsals was moved to the studio at North Sydney of Stan Buddle, one of the outstanding principals. Jose Joseph became President, with Ivan Rixon as Vice-President. The present writer's association with the Society ceased in January 1942 on enlistment in the R.A.A.F. He was honoured by becoming the second Life Member. Programmes show the production of "The Mikado" in May 1943 (followed by a greatly appreciated performance to R.A.A.F. personnel at Bradfield Park), "The Pirates of Penzance" in August 1944, "The Gondoliers" in April 1945, "Iolanthe" in May 1946 and "The Mikado" in December, with "Trial by Jury" and "The Sorcerer" in July 1947.

In an endeavour to maintain contact with scattered members *The Sydney Musical Society Bulletin* (Price one penny) was published by co-editors Neville Myers, Syd Friedlander and Frank Finkelstein. Messages to and from old friends in the services were relayed, with snippets of gossip to keep people in touch. To mark the tenth anniversary of the Society's formation a special edition was published in May 1945, containing articles surveying the history and activities of the Society and its members. A special tribute was paid by Joe Joseph to Neville Myers, Mark Snyder and Syd Friedlander and to Sylvia Tooler and Betty Sulman "For their untiring work in holding the Society together during its most trying period."

In retrospect, it is surprising just how much was achieved in the comparatively short life of the Sydney Musical Society. At a time when there were few Jewish youth groups, it provided a meeting place for those with musical interests while filling an important social function. So much was this the case that its members dubbed it the "Sydney Matrimonial Society". Those that I can recall who met and married whilst associated with the Society included Ruth Levine and Sam Cohen, Julie Levy and Harris Morris, Sylvia Tooler and Syd Friedlander, Betty Israel and Lou Stamper, Millicent Bass and Sid Levine, Sheila Rosenberg and Harry Cohen, Rene Cohen and Norman Hart, Edna Hyman and Lionel Alexander, Norah Lurie and Frank Finkelstein, Hannah Lipson and Evan Isaacs, Hilda Soltan and Ron Phillips, Naomi Keesing and Maurice Saunders, and Edith Kaufman and Wally Phillips. A number of members went on to earn positions of prestige in the general community. Philip Klineberg, the Foundation President, became Staff Inspector of Schools in charge of Special Education. Sam Cohen gained his Doctorate in Education in London and later filled the position of Vice-Principal of Sydney Teachers College. When Macquarie University was founded he was appointed its first deputy Vice-Chancellor, occupying that post until his retirement.

Harris and Ben Morris became principals of High Schools in the State system - the only Jewish brothers to do so. Syd Friedlander turned to Local Government and was Mayor of the Lane Cove Municipality on several occasions - he is the present incumbent of that position. R. Lipson moved into wool research in the C.S.I.R.O., and invented the C.S.I.R.O set process to prevent wool shrinkage.

The Sydney Musical Society was unique in Sydney's Jewish community and it has been a pleasure to have recorded its story.

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** It is noted with regret that Harris Samuel Morris passed away after a continuing illness on 14 February 1990.*

INTERMARRIAGE: THE MELBOURNE PETITION OF 1878

by Bruce Le Bransky, B.Com.(Hons.) M.Ec.

The issues of intermarriage and conversion have been continuing sources of anguish and conflict for Australian Jewry. The divisions it caused within the Melbourne community during the 1920s has just recently been the subject of an article by Malcolm Turnbull in this Journal.¹ And Lazarus Goldman has written at length of the extraordinarily bitter conflicts within nineteenth century Victorian Jewry about these issues, and the ongoing efforts of Chief Rabbi Nathan Adler to find an agreed position between differing (and intransigent) viewpoints.²

The Chief Rabbi's establishment of a Beth Din in Victoria in 1864 was aimed particularly at dealing with the issue of the admission of proselytes. It occurred in an environment where the "perennial problem of conversion" had led to the establishment of separate congregations in Melbourne (the East Melbourne Congregation) and Sydney (the Macquarie Street Congregation)³. In Melbourne, it was the oppositionists who split from the existing Bourke Street synagogue whereas in Sydney it was the proponents of a more accepting viewpoint who separated from York Street.

Shortly after the Beth Din's establishment, one of its members, Rev. Moses Rintel, wrote to the Editor of the London *Jewish Chronicle* to refute suggestions that the new Beth Din was expecting and ready to undertake the conversion of significant numbers of women married to Jews. Rintel stated that the Beth Din had only been authorised to admit converts as approved by the Chief Rabbi "to whom all particulars are to be furnished."⁴ According to Goldman, Adler had made clear his opposition to conversions. But in special cases, and with the consent of both congregations and his own authorisation (which was absolutely necessary), the Beth Din could admit converts. Nevertheless, the East Melbourne Congregation's longstanding opposition to the acceptance of proselytes remained unchanged, rendering the proposed formula for limited admission effectively one of non-admission.

In May 1878 the recently appointed Minister of the Bourke Street Synagogue, Dr Dattner Jacobson, delivered a sermon in which he argued the case for there being an acceptance of proselytes. The contents of Jacobson's lecture was published in the *Argus* (6 May 1878). The use of the general press reflected the absence of a Jewish newspaper in Melbourne at this time. The issue had resurfaced because of East Melbourne's refusal to accept the conversion of two women whose request had been "accepted" by the Bourke Street Congregation. (Goldman also suggests that the Beth Din and the Chief Rabbi had intimated their acceptance of the request.)⁵ A lengthy rebuttal to Jacobson's views was written by "Hebrew" in a letter to the Editor published in the *Age* (7 May 1878). *Hebrew* argues against the accuracy of Jacobson's quotation of Deuteronomy to support the acceptance of conversion. And he refers to the verbal undertakings supposedly given to Cromwell that Jews in England would not seek converts, which had since continued to be enforced.⁶ More importantly, *Hebrew* argued in

his subsequent letter published on 11 May that:

..... conversions cannot be and are not sincere. The Jews of the present, of course, do not keep their religion as their forefathers did. But then they are at liberty to exercise their own judgement inasmuch as they are received into the fold at an age when they have no sense to choose. The case, however, is quite different with grown-up converts. They promise to keep and observe laws, which very few Jews themselves keep, and the committee which sanctions their admittance into the fold of Judaism is well aware that the converts will not keep what they promise to observe. I do not object to mixed marriages, as long as the Jews are not troubled with any sham conversions arising from worldly motives.

The public correspondence was both lengthy and bitter. It included frequent reference to the treatment of Jews who had married Christians, including their rights as to burial and the religious acceptance of their children. Appendix A lists the correspondence published by the two newspapers on this issue. One important result of these very public disagreements was the drawing up in June 1878 of a petition which was sent to the Chief Rabbi on the issue of conversion. This petition appears to be one of the earliest examples of a substantial number of Australian Jews directly petitioning the Chief Rabbi for guidance on a spiritual matter. And it suggests the failure of Adler's aim of localising decisions through a Beth Din.

Surprisingly, Goldman makes no mention of the petition but simply refers to Adler's response upon hearing of the dispute. Adler suggested the formation of a Board of Advice comprising delegates of all congregations who would consult on applications for conversion: "..... and once the Board came to an agreement it could make its recommendation to the Beth Din to carry out the ceremony."⁷ The petition was published in the *Jewish Chronicle* on 16 August 1878, preceded by an article from an unnamed Melbourne correspondent providing the background to its writing. They were as follows:⁸

(Melbourne, 11 June 1878)

Circumstances having recently arisen in our midst which are of particular interest to the Jewish public, I will endeavour to place them before your readers in as clear a light and as briefly as possible. You are no doubt aware that the Rev Dr. Adler, the venerable Chief Rabbi, is also recognised by the Jews in Victoria as their spiritual head, and that under his immediate jurisdiction a local "Bethdin" was established in Australia. This "Bethdin" formerly consisted of the Rev M Herman, of Geelong (the head), and the Revs A.F. Ornstien and Moses Rintel. Amongst the matters over which this ecclesiastical body had the power to adjudicate was the making of proselytes, and consequently a large number of 'strangers' were admitted into the Jewish community during former years. When, however, differences arose between Messrs Ornstien and Rintel with regard to the seniority in position of each as Jewish minister in this city, the "Bethdin" was, so to speak, dissolved, owing to the unwillingness of these gentlemen to act together.

The result of their differences was that in May 1874, the Rev Mr Rintel's congregation (East Melbourne), acting under his advice, passed a resolution, the effect of which was to put an end to the system of making proselytes. This resolution was strictly carried out until the arrival last year of the Rev Dr Dättner Jacobson, the

new Minister of the Melbourne (Bourke Street) Hebrew Congregation, when it was again admitted that it was beneficial to Judaism to admit proselytes. Mr Rintel thereupon induced his committee to rescind their resolution passed four years ago. This making and unmaking of resolutions affecting a religious principle displeased the bulk of Mr Rintel's congregation, who, at a meeting held on 3 February in the current year, rejected by 106 votes to 8 the committee's recommendation, to rescind the resolution I have already referred to. They further prohibited their minister from serving on the "Bethdin". These proceedings did not damp the zeal of Dr Jacobson, who preached a "Conversion" sermon on the Sabbath previous to his admitting several converts into the fold. That this question has created considerable excitement amongst us you have most probably perceived from the letters which appeared in the public press and which were forwarded to you by the previous mail. The controversy lasted nearly a month, and all the daily, weekly and monthly publications, secular as well as religious (for we are at present without a Jewish organ) teemed with letters and articles on the subject of "Mixed Marriages".

Public opinion being adverse to these mixed marriages, the committee of the Melbourne Hebrew Congregation were obliged, in response to a requisition signed by several of its members, to call a public meeting to discuss this question. The committee tried to justify their action, but failing to reconcile their views with those entertained by the majority, they summarily put an end to the proceedings by dissolving the meeting. Thanks, however, to Mr Nathaniel Levi (an ex MP) the matter was not allowed to drop. This gentlemen, at the request of several persons, called a meeting, and as Dr Adler's authority has been greatly abused in this question, a resolution was unanimously carried by a large body of Jews, to the effect that a petition should be sent to the Rev the Chief Rabbi praying him to "surround with greater difficulty the making of proselytes in Victoria". Though the petition was only issued yesterday, it has already received about 150 signatures. The document will be forwarded to Dr Adler by the Californian Mail which leaves next Monday.

P.S.: I am enabled at the last moment to send you a copy of our petition to the Chief Rabbi as well as the resolutions which were passed at the recent meetings to which I have alluded above. The resolution passed at the first meeting held on the 3rd inst., was one condemning the procedure of the President of the Melbourne Hebrew Congregation at that meeting, and as it concerns ourselves only, is scarcely of interest to Jews several thousand miles distant. The resolution adopted at the meeting held on the 16th is of a more general character. It urges the presentation of a petition to the Chief Rabbi embodying the views of the majority of the Jewish community upon the subject (the advisability of admitting proselytes), and praying his careful consideration of the same, "with a view of placing this vexed question on a more just and satisfactory footing as regards our body in this colony, and also as affecting our community in its relations towards our Christian fellow-citizens, which relationship has been prejudiced by the recent action of some members of the Beth Din."

The petition, which I may mention has been signed by 250 heads of families, is I

think of sufficient interest to be reproduced in full. It is as follows:

To the Rev Doctor Nathan Marcus Adler, Chief Rabbi of the English and German Jews of Great Britain and its Dependencies, etc.

Rev Doctor - we, the undersigned, members of the Jewish faith belonging to the various congregations in Melbourne in the colony of Victoria, beg respectfully that you, being our spiritual head, will take into consideration a matter which is of vital importance to the welfare of Judaism and the preservation of our race in this far land, our adopted home.

You must be aware, Rev Doctor, that in times past, members of the Christian faith were admitted into the synagogue, whereby we deviated from the precedent upheld by the Jews of England, viz, not to effect any conversions to Judaism.

Those conversions as a rule were made either by your special sanction or by that of the local Beth Din appointed by you.

We are aware, Rev Doctor, that you are personally on principle opposed to the making of 'Gerim' and 'Geuros', and that if you gave your sanction to any particular case, it invariably was the result of representations made by our Jewish representatives of the various local congregations who were of opinion that such conversions would be beneficial in furthering the cause of our holy faith in Victoria, in as much as they were principally confined to females, the offspring of mixed marriages contracted in the early days of the colony and under peculiar circumstances.

However, like all institutions and practices, which if not properly controlled will be abused in time, so it has also proved to be the case with conversions to Judaism in Victoria. For although there is now no longer any extenuating excuse whatever for mixed marriage, the very precedent which served originally to cement the bonds of the Jews and the furthering of the Jewish cause in our midst, now threatens to dissolve our ties and cause serious injury to Judaism in this colony.

The Jewish female population at present outnumbers that of marriageable males, and there is no excuse for any Jew marrying out of his religion. And yet mixed marriages contracted yearly in this colony are very numerous. Men marry Christian ladies in the hope of having them made 'Geuros', and the Jewish young ladies finding that they are neglected by their coreligionists, marry out of their religion in the hope of having their children admitted without difficulty into the Jewish fold.

Recent events have thrown a great deal of light on this long vexed question, which was in former years confined to the vestry-room meetings and to the conclave of the local Beth Din. In a letter to the Melbourne Hebrew Congregation, you informed the Committee that the Rev Mr Herman was appointed by you Chief of the local Beth Din to act in conjunction with the Rev Dr Jacobson and the Rev M. Rintel. You also stated that in the case of the Rev Moses Rintel refusing to act as Dayan, the two remaining Dayanim are empowered to appoint a third Dayan, provided no religious disability existed against him. Mr Rintel did not refuse to act, but was prevented from doing so by the members of his congregation who assembled in public meeting on 3 February last, resolved that the East Melbourne

Congregation should in future not permit the making of 'Gerim' and 'Geuros'. The Rev Mr Herman was for some reason or another also unable to act on the Beth Din. Thus, Rev Doctor, you will perceive that the Rev Dr Jacobson was left remaining the only member of the Beth Din appointed by you. The Rev Mr Stone of Sandhurst was appointed in lieu of the Rev Mr Rintel and at the last moment a Mr Morris Myers was appointed the third member without the sanction of the Chief, the Rev Mr Herman.

Now apart from all other considerations, we wish to know whether you, Rev Dr, consider a Beth Din, consisting of only one original member appointed by you, is a properly constituted Beth Din, and whether the actions taken by them are legal and binding on the Jewish community.

Public opinion here is against the making of proselytes, and we pray you to place the local Beth Din, as far as regards the making of 'Gerim' and 'Geuros', under the immediate control of the two Melbourne Hebrew Congregations and of the one of St. Kilda, in order to surround with greater difficulties the making of proselytes. This we believe will be a check upon those who, owing to the facility with which proselytes have been made in the past, think it a light matter to marry out of the Jewish faith.

Fervently praying, Rev Dr, that you will give the matter your earliest consideration, we remain, etc.

NOTES

1. Malcolm Turnbull "The Proselyte Debate in Melbourne during the 1920's" *AJHS Journal* Vol. X Part 7 pp 590-597
2. L.M. Goldman *The Jews in Victoria in the Nineteenth Century* (1954). In terms of the 1970s particular reference can be made to pages 191-197 and 306-314. At page 409, Goldman gives an insight into his own opinions.
3. Rabbi Israel Porush "The Australian Rabbinate in 200 Years of Jewish History". *AJHS Journal*, Vol. X, Part 5 p 388
4. Rintel's letter is dated 26 July 1864. It was published in *The Jewish Chronicle* on 23 September 1864.
5. Rabbi Apple has suggested that by 1875 the London Beth Din had accepted there was no valid foundation for not accepting proselytes; Rabbi Raymond Apple, "The Ban That Never Was," *Historical Essays to Honour Rabbi Dr Israel Porush*, OBE (AJHS, Sydney 1988) pp 21-25. "Hebrew" acknowledges that the ban had been circumvented by potential converts going to Holland where the Rabbis "trade in proselytism" and cared little whether the person really believed in the Jewish religion.
6. Goldman, *supra*, p. 307
7. *Ibid*, p.308
8. Errors in the published article have been left unchanged. For example, the Rev. M. Herman should be the Rev. S. Herman.

APPENDIX A: ARTICLES AND LETTERS TO THE EDITOR - MAY 1878
re MIXED MARRIAGES AND CONVERSIONS

THE AGE

- 7 May Hebrew
10 A Jew of the Present Generation
Mizpah
11 Hebrew
13 A Spanish Jew
A Jew of the Present Generation
Mignonette
15 H Aaron
18 Annir
L.R.
Hebrew
24 A Spanish Jew

THE ARGUS

- 6 May The Jews - A Report on the Sermon by Dr Jacobson
7 A Jew
10 One of the Opposition at East Melbourne
Edward Asher
11 Three Hundred a Year
A Jew
14 A Daughter of Israel
15 A Rational Orthodox
Another Jew
17 A Christian Lady Married to a Jew
18 M. Brandt
Another Christian Lady Married to a Jew

THE MACCABEAN

by Nate Zusman

Read at Meeting of the Society at Sydney 24 October 1989

In September 1944 the *Maccabean* - a monthly bulletin of the Maccabean Youth Club of Western Australia - made its appearance. It began as a modest roneoed publication but it made such an impact on the conservative Jewish establishment that extraordinary steps were taken to prevent it continuing to appear. Its first editorial, "Accent on Youth", was critical of the Board of the Perth Hebrew Congregation which regarded itself as the official authority for the whole community. This stricture against the Board of the Perth Hebrew Congregation resulted from its denying the Youth Club the use of the only communal hall, Princes Hall, on reasonable conditions.

Up till the end of 1941, the Maccabean League of W.A., of which Nate Zusman was President, leased the Princes Hall from the Perth Hebrew Congregation. The League went out of existence in January 1942, due to the enlistment of most of its members in the armed services. It surrendered the lease of the Princes Hall in a correct and orderly manner.

By 1944, when the Maccabean League had not been functioning for two years, parents with children who had now reached teenage were concerned that there were inadequate activities and facilities for the youth of the community. They organised a public meeting on 21 May 1944 to consider what action could be taken to deal with the situation. The meeting was well attended and over £600 was raised to support youth activities. It set up the Jewish Youth Welfare Committee to carry out the wishes of the meeting. Among those elected was Major David Benjamin, who was stationed in Perth at the time. The officers of the Committee were JB Baggaridge, President; S Edelman and Nate Zusman, Vice-Presidents; B Gunsberg, Honorary Treasurer and David Mossenson, Honorary Secretary.

The first decision of the Committee was to seek the use of the Princes Hall for the Youth Club it was sponsoring, on the same conditions that had applied to the Maccabean League. The initial approach to the Perth Hebrew Congregation for the Hall was made in May 1944, but it was not till December 1944 that approval was given. The hostile and unco-operative attitude of the Board of the Congregation led to bitterness and recriminations within the community and, not surprisingly, the critical editorial in the first issue of *The Maccabean*. The editors were Nate Zusman, Ben Haneman, David Mossenson and Ethel Berinson. This first issue announced the formation of the Maccabean Youth Club sponsored by the Jewish Youth Welfare Committee and reported that the executive officers of the Club were Nate Zusman, President; Julie Green and Neil Same, Vice-Presidents; Len Lenny, Treasurer; David Mossenson, Secretary, and Ethel Berinson, Assistant-Secretary.

From the outset it was decided to send copies of *The Maccabean* to all W.A. Jewish members of the Forces serving outside the State. This proved very popular and many letters of appreciation were received. These were published in subsequent issues of the journal. But, as indicated, attempts were made to kill the *Maccabean* at birth. Nate Zusman was in the army at this time and only able to participate actively in communal affairs because he was stationed in Perth awaiting transfer to Officers Training School in South Australia. Soon after the appearance of the *Maccabean* he received a phone call in camp from the Rationing Commission advising him that it had been informed that the *Maccabean* was being published without an allocation of paper from the Commission and that it would have to cease publication until it had requested and received an allocation. By this time, the second issue of the *Maccabean* was being distributed and preparations for the third were well advanced. As we understood that it was permissible to publish a single brochure without rationing approval, we hastily changed the name of No. 3 to *Rotary Youth Week Brochure, presented by the Maccabean Youth Club of W.A.*

The Club had previously arranged to participate in Rotary Youth Week activities, including a march past Prime Minister Curtin at a combined youth rally. The first three pages of this brochure dealt with Rotary Youth Week, but the remainder of the journal carried all the regular features, including the 'Halapid' segment for the Habonim group

set up in Perth by Dr Ben Haneman. Soon after the Rotary Youth Week brochure appeared, Nate Zusman received another call in camp from the Rationing Commission advising him that it had been informed that the brochure was a continuation of the *Maccabean*. He was directed to cease publication. As far as we were aware, the Regulations applied to newsprint. The *Maccabean* was using roneo paper, not newsprint. Nevertheless, after the first call from the Rationing Commission, an application for an allocation of newsprint had been lodged and supported by a Minister in the W.A. Government. What concerned the editors and the executive of the Maccabean Club was the suspicion that someone in the Jewish Community had prodded the Rationing Commission to stop the *Maccabean* appearing. Unfortunately, this proved to be the case: a prominent member of the community was forced to admit his complicity when directly confronted with the accusation. At this critical moment, a generous allocation of newsprint was received from the Rationing Commission and the *Maccabean* went into print much earlier than anticipated. The attempt to stifle the youth publication had failed and the *Maccabean* became a powerful voice in the community for a number of years.

Now to return to the sequence of publication. No. 2 was published in October 1944. Its editorial was on "The New Year". It said -

Our greetings for the Year 5705 were filled with an assurance and optimism not possible during the previous 10 years - with victory in sight we must exert every ounce of effort to ensure that 5705 will in fact be the year of doom for fascism and of liberation for Mankind. We must prepare for the immediate relief and rehabilitation of the remnant of European Jewry. We must call on the conscience of the world to open the gates of Palestine to Jewish immigration. In our community we must take the steps to ensure that servicemen and women will be easily absorbed into our communal life, and that plans are made for a suitable community centre that will make possible a richer cultural and social life.

Issue No. 2 also reported an address by visiting Mrs Silverman, the noted American Zionist, in which she said: 'often the youth acted in spite of an older and corrupt generation who had betrayed Jewry and Judaism.' The editors noted that Mrs Silverman's statement had a bearing on the conflict with a small section of the elders. There was also a report on the Conference on Jewish youth work conducted by the Melbourne Jewish Youth Council, under the presidency of Walter Lippman. The Maccabean Club had sent two delegates to this conference

An important article was a report of the Annual General meeting of the Perth Hebrew Congregation. It stated -

The Annual General meeting of the Perth Hebrew Congregation was held on August 13 and continued a fortnight later. At each meeting chief interest centred on the matters brought forward by representatives of the youth movement - and if evidence was wanted of the solid support from the rank and file of the Congregation for the youth it was forthcoming in no unmistakable form at these meetings.

Despite the abusive and obstructive tactics of two of its members the Board was given a clear direction to make the Princes Hall available to the Youth Welfare Committee

without any legal agreement and to spend £125 from its funds for the purpose of furnishing the hall.

Issue No. 3 – titled 'Rotary Youth Week Brochure' – presented by the Maccabean Youth Club of W.A., appeared on 1 November 1944. The editorial was devoted to the Rotary Youth Week. It said –

The objects of Youth Week were twofold: to bring you in all its aspects before the public and so to arouse the consciousness of the community to its responsibilities to the citizens of the future; to emphasise to the youth the part they were destined to play in the future progress of Australia, and the manner in which they could best equip themselves for the task.

There was an article 'To China' on the occasion of their national day. Russia's national day was also remembered in an article entitled 'Russia's Day'. The liberation of Greece on 19 October was also the subject of an article.

There was a report on the Melbourne Jewish Youth Conference by Juliet Marks, one of the delegates who represented the Maccabean Club. There was an article on Chaim Weizman by Abe Troy, in honour of his approaching 70th birthday, and there was an invitation to a banquet organised by the Club to celebrate that occasion. The brochure included all regular features of the *Maccabean* and contained 36 pages, in contrast to the 24 pages of the October issue. There seems to have been no issue of the *Maccabean* in December 1944.

In January 1945, Vol 1, No. 5 appeared as a printed booklet 5" x 8" and it maintained this format thereafter. The editorial in No. 5 was headed "Ghetto Psychology". It said –

To combat the dangers we face, we are handicapped by ways of thought and timidities which can be traced to ghetto psychology. It is imperative that we abandon these defences and evasions and face up to the situation more boldly. We should state quite clearly the interests and hopes we have centred in Palestine, and outside our own communities urge for the full implementation of the British Government's promises. We must examine the political and economic factors involved in anti-Semitism and publicly oppose and expose our enemies and, at the same time, should ally ourselves with progressive forces.

An article by Dr J Gentilli, 'Youth in Revolt', was destined to provoke spirited reactions within the community. He wrote –

The sad cry of many parents now is that children are not accepting their authority. This has been said ever since there have been parents and children. The children have been saying that their parents have failed to keep abreast of the events and that new things require a new approach. In most cases the children are right. I state this frankly and out of my own experience. This world is changing fast. Now we need responsible human beings and progressive citizens. The youth are in revolt and up in arms to conquer their own future. It is up to them to make a success of it.

The issue contained its usual features of social, cultural, sporting and communal news and 'Halapid', the Zionist youth segment.

The editorial in Vol. 1 No. 6, published in February 1945, was on education. It traced the history of the Jewish devotion to learning and humanitarian values and asked –

Are we not today in danger of subordinating this glorious heritage almost entirely to the vocational or career aspect of education? In so doing, are we not likely to lose

sight of broader issues of Judaism - of our responsibilities to our people and their problems? Education should not be viewed merely as a struggle for employment. That is most important, but alone it is out of line with what is best in the education tradition of Judaism.

This issue published the first provisional list (A-H) of Jewish Servicemen/women from W.A.

The editorial in Vol. 1 No. 7, published in March 1945, was titled 'Honour Thy Father and Thy Mother.' It stated -

This commandment is implanted so strongly in our consciousness it can all too easily be perverted into a mere slogan or catchword. As children grow older, their dependence on adults decreases and they should be trained to stand more and more on their own feet. Unwarranted control of children can be carried too far, especially where parents very stubbornly cling to views current in their own youth, while vehemently rejecting the ideas and attitudes of the newer generation.

'Honour thy Father and thy Mother' very certainly predicates 'honour thy son and thy daughter.'

An article on 'Anti-Semitism in the Modern World - New Variations on an old Barbarism' was contributed by K.E. Beazley, who later became a Minister in the Curtin government. He wrote -

There is one respect in which anti-Semitism of modern Europe has differed from the anti-Semitism of mediaeval Europe. It has not the excuse of an ignorant religious zeal. It has been the anti-Semitism of governments or persons highly placed militarily or socially. Mob violence has been controlled and directed.

This issue contained many appreciative letters from servicemen and also included further lists of Jewish servicemen and women from W.A.

The editorial in No. 8, April 1945 was titled 'The Epic of the Warsaw Ghetto.' It said - It is more than a mere coincidence that Australia's National Day also occurs in April, just one week after the date of the outbreak in Warsaw.

The epic of Gallipoli brought Australia to the notice of the peoples of the world. It placed her 'on the map' and it established for all time her right of admission to the councils of the nations.

Not so fortunate are we Jews. Despite our appalling losses; unparalleled sufferings; our unexampled contribution of one million men to the armies of the united nations; the marvellous and unique value of Palestine agriculture and industry as a decisive factor in the campaign in the Middle East and despite the heroism of Warsaw and other stoutly defended Ghettos; despite all these, what Jew is so blinded as to believe that our tragic situation is to be given sympathetic consideration at the Peace Conference?

The issue included a statement from Rabbi Max Schenk, President of the Zionist Federation; an article by D.J. Benjamin on 'Jews and Law'; and 'The Jew in Music' by S Michaels, documenting that Jews have produced great composers as well as performers.

Issue No. 8 also saw the introduction of a new feature to the *Maccabean*, entitled

'Our Younger Set', for Maccabeans 14 years of age and under. This was to be conducted by Julie Green.

The feature article in No. 9, May 1945 was written by Rabbi Rubin Zacks on the passing of President Franklin D Roosevelt. An article by J Gentilli, 'In Revolt but not Revolting' was a response to criticism of Dr Gentilli's views expressed in his article, 'Youth in Revolt' in issue No. 5. He wrote –

The well-established, conservatives, the traditionalists, always complain of bickering when anyone arises to point out that perhaps they are not always right. When the Maccabean Club was reborn last year, the very same conservative elements tried desperately to oppose it in every possible way.

Now what of the revolt? I wrote that it is a fact that many a youth finds himself (or herself) in conflict with parents and the conflict has all the features of a revolt. 'Honour thy father and thy mother' does not mean to make their wrongs right or to repress one's growing mind when it holds other views.

There was another article by David Benjamin, entitled 'A Martial People'. In the Club news it was noted that Major Benjamin had been transferred to Victoria. It said, 'His loss will be particularly felt on the Youth Welfare Committee while the Maccabean Club, too, will suffer from the loss of his advice so readily given.'

Vol. 1 No. 10 of June 1945 announced a change in the editorial committee and in the presidency of the Club. Nate Zusman had been suddenly and unexpectedly transferred to Sydney to be trained as a Japanese linguist. This is quite a story in itself and was not unconnected with the struggle between the Maccabean Club and the conservative leadership. The new President was Harold Levin and the editorial committee now consisted of Harold Levin, Ben Haneman, Venie Rich and David Mossenson. The editorial was headed 'V-E Day'. It said –

On the ninth of May the people of the world rejoiced in the proclamation of Victory in Europe.

As Jews we will start to gather together the broken remnants of our people in Europe, a melancholy task. For all these tasks we will need warm hearts and level heads - meanwhile Japan.

There was an item on the Princes Hall. It said: 'The long-overdue renovation of Princes Hall is at last completed. Thanks to the energy of the Youth Welfare Committee, the community at large, and the Maccabean Club in particular, now have available a communal hall which, while not pretentious or over-large, is nevertheless comfortable, convenient and congenial.'

There was a report on the Thanksgiving Service at the Synagogue on 9 May - V.E. Day, and on the San Francisco Conference. This stated –

The few facts emerging from the welter of publicity and propaganda surrounding the United Nations Conference are not very comforting to the Jewish World, hoping to repair the ravages of Nazism and to see the gates of Palestine open to Jewish colonisation. They are as follows: Jews were denied a representative at San Francisco and both British and American spokesmen have declared that the Palestine issue will not be discussed. For the several Arab states, whose war records

are doubtful and, compared with Jewish Palestine's, near negligible, places were readily found.

The editorial in Vol. 1 No. 11 of July 1945 was headed 'The Hebrew School'. It said-

Hitler's avowed aim was 'Perish Judea' and for his victory to be complete, not only Jewish life, but the Jewish way of life had to be obliterated. Jewish congregations in the British Empire and America must face squarely all that is implied in the collapse of the traditional centres which have, till recently, vitalised and replenished Judaism in their own communities. To arrest the already considerable decline in Jewishness, measures should be taken quickly, and in any such programme the role of Jewish education looms large.

Hebrew schools as we know them labour under disabilities. Probably the complete answer to the whole problem lies in the Jewish Day School.

Dr J. Gentili contributed an article titled 'The Song of Youth.' He wrote -

There is a crying need for a statement of facts, setting out clearly what youth has achieved. Some among the finest gifts that were ever made to mankind - songs, symphonies, operas, preludes and sonatas - come from men aged less than 30. Had they supinely followed their parents' wise advice, they would not have been consumed by the creative flame which lit their lives, but the world would have been denied gifts of everlasting beauty.

The editorial of Vol. 1 No. 12 of August 1945 was headed 'The Melody Lingers On.' It said -

Recent news from Europe and elsewhere tells only too sadly of the hold nazi-inspired doctrines of racial discrimination and, in particular, of Jew-hatred have retained upon the imagination of peoples all over the world.

What are we to think of the recent incident in the Mother House of Democracy - The British House of Commons - where Captain Ramsay rose to move that the ancient mediaeval laws of discrimination against the Jews should be re-introduced and all Jews over the age of seven be forced to wear a yellow Star of David.

Also, the Melbourne press recently, in an attack reminiscent of the method of Goebbels, came out in an attack against Zionist and other leaders over the purchase of a building in Collins Street.

Shall we have fought in vain? We have learnt that anti-Semitism is but the herald of world chaos, confusion and war - anti-Semitism is the first attack on world peace; that is one of the great lessons of this war. We who are young and Jews must learn the lesson well.

There was a tribute to Prime Minister John Curtin who had just passed away. David Benjamin contributed an article on the Early years of Westralian Jewry which was a resume of a more complete paper being prepared for the Australian Jewish Historical Society. He wrote:

'The Jewish history of Western Australia begins only three months after its foundation as a British colony. In June 1829, Stirling took possession of it. In August, Lionel Samson arrived in one of the first immigrant ships. In the course of time he became Postmaster, Government Auctioneer, Member of Parliament, landholder and public figure.'

The issue of September 1945 was the First Anniversary issue of the *Maccabean* and

was marked Vol. 2 No. 13. The editorial was a moving article on Rosh Hashonah written by Mr L N Zeffert. He wrote, 'If Rosh Hashonah be interpreted appropriately, it should prove to be the threshold of a new year not merely another year.'

Congratulations were published from the Chairman of the Associated Youth Committee, the President of the Melbourne Jewish Youth Council, the Director of Physical Education and National Fitness, and Dr D Tabor, Leader of Habonim in Australia. Pride of place was given to a letter from Nate Zusman who wrote -

'From August 1944 when the *Maccabean* made its first appearance in duplicated form, the voice of Perth Jewish Youth has been heard as never before. It has been the means of cementing in one body the varied sections of the Club. It has been a stimulus to the budding writers in our midst. It has given the servicemen and women a friendly link with communal activity. The preceding year has firmly established the *Maccabean* as the forceful mouthpiece of Perth Jewish youth.'

The editorial in the Halapid section of No. 13 drew attention to the urgent need for a new Homeland for European Jewry. It said, 'We have to secure a new Homeland for European Jewry and for the great majority this can only be Palestine.'

The editorial in Vol. 2 No. 14 was on Rotary Youth Week. It said -

Participation in a venture of this nature raises the general question of the relationship between Jewish youth and non-Jewish society. Two extreme points of view are current. The first insists on the strict adherence to every tenet of Judaism, and while refusing to recognise changed conditions, seeks to withdraw from the impact of general society. Diametrically opposed to this 'back to the Ghetto' attitude is the acceptance of assimilation and the attempt to conceal Jewish origins through mixed marriage. Fortunately a middle course presents itself and it is this path that the majority of our young people seek to pursue.

The Maccabean Club categorically rejects assimilation. However, at the same time, the Club rejects the philosophy of 'back to the Ghetto', and welcomes all opportunities of fraternising with non-Jewish organisations on the sporting field, in the deliberations of the Associated Youth Committee and by participation in such ventures as Rotary Youth Week.

A new feature appeared in this issue, entitled, 'Our Returning Servicemen'. It published photographs and accounts of the war experiences of Perth's demobilised Jewish servicemen.

The editorial in Vol. 2 No. 15 dated November 1945 was titled 'Spotlight on Palestine'. It said: 'The subjugation of Germany and the trial of war criminals have not brought a close to the era of Jewish misery inaugurated by Nazism. First and foremost is the need for the rescue and relief of our brethren in Europe. Their main chance is Palestine.'

An item on the World Youth Conference said, 'The second World Youth Conference opens in London shortly. Australian Jewish youth will be represented by Zelman Cowen and Abe Yoffe who have been instructed to bring before the Conference the

following resolution -

Fascism in its attack on all free peoples chose as its first victims the Jews ... Not only did one million Jews fight in the armies of freedom, but when permitted they formed a Jewish Brigade. Now that the war is over we must build a new world based on freedom and equality of all peoples. In such a world the Jews must be accepted as free and equal citizens in every country in which they live and in Palestine they must be permitted to constitute a state on an equal basis with all the other members of the British Commonwealth of Nations.

By the issue of Vol. 2 No. 16 in December 1945 there were indications that the input into the Club journal from rank and file members had been declining. The editorial was concerned with this matter. It said: "That the Bulletin has proved a successful Club venture is generally conceded. But one tendency is manifesting itself which is sufficient to cast a doubt over the whole picture. Members are far too content to passively receive the Bulletin without offering suggestions and criticism, without submitting contributions and articles of their own. For a youth club magazine this is a vital issue."

There was a special tribute to Ben Haneman written by David Mossenson. He wrote, 'During the past month Perth has lost a colourful personality who has made a deep impression in our community. In the 18 months of his stay here, Dr Ben Haneman interested himself in Jewish life and exerted significant influence. His arrival coincided with the formation of the Maccabean Club. He was from the first an editor of this bulletin. He was in every sense the founder of Perth Habonim. Not the least important aspect of Ben's influence in Perth was, that to young people and their parents too, he demonstrated that it was possible to build a career and at the same time be actively associated with the problems of the Jewish people.'

The editorial in Vol. 2 No. 17, January 1946, was headed 'Overseas Appeals'. It said - This much is clear. Till now youth's response to overseas appeals in this city has been disappointing. The desperate need of the Jewish people must be more fully appreciated and youth should realise that it can help by direct donation. Nor can the Maccabean Club any longer escape its duty; henceforth it must assume the initiative and organise its membership in support of the various appeals launched in the community.

The feature article in Vol. 2 No. 18, February 1946, was devoted to the club programme drawn up at the General Meeting held on 3 February. It said that the most pleasing features of the General Meeting were the large number of servicemen who took a keen (and sometimes vocal) interest in the proceedings and the number of members who were willing to offer their assistance for work in the Club.

Vol. 2 No. 19, March 1946, reported a change in the editorial committee. David Mossenson became editor and Venie Rich and Harold Levin, members of the editorial committee. The front page article was devoted to Nate Zusman. It said, 'Probably the most active and capable youth leader our community has produced has been lost to us. Nate Zusman has departed for Sydney where he proposes resuming civilian life fol-

lowing his discharge from the Army.'

An article, 'Educating our Parents' said -

Lately we have been hearing quite a lot about the doings of Sydney Jewish youth. A group of young stalwarts recently set up a platform in the Sydney Domain to explain to their listeners the truth about the position in Palestine.

What was the reaction of their elders? Encouragement? Pride in their children's courage? No.! Opposition: opposition from parents, opposition from the NSW Jewish Board of Deputies, until finally the courageous venture has been killed.

Are we not entitled to ask why?

We deplore the attitude of the Board of Deputies and hope that the more progressive and far-sighted sections of Sydney Jewry will rally to the support of those fighting Jewish youth.

Vol 2. No. 20, April 1946, was mainly devoted to Club activities and included many 'Letters to the Editor'. An article on Passover called it 'Israel's birthday - the annual commemoration of an event which has changed the destinies of Mankind.' An article on the 'Advisory Board' reported that Mr Alec Breckler was appointed delegate to the forthcoming meeting of the Executive Council of Australian Jewry to take place in Sydney and that Nate Zusman was to be approached to complete W.A.'s representation.

The editorial in Vol. 2 No. 21, May 1946, was headed, 'Apathy'. It said, 'To an outsider, perhaps even to many members, the Maccabean Club must appear in flourishing condition. Members are only too content to participate in what interests them personally and to leave the responsibility and work to the other fellow. But it is in this complacency that the chief weakness and danger to the Club lies.'

Venie Rich contributed an article on 'What April 19 means to me'. She wrote -

What then should the anniversary of the Warsaw Ghetto Revolt mean to us? How does it affect us? Is there anything we can do about it? There is still a real need to struggle for security and peace. We can all take part in it by combating all forms of racial bigotry and narrow mindedness. Only in common struggle for security and world peace will Jewish aspirations of freedom be realised. This, to me, is the message of April 19, 1943.

The editorial of Vol. 2 No. 22, June 1946, was devoted to 'Parents'. It said, 'Quite definitely the Maccabean Club has demonstrated that it can stand on its own feet, but it must be recalled that it was the interest and enthusiasm of parents bonded together as a Youth Welfare Committee that re-formed the Club some two years ago. For this reason it is to be regretted that although the Youth Welfare Committee still exists and still subsidises the Club, it is rapidly shrinking into oblivion.'

Vol. 2 No. 23, July 1946, listed D Mossenson as editor and there was no reference to an editorial committee. Its feature article dealt with the forthcoming Annual General Meeting and election of officers. It said -

As a general rule, it is a healthy trend that office bearers in any organisation should not become permanent institutions. Present indications are that the Maccabean Club

is not likely to violate this principle. Indeed, an unusually large number of committeemen have already resigned or indicated their intentions of doing so. Nor are the reasons difficult to discover. The achievements of the Club, considerable as they are, represent the effort of a small band of energetic workers. Members in general must modify their attitude and extend a much greater measure of support.

The Annual Report published in the journal disclosed a sound financial position and a membership of 250 - 170 seniors and 80 juniors.

Although the *Maccabean* continued to carry on the regular features devoted to the sporting social and cultural activities of the Club, the Palestine situation and Zionist activities in general became, more and more, the dominant concern of the journal.

Issue No. 24 of August 1946 completed Volume 2 and two years of regular publication of the *Maccabean* and the end of the era of the founders. It was the period in which David Mossenson had been the driving force and was responsible more than anyone else for the production of this forceful journal which contributed so much to the Jewish youth of W.A.

The *Maccabean* continued to appear until June 1950. The rehabilitation of the survivors of the Holocaust and the struggle for the Jewish State figured largely in editorials and feature articles. The establishment of Israel as an independent State in 1948 aroused enormous enthusiasm among the majority of the Perth Jewish Youth, especially those whose parents had come from Palestine. This resulted in the formation in June 1948 of the Zionist Youth League as a constituent of the Maccabean Youth Club. The ZYL had its own section in the *Maccabean* and in many ways duplicated the activities of the Club. It dominated the columns of the *Maccabean*. This situation led to sharp differences in the Club which were reflected in the *Maccabean*. The source of the conflict was the difference between those who wanted to devote most effort to raising funds for Israel and those who considered that priority should be given to raising funds to acquire grounds and build a hall for the Club.

The editorial in Vol. 5 No. 58 dated June/July 1949 reflected these conflicts. It said - We are prepared for critical comments on the current issue of the *Maccabean*. Many will rejoice in the denial of a Pyrrhic victory to the skeptics who forecast the demise of the Bulletin as a result of recent events. Whatever the practical achievements of the Club they are on a higher level than conflicts over political ideology.

The editorial in Vol. 6 No. 61 of October 1949 also drew attention to the division in the Club. It said: 'It is in no way a scare headline to remark that the Maccabean Club is bordering on a state of insolvency. Charity begins at home. The Club devoted the entire proceeds of the Perth Carnival, £500, to Israeli causes.'

This theme was taken up in lengthy correspondence in the *Maccabean*. One letter advocated that 20% of funds raised for Israel should be allocated for Jewish education and Jewish youth in Perth. Another correspondent went even further. He wrote, 'The

Maccabean Club is being strangled by a noose of Zionist fervour' and advocated that 25% of funds raised for Israel be retained for local Jewish causes. In reply to a letter disagreeing with funds raised for Israel being retained in Perth, the editors commented, 'For over 3-1/2 years the Club has been instrumental in raising about £5000 directly and £500 indirectly towards Israeli causes. Funds raised for the Club over the same period, about £500. It costs the Club over £300 per year to function. Charity definitely begins at home.'

Other themes were discussed at length in the *Maccabean*, particularly attitudes towards assimilation. Sporting and social events were well covered and there were always extracts from the Jewish press on important matters.

The first issue of Volume 3 in September 1946 saw the emergence of a new editorial committee consisting of Max Midalia, Les Shub, Ethel Berinson, Valma Baggaridge, Julie Green and Rose Saffer (Halperin). This committee was changed a number of times but Julie Green and Rose Halperin continued to play important roles in editing the journal until it ceased publication.

In 1950 the strong divisions in the Club led to the demise of the *Maccabean*. The editorial in the last issue, Vol. 6 No. 67 dated May/June 1950 reflected this situation. It said: 'Since the last issue of the *Maccabean* there has been a general meeting and election of executive and committee. There will have to be a re-organisation, almost a revolution from the bottom upward. There has to be a different spirit among the rank and file.'

The sharp differences between those who wanted to devote most effort to raising funds to acquire grounds and build a hall for the Club could not be reconciled. This impinged on the *Maccabean*. Thus ended six years of publication of the *Maccabean Bulletin*. It commenced its life as a vehicle that had to fight the entrenched conservatives of the Perth Hebrew Congregation on behalf of the Jewish Youth. It not only survived attempts to have it suppressed but became a vital force in the Perth Jewish Community for six years.

The *Maccabean* now being published in Perth is not a continuation of the *Maccabean Bulletin*. It is the official publication of the Council of Western Australian Jewry. While it provides items of interest from the Jewish Press, it is principally devoted to publicising communal activities. It has not, as Louise Hoffman writes in her 'Review of the Jewish press in Western Australia', 'the lively provocative nature of the *Maccabean Bulletin*.'

SYDNEY GRAMMAR SCHOOL AND THE JEWISH COMMUNITY 1830 - 1940

by M.Z. Forbes B.A. LL.B.

Read in part at a Meeting of the Society at Sydney, 24 October 1989.

Throughout the very early years of the colony of New South Wales education was spasmodic and had only a low priority, though some schools, whether state aided or privately subsidised, were established. Writing in 1807, Samuel Marsden said that there were 1832 children to be taught: "Remote, helpless, distressed, and young, these are truly the children of the State, and though at present very low in the ranks of society, their future numerous progeny, if care is now taken of the present stock, may by their preponderancy overbalance and root out the vile depravities bequeth'd by their vicious progenitors"¹ The Church of England never attained the legal status of an established Church in the colony, and while education was not an official responsibility of the colonial chaplains, the system of education – such as it then was – was under the influence of the Church. Thus, in 1810, Marsden commented: "Roman Catholics, Jews, and persons of all persuasions send their children to the public schools, where they are all instructed in the principles of our established religion."² The same reverend gentleman, it has been recorded, selected two schoolmasters who arrived in Sydney in 1809, one of whom, Issac Lyon(s), did not impress Marsden, accepting a salary which was rather small. I have mentioned Lyon(s) as he may possibly have been of Jewish descent. The appointee was doubly unfortunate, for his wife died during the voyage from England, and, a few months later, Lyons' services were terminated. As the *Gazette* reported, "Isaac Lyons having from Negligence and Incapacity proved himself totally unfit for the Situation of Schoolmaster at Parramattta, he is suspended from this Duty."³ Successive administrations began to support a National system of education under which elementary teaching was conducted in institutions known from time to time as Charity, Free, or Public Schools. Dissenters and Catholics were at liberty to set up their own schools. At first, secondary schools were all private and there was no public provision for the poor to be assisted to higher levels of education. In 1825 a number of leading settlers agreed to form the Sydney Public Free Grammar School for which Governor Brisbane granted land near the Racecourse, soon to be known as Hyde Park. The headmaster was to be Laurence Halloran. Under the School's Regulations, no boy would be excluded because of his religious beliefs. However, pupils had to be of the age of nine, they had to read and spell readily and to repeat the

Lord's Prayer and the Ten Commandments in order to gain admission. The new School was temporarily conducted at Phillip Street, Sydney but it had to close in 1826 because of the severe drought and economic depression. It is of interest to notice that the list of proposed Governors of the School included Jacob Josephson, of Jewish antecedents, an emancipist, whose stepdaughter was married to Barnett Levey. He was already a convert to Christianity when transported but later donated £10.5.0 towards the building of the York St. Synagogue. Jacob's son, Joshua Fry Josephson, was also a donor when the Synagogue was consecrated. Some further details of the Josephsons are to be found in *Australian Genesis* in the chapter headed "The Lost Sheep."

SYDNEY COLLEGE

After the supporters of the Grammar School had met and planned to revive the idea of such a school, the Chief Justice, Francis Forbes, in 1830, laid the foundation stone of the Sydney College at Hyde Park. The young Presbyterian minister, Dr. J.D. Lang, was an ardent educationist and joined the council of the Sydney College, though he afterwards abandoned it to found a rival school. The Church of England was not sympathetic towards secular non-denominational schools. Archdeacon Broughton seemed to reproach Lang for his original support of the College, alleging that it would be based "on a system of religious laxity which appears to me calculated to destroy, in the youthful mind, all sense of the incomparable importance of revelation, and every deep feeling of veneration for its exclusive truth, and thus to sap the foundation of morals throughout the entire community."⁴ Nevertheless, on that Anniversary Day when the foundation stone of the College was laid, a religious influence was evident when Lang "delivered, with much natural fervency and pathos, a rather lengthy invocation for the blessing of Providence on the infant institution."⁵ Accompanying the terms of the Prospectus published by the College, there was also published the text of the readings from scripture by Dr. Lang on the occasion of the laying of the foundation stone. These particular readings must have been carefully selected in their application to a colony which was striving to overcome its convict origins and was beginning to be concerned with youth Education. It may be presumed that the sense and significance of these texts would not have escaped the attention of the audience, including the few Jewish individuals who were then present. Jewish congregational life in the colony had just begun, and such biblical readings, all of them from the Psalms, would have then been receptive to the Jewish ear, as indeed they should be today. Traditionally speaking, *verbum dei* has always been venerated by Jewish communities, and, it is therefore fitting to recollect these religious utterances at the inception of the Sydney College, the forerunner of the Sydney Grammar School. As printed alongside the Prospectus, they read as follows:

Give unto the Lord, O ye mighty, give unto the Lord the glory due unto his name.
Ps. xxxix 2

Except the Lord build the house, they labour in vain that build it. Except the Lord keep the city, the watchman waketh but in vain. Ps. cxxviii, 3

When the Lord turned again the captivity of Zion, we were like them that dream. Then said they among the heathens, the Lord hath done great things for them. The Lord hath d one great things for us, whereof we are glad. Ps. cxvi 3

O satisfy us early with thy mercy; that we may rejoice and be glad all our days.

Make us glad according to the days wherein thou hast afflicted us, and the years wherein we have seen evil. Let thy work appear unto thy servants and thy glory unto their children. And let the beauty of the Lord our God be upon us; and establish thou the work of our hands upon us; yea, the work of our hands establish thou it. Ps xc 14-17.

I will declare the decree. The Lord hath said unto me, thou art my son; this day have I begotten thee. Ask of me, and I shall give thee the heathen for thine inheritance and the uttermost parts of the earth for thy possession. Ps ii 7-18

Blessed be the Lord God, the God of Israel, who doeth wondrous things. And blessed be his glorious name for ever; and let the whole earth be filled with his glory. Amen and amen. Ps. lxxii, l 18-19.

The Prospectus of this new institution indicated that "Each day was to begin and end with prayer of a form appointed by the Committee", and it went on to say that, "In reference to religion, the Committee will earnestly endeavour in appointing masters to select men who fear God and who honour the King". T.A. Browne (Ralph Boldrewood), who was a pupil at the College, recorded that boys of non-Anglican denominations were permitted to absent themselves from prayers but few did so. He wrote that he never remembered the religious question being raised among the boys.⁸ The College, it was reported, was to be open to all religions and parties. No religious books were to be used other than the Bible and Testament without notes or comments.⁹ The Prospectus specifically provided that exemption could be offered from attendance at Prayers.

On the Committee of the College was M. Phillips, undoubtedly Michael Phillips, who is referred to in *Australian Genesis* as an aristocratic type of Jew.⁸ Phillips was on the Committee of the first Sydney Synagogue and was one of the original trustees of the Jewish Burial Ground at Devonshire Street. Prior to the final opening of the College, Josephson was advocating that it should not be shackled by conditions attaching to any funds from government sources.⁹ The School commenced in 1835, and, at a meeting of the shareholders a tribute was paid to Samuel Lyons "for his indefatigable and disinterested exertions on behalf of the Institution". He had managed to collect a sum of nearly £1400, which would have then been a large sum. Lyons, it may be said, was following in the steps of Solomon Levey who, together with his business partner, Daniel Cooper, had been a trustee of the former Sydney Public Free Grammar School. After Levey's death, as the school's Report for 1844 disclosed, a legacy of £670/6/6 was received from Levey's estate to provide an endowment for the education of orphan children of respectability.¹⁰ The colony was then subject to a bad economic depression and the school was feeling its effects. The situation had been eased, it was reported, by Levey's bequest. When the school, only a few years later, was forced to close, that bequest was included in assets transferred to Sydney University which, for a short period of time, was conducted in the Sydney College premises.

Shareholders paying £50 were known as Proprietors of the College. As well as Phillips and Levey, Lyons, who was amongst the shareholders as early as 1830, eventually by 1846 held 14 shares, which was by far the largest holding of all the Proprietors.

In 1843 M. Joseph became one of the Proprietors. He was apparently Moses Joseph, head of the Sydney Synagogue and shortly afterwards President of the York Street Congregation. He was a successful emancipist and was prominent in Sydney's commerce.

The Hall of the College was one of the largest rooms in the colony and was sometimes used for public meetings and other functions. It later became known as the Sydney Grammar School's Big School. Isaac Nathan, in the presence of the Governor, Sir George Gipps, gave a madrigal concert there in 1842, and he also delivered lectures on music in the same room. As is well known, the recently retired Headmaster of Sydney Grammar School, Alastair Mackerras, traces descent from Isaac Nathan.

In the Tenth Report of the College of 1840, it was recorded that James Naphtali received a Second Division Medal for Arithmetic. Was he a son of Michael Naphtali, a seatholder of York Street Synagogue who carried on business as a Publican? But, the Register also included a Benjamin Naphtali of Brickfield Hill.¹¹ Another to gain an "Honorary Reward" at that same time for Regularity of Attendance was Is. Levy who had been enrolled as Isaac Levy of Kent Street, son of Isaac Levy. The latter may probably be identified with the respected Jewish communal leader and a well known merchant.¹² The College Register shows that in 1837 Michael Phillips, whose father was B. Phillips, was presented as a pupil by Samuel Lyons. Perhaps the latter was Barnett Phillips, the father of nine children who had been seeking a Hebrew teacher for them.¹³ Between 1835-7 Lyons also presented two further sons of B. Phillips, Charles and Alex residing, at George Street.¹⁴ Two sons of Abraham Polack, Solomon and Isaac, were at the College between 1835-9, both residing at George Street. The Register indicates that Isaac was removed from the College when the family sailed for England. In 1835 Lyons presented Abraham, son of Solomon Levey, then residing at Bond Street, Sydney. It is interesting to note from the Register that in 1835 Barnett Levy, son of B. Levy of George Street, then aged 9, was presented by Simeon Lord. This boy was the second child of Barnett Levey of Theatre Royal fame. The first child, a daughter, was born in 1826 when the parents gave a ball and supper to celebrate the occasion.¹⁵ In 1836 Levey's children, "Master and Miss Levey", appeared on stage in a drama.¹⁶ The following year their father died, leaving a widow and four young children.¹⁷ As the family could not afford the cost of schooling at the College, Barnett was sent to the Normal Institution to finish his education. The Institution, which faced Hyde Park, was opened in 1834 by Henry Carmichael. One of that School's functions was to train teachers for the National System of Education. The Institution, which closed in 1843, was non-denominational, it encouraged independent thought, had a wide curriculum of practical utility, and included physical training.¹⁸ Master Barnett Levey was awarded a Silver Medal for Classics and General Knowledge in 1841. In the following year he again excelled in his studies when he gained a Silver Medal for superiority in every department.¹⁹

John Solomon, whose father was S. Solomon of George Street, was presented by

the Committee of the College in 1841. A son of Isaac Nathan was enrolled in 1842 and in the next year three brothers Solomon resident at Pitt Street were presented by V & E Solomon; two brothers Cohen were removed to Port Macquarie. For the years 1844-5, Abraham and Lewis Moses, sons of John Moses of Goulburn are listed, but another entry shows Solomon Moses as the parent or guardian of Abraham. There was then another schoolboy Moses, son of M. Moses of Yass presented by Dr. Bland. Hyam Joseph(s) son of Moses Joseph of George Street is listed as a student in 1847, as well as Isaac Simmons of Hunter Street, presumably the emancipist merchant.²⁰ Another schoolboy Simmons, James, c/- H.Cohen & Co was presented by James Martin. He would have been the son of Joseph Simmons, the former actor who went into business and was to become a Jewish communal leader.²¹ One is not surprised to find the name of Jacob, son of Abraham Moses of Bridge Street enrolled in 1849. The latter arrived in Sydney in the *Palambam* in 1833, bringing with him a tutor for his children. He spent a few years in the country areas and later became a prosperous trader in Sydney.²² Finally, Benjamin Benjamin, age 11, who was at the College in 1848, left for Goulburn. He would have been the son of Samuel Benjamin, a Sydney merchant who, in 1845, was a member of York Street Synagogue Committee. He was also a leading trader in Goulburn in the firm of Benjamin & Moses.

William Timothy Cape was the Headmaster of the College for six years and came to be regarded "as the most distinguished teacher of any early Australian school To a greater extent than any of his contemporaries he left his mark upon the educational progress of the State."²³ The Annual Report of the College, justifiably, in 1835 referred to the College as "intimately connected with the character and best interests of the colony" and as an Institution of great benefit to the students from "the splendour of its locality and the principles on which it is founded, is so well adapted to receive the improvements of coming centuries and to remain a blessing and an honour to their native land." It is understandable, therefore, that prominent Jews saw fit to send their boys to the College. There can be no doubt that one of the most famous names of later years, who had been an early College pupil, was Sir Saul Samuel, an eminent colonist, politician and Jewish leader. He is said to have been a pupil at Cape's Academy before he and others transferred to the College when Cape was appointed as Headmaster.²⁴ A historian of Sydney Grammar School, R.S. Watsford, listed Sir Saul Samuel as a distinguished scholar of the College.²⁵ He draws on the Reminiscences of Judge Dowling, mentioning that Samuel and others were admirers of Cape in arranging for one of the first Memorial tablets to be affixed in St. Andrews Cathedral in memory of Cape. Saul Samuel when only a young boy, arrived in Sydney in 1832 with his mother who was a sister of Samuel Lyons. The College Register shows that Saul, age 15, was brought to the College by Lyons, leaving only a few months later to assist in his relative's business. It has to be acknowledged, then, that Saul's stay at the College was obviously too fleeting to discern any signs of the boy's future eminence. His name was entered as Samuels, not Samuel.²⁶ It may be added that many years later the Hon. Saul Samuel, during the period 1876-8, had three sons at the Grammar School, Lewis, age 15, Edward Levien, age 13, and Henri Saul, age 11. The father's address was Auburn Villa,

Bourke Street Surry Hills.

William Westbrooke Burton, the Supreme Court Judge, in his book, *The State of Religion and Education in New South Wales*, published in London in 1840, included observations by him on the Sydney College. "It is rather to be believed", he wrote, "that a desire to gain the support of men of all Religious Principles, led to the Sydney College being founded upon none; an error which can neither be lightly thought on, nor thought on without sincere regret."²⁷ Those remarks, however, are indicative of a very strong bias by Burton towards the Church of England, and he would not have favoured a non-denominational school such as the College. Burton mentioned that when he visited the College in 1839 there were then only two boys of the Jewish persuasion who, he said, "are absent at the time of prayers".²⁸ He also agreed that the educational attainments of the College were of the highest order. Though it was conducted by Cape on secular lines, the latter had a strong religious outlook. The form of daily Prayers in use at the College was prepared by Cape and adopted by the Committee of Management. The text of the Prayers, some of which have been reproduced, was framed in "stately cultured English" of that time.²⁹ Except for the Christian references in the final words of each Prayer, the Jewish pupils would otherwise not have objected to their form. A few brief extracts may be noticed:

Father of all: We return Thee most humble and sincere thanks for Thy protection of us in the night season, and for the refreshment of our souls and bodies in the sweet repose of sleep. Accept also our unfeigned gratitude for all Thy mercies during the helpless age of infancy. Continue, we beseech Thee, to guard us under the shadow of Thy wing ... Improve our memory, quicken our apprehension, and grant that we may lay up such a store of learning as may fit us for the station to which it shall please Thee to call us, and enable us to make great advance in virtue and religion... Bless our parents, guardians, and instructors.

Like as the hart panteth after the water-brooks, so let our souls thirst for Thee, O Lord, and for whatever is good in learning and behaviour.

After failing to reach agreement with Rev J.J. Therry on the subject of the Prayers, Cape later discontinued them. Although a digression in this context, the writer in the above *Journal* states that when Cape left Australia in 1844, he was presented with an Address by the Mechanics School of Arts, among whom were included Julian Salamons, Parkes and others.³⁰

In the face of adverse conditions throughout the colony, and lacking finance, the Sydney College languished and closed by 1850. Jacob Moses, previously referred to, would have been among the last of the College students before its closure.³¹ Samuel Lyons had remained as a College supporter, giving £100 to the Library. The Report of 1842 noted the "handsome" donation. Lyons agreed in a selection of suitable books to be procured from England, resulting in an addition of 255 volumes to the Library. Lyons, it was being said in the press, was illiterate.³² He together with others on the Committee were being criticised for mismanagement of the college. Moses Joseph was also then one of the Committee which, it was asserted, was unsuitable because it was comprised largely of businessmen and tradesmen. In the rather direct and exaggerated

style of those times, the Committee was exposed to ridicule. "Some of them, I know", wrote a press correspondent, "can just make their mark, and no more; and I am doubtful if there is one in the whole body who could translate a sentence of Caesar or of Sallust, without the help of a dictionary."⁵³

It was estimated that in the 'forties of the last century there were 150-200 Jewish children requiring general education.⁵⁴ Moses Joseph and Samuel Lyons were then in favour of a general system of education which was non-denominational, and they and others persuaded their co-religionists to opt for that system, provided that the government's scheme did not exclude them by reason of the inculcation of Christian tenets in the schools. In 1846 Governor Fitz Roy had already approved of a grant of money for the Synagogue, and in 1850 land was granted at Church Hill "for the erection of a school house for the use of members of the Jewish faith". The land was later sold and the proceeds were authorised to be diverted to the expense of building the Great Synagogue within which some schoolrooms were to be provided. During the fifties there was in Sydney a Hebrew Academy or Grammar School which fell into abeyance. A Hebrew Denominational School existed in the 'sixties and 'seventies.⁵⁵

Henry Parkes in 1854 presented a Petition to the Legislative Council urging the establishment of a Grammar or High School which would engage first rate masters, be partially endowed and supplemented by payment of fees, would be the equal of such schools in England, and would also provide a nursery for the University. In his evidence before a Select Committee of the Legislative Council, W.T. Cape preferred a school without religious observances. He spoke of the difficulty of introducing religion at the Sydney College. "The Jews and Roman Catholics", he said, "rarely as many as eight together, withdrew at the time of prayers or came a little later". Answering questions put to him, Cape thought that "the Jews should have the Hebrew Bible ... Roman Catholics and Jews will adhere much to their own schools, they will form a minority, entitled notwithstanding, to the same consideration as the majority." Without discussing the practicality of the matter, Cape suggested that such boys might be provided with their own versions of the Bible for reading or reference. He mentioned that rarely more than six Catholics and four of the Jewish persuasion were included in a total of 170 boys at the College. Perhaps the number of Jewish pupils may have declined in some particular year to which Cape was referring, but the impression remains that the Jews consistently constituted a visible, if small, minority of College schoolboys. Among the seven witnesses examined by the Committee were spokesmen who represented the views of the Anglicans and the Catholics, but there was no Jewish witness.⁵⁶ It has to be appreciated that the Jewish community had then only a part time Reader, that it had been granted land for a school of its own, and that plans were in contemplation for a Hebrew National School.⁵⁷ The scheme for that school was an ambitious one which did not reach fruition. It may also be noticed that the Chairman of the Select Committee was Charles Cowper, a very strong supporter of the Anglican Church and sometimes known as "Member for the Church of England."⁵⁸ The greater majority of Jewish children, not unlike most other children of that time, would have required only

the rudiments of education. Their parents could not afford the cost of higher education, or, in any event, they felt no need for it. The Jewish community would not have lacked spokesmen. Saul Samuel was elected to the Legislative Council in 1854, and Jacob Levi Montefiore was then a close friend and supporter of Henry Parkes. Montefiore was appointed to the Council in 1856.³⁹ However, the relatively small number of Jewish parents who desired their boys to be educated at the College or at the future Grammar School raised no objections on religious grounds, particularly as those schools were undenominational in character.

SYDNEY GRAMMAR SCHOOL

It was by Act of Parliament of 1854 that the Sydney Grammar School – as it has ever since been known – was established, the object of the Legislature being to provide a school "for the better advancement of religion and morality and for the promotion of useful knowledge". As the Act further stipulated, it was to be "a public school conferring on all classes and denominations of Her Majesty's subjects ... without any distinction whatsoever the advantages of a regular and liberal course of education". The new school, attended at first by 110 pupils, opened in 1857 at the original site in College Street. It had an enrolment of about 200 by 1859 when a Select Committee of the Legislative Assembly reported that the school was founded so as "to furnish for those capable of receiving it the highest kind of education which the school system could afford, an education not only superior to any that could be obtained in the primary schools ... but one which would at once fit the pupils for the intelligent discharge of the duties of a commercial or professional life, or fit them for a more advanced course of academical instruction in the halls of the University". A further passage of the Report merits quotation: "In a country where the highest offices of the State are open to all, where the franchise gives the mass of the people so large a discretion in the choice of the representative, your Committee feels that it becomes the more imperative to give every facility to the clever and ambitious youth for obtaining that high intellectual training, which is the best safeguard of constitutional liberty in a country where, by the wisdom of the Legislature, democratic institutions have been largely introduced."⁴⁰ The School, it was concluded, needed endowments and more accommodation. According to the evidence of the first Headmaster, William John Stephens, at least one-third of the pupils were drawn from parents who were merchants or professional men. Several Jewish boys were among the earlier pupils. They included David Myers, age 13, son of Israel Myers of George Street, a York Street Synagogue leader. The boy was at the school from 1855-8. The son of the well known George Moss, Edward, age 10, of 136 Castlereagh Street, attended, 1859-61. Nathan Mandelson's son, Joseph, was a pupil in 1858. He was born in Goulburn where his father was prominent in the Jewish and general communities. Nathan Mandelson, later of 38 Castlereagh Street, was to become a President of York Street Synagogue. The School roll (1859-60) includes the name of Barnett Cohen age 15, the son of S. Cohen of 150 O'Connell Street. It is assumed that he was Barnett L. Cohen, later of Murrurundi, who died in 1880, age 36, and was buried in the Maitland Jewish cemetery.⁴¹ There are several names of pupils of this period whom I am unable to identify. They were, Lewis and Burnett Hyman, c/- Henry Burton & Palmer, 1859-60; Joseph Abrahams, c/- J.D. Nichols, Bourke Street, 1858.

Also, in 1859 there appear the names of Frank Cohen, son of P.J. Cohen, age 13, of 7 Jamison Street;⁴² and, of Stephen Spyer, son of Laurence Spyer of 3 Hyde Park Terrace. The latter was a familiar figure within the Jewish community.

In these earlier years the School experienced much difficulty and enrolments fell until the arrival in 1866 of A.B. Weigall as Headmaster. There had been a corresponding decline in the numbers of Jewish schoolboys. The name of Montague Levien Salamon, residing with Mrs Salamon of William Street, was entered in the Roll, 1860-3. George Moses was enrolled in 1862 by Morris Alexander of 48 Margaret Street,. At this same time Francis Cohen of William Street enrolled his son, Joel Joseph. This boy's grandfather was Joel John Cohen.⁴³ In 1865 appears the name of Henry Abrahams, son of Abraham Abrahams of 446 George Street. The latter was apparently an original member of York Street Synagogue.

Victor Cohen, who died in 1941, age 91, was a son of P.J. Cohen, the founder of Jewish congregational life in Sydney. As a youth Victor was in the care of his foster father, Rev Solomon Phillips, and came to the Grammar School on a scholarship, 1864-5. At that time he was residing with his mother at 97 Forbes Street. On two occasions he later recorded in *The Sydneian* his recollections of a cricket match in Hyde Park, when, as he said, Reggie Black won the game for the School after cutting a ball from where the Captain Cook statue now stands to the picket fence then outside the Museum in College Street. Cohen referred to a "great victory when the ball became locked in the pickets but 14 runs were added to the score as the ball remained in sight", so that 'lost ball' could not be called.⁴⁴ For many years Cohen was an experienced Civil Servant, a Commander in the Naval Reserve, and a devotee of sport, especially cricket. He was a senior NSW Cricket Association official and in 1895 was manager of the Australian team in England. Cohen was a regular worshipper at the Great Synagogue and he could be turned to for reminiscences of the past.

Many boys, together with the Headmaster, Stephens, who resigned in 1866 because of differences with the Trustees, left the School. In the following year Weigall was appointed Headmaster, a position he held for 46 years. Within the next few years he impressed his personality and standards on the School, resulting in a marked increase in enrolments. Weigall exerted a powerful influence and was acknowledged "a leader in the adaptation of secondary education to the needs of a democratic community such as ours."⁴⁵ During this new School regime early enrolments were Benjamin and Charles Joseph, sons of A. Joseph of 244 George Street, 1867; Henry Cohen, 1868; Charles Mosely Moss Cohen son of M.M. Cohen of Burwood, 1868-71. They were followed by Henry Myers son of George Myers of 618 Elizabeth Street South, 1869-71. George Myers may possibly be identified as the man who had been a leader in York Street Synagogue for many years before becoming the first President of the Great Synagogue. In *Grammar*, the recently published History of the School by Professor Clifford Turney, the author is mainly concerned to trace the School's development at the different stages of its long history without introducing anecdotes and individual details unless specially connected with those development and educational policies.

Thus, the author points out that Weigall had few disciplinary problems, entirely avoiding the flogging procedures of some English schools. The new headmaster, however, was capable of administering stern discipline. By way of illustration, exceptional though it may have been, the author refers to an instance of severe punishment of a boy.¹⁰ Within the School's Archives the author discovered a Petition of 9 December 1867 addressed to the Trustees, complaining of Weigall's treatment of a boy, Charles Joseph, son of Alfred Joseph of Lower George Street. The signatories protested that the boy "had been most cruelly and severely beaten" by Weigall when "subjected to twenty (20) lashes". They said that the boy was covered with "severe marks, and whelps on the body and legs". They went on to say that this treatment was altogether too severe for a boy of that age under any circumstances, and "decidedly inhumane and cruel". The boy in question, then aged 10, together with his older brother Benjamin, must have been the first of many Jewish lads to join the School during Weigall's headmastership. The Petition included the signatures of George Myers of 542 George Street South and of Henry Solomon. The latter, it seems, was then a member of the committee of the Hebrew Certified Denominational School and was of the firm of Myers & Solomon.¹¹ It is not stated what offence was committed by the young Charles Joseph. The Trustees Minutes of 16 December 1867 disclose that the Trustees proceeded to investigate the circumstances of "the late flogging case". It was recorded that the evidence of Charles was taken, and, that Mrs Joseph was so far satisfied that she seemed desirous that her son should return to the school if Mr Joseph would consent and withdraw. The boy's father apparently did not so consent. The *Liber Nominum* shows that Charles left the school in November of that year, shortly after the incident in question. Evidently, not every Jewish schoolboy was then always a paragon of virtue. Only a few years later another Jewish pupil suffered expulsion from the school.

In the 'sixties the Sydney Hebrew School provided elementary education for children most of whom were under the age of 12. It later was known as the Sydney Hebrew Certified Denominational School, of which in 1867, Louis Phillips was the President. Some well known Jewish leaders and personalities were associated with that School, though, as D J. Benjamin wrote, few of the leading Jewish families had children there.¹²

Rev A.B. Davis who arrived in Sydney in 1862, had four of his sons educated at the Grammar School. Two of them, Ernest and John, were pupils from 1870-3. Ernest Lawton Davis joined Hoffnung & Co and was later to become Chairman of the Sydney Stock Exchange on 14 occasions. He was a President of the Great Synagogue, held other positions in it, and was made a Life Member. He also served the cause of Jewish Education. His brother, John L. Davis was Hon. Secretary in 1881 of the Sydney Hebrew Certified Denominational School. Abraham and Sydney Davis were enrolled at the Grammar School in 1875. Two brothers, Aaron and Michael Cohen, c/- L. Menser of Phillip Street attended the school, 1870-1. Adolphus Isaacs, age 13, and his brother Henry, age 11, were pupils during 1870-3, both of whom were enrolled c/- Rev S. Phillips of 112 Phillip Street. It is of interest that Adolphus Isaacs was a choir

leader at York Street Synagogue. He was also one of the leading quartette in the choir, under Sydney Moss, which "contributed in no slight degree to the impressiveness of the ceremonial" on the occasion of the consecration of the Great Synagogue in 1878.⁴⁹ From 1872-4 Samuel Cohen, age 14, son of G. Cohen of Gunnedah was at the School, his address then being shown as c/- Rev S. Phillips. One surmises that boys, whose parents were not in Sydney, were sometimes placed with Phillips. The Australian Jewish Historical Society's *Newsletter* includes an item on George Judah Cohen of Gunnedah, though the schoolboy Samuel is not mentioned among the children of G.J. Cohen.⁵⁰ From 1871-4 there are a few other Jewish names not easily identifiable: Phineas Bear Selig c/- Mrs Selig of 236 Pitt Street; Maurice Meyer Emanuel; Judah Solomon of Riley Street Strawberry Hills; Oliver Edward Levien son of S. Levien of 154 Albert Terrace; Percy Solomon, son of H. Solomon of 469 Bourke Street. A further son of G. Cohen of Gunnedah, Henry, was enrolled in 1875. During 1873-4, Arthur Samuel Cohen, son of S. Cohen of Richmond Villa, and Joseph Sydney Assenheim, son of I. Assenheim of 79 Goulburn Street, were pupils. Edward Cohen of Albion Street, as well as Edward Solomon Reuben son of H.R. Reuben of 260 Darlinghurst Road attended the school in 1875. Reuben had the dubious distinction of being expelled. There are a few Jewish names recorded for the years 1874-6. Samuel Isaacs son of I.L. Isaacs of Spencer Lodge Millers Point may have been the son of Isaac Lewis Isaacs who was prominent in the Macquarie Street Synagogue.⁵¹ Henry Albert Solomon, son of John Solomon of 144 Albert Terrace was re-admitted to the school. Also, Isaac Harris of Rose Hall, Forbes Street, Lewis Levey of Olivia Terrace Bourke Street and Alfred Isaac Marks of Dawes Point, (1876), were enrolled at that time.

In the course of the Grammar School's history there have been many Jewish pupils some of whom achieved outstanding success at the School and in later life. It is impracticable, to select more than a few names, and further, there were also quite a number whose associations with the Jewish community were marginal only. Some pupils may be mentioned because they are of passing interest even if they laid no claim to fame. The present writer invited responses from the Jewish public so as to gather fuller information but very few chose to reply. In the result, there are inevitably names which have been omitted. The response, for which I hoped, would have enlarged the topic, and, it might have added more colour and detail to the account which I have written, based very largely, as it is, on my own researches.

JOSEPH JACOBS – SCHOLAR AND HISTORIAN

From the Jewish viewpoint, Joseph Jacobs must be considered to be the most important of all the boys to have been educated at the Sydney Grammar School which he entered, age 12, in 1867, the son of John Jacobs, licensee of the Post Office Hotel, York Street. D.J. Benjamin, who contributed to this *Journal* a most valuable biography of Jacobs, writes that Jacobs entered the school when the distinguished headmaster, Weigall, first took up his position. It was, he wrote, "the opening of a new era" for the school, a "regenerated school, pulsating with life, among boys who later became famous in various spheres, under masters whose names are still legends."⁵² Jacobs

soon gave evidence of his scholarship. In 1870 when just over 16, he won the Senior Knox Prize for the highest aggregate of marks. In the following year he again won that prize and was the first Jewish Captain of the School, a distinction awarded to the Dux in languages. He eventually proceeded to Cambridge University and embarked on a prolific literary and historical career which proved to be of enormous value, especially in the Jewish field. Benjamin, who was himself many years later a Captain of the School, concluded his biography as follows: "That is the man whom Australian Jewry could claim as its outstanding son – yet because his contribution to his people was intellectual and learned, rather than political, we have forgotten him ... We Jews of Australia cannot afford to be ignorant of the things of the spirit. Our survival as Jews depends upon our consciousness as Jews ... If we, dedicated to historical research, were to have a figurehead to whom we could look up, we should choose Joseph Jacobs, whose work would be an inspiration, and example of what an Australian Jew can do for Jewry.⁵³ Bergman has referred to Jacobs as "this great and gentle scholar whose versatile ability knew no bounds."⁵⁴ A substantial and sympathetic Obituary of Jacobs was included in the Journal of the American Jewish Historical Society shortly after Jacobs' death in New York on 30 November 1916. That Obituary, which Benjamin said that he had been unable to obtain, referred to Jacobs' "Insatiable thirst for knowledge". After mentioning that Jacobs was born in Sydney on 29 August 1854, the writer stated that, of Jacobs' first period, "the stage of juvenile preparation – we know nothing."⁵⁵ However, it will be seen that the Sydney Grammar School would have had an extraordinary influence on the future career of Jacobs, and likewise, the school helped to mould the mind of David Benjamin who, significantly, served the Jewish community with distinction, making his important contributions as an historian and in other fields as well. That is not to say that the School steered either Jacobs or Benjamin in the direction of their particular contributions which were to be of such special Jewish value. It does mean, however, that the School's influence undoubtedly had a relevant and real direct bearing, educationally, in the broadest sense, on the minds of these two pupils.

In his book, *The Star of David*, Rabbi Brasch places Jacobs as an Australian born Jew alongside Sir Isaac Isaacs, Sir John Monash, and Professor Samuel Alexander.⁵⁶ Writing in "A Short History" of the School in the special number of *The Sydneian* marking the School's Centenary in 1957, the authors, Sir Victor Windeyer and R.C. Knock, include, by way of example, the name of Joseph Jacobs, referred to by them as "The historian", among five renowned persons who had been Captains of the School.⁵⁷ However, we can descend from these heights and find some added interest and colour in some chance items published in *The Sydneian*. The Jubilee number of the school magazine noted that Jacobs had achieved success in literature, specifying the collection of English, Celtic, and Indian Fairy Tales.⁵⁸ Further news of him appeared in the same publication of the next year when it was reported that the headmaster received a clipping from the *Jewish Chronicle*⁵⁹ from Louis Phillips whose son, Orwell, had not long before attended the school. Phillips, a Sydney Jewish communal leader, was associated with the Sydney Sabbath School, served on the Board of York Street Synagogue,

was the first Treasurer of the Great Synagogue and its President on ten occasions.

In the above *Chronicle* interview Jacobs spoke of his former school as "an excellent institution", its masters being exiled Oxford or Cambridge dons. He mentioned a set of Grote's History of Greece which he gained as head of the school, adding that he was engaged in gathering material for a history of the Jews. He spoke of Graetz's history of the Jews as not being to his liking, as a *melange confus*, saying that his 11 volumes "are a history of Jewish literature, and the Jews, if you will, but they afford no glimpse into the relations of the Jews with the various European governments from the destruction of Herod's Temple to our own days". His own projected works, Jacobs remarked, "will be based on the facts – the visible result of the contact between Jewry and Christendom". Such a work he was never able to produce, but a preliminary version was his *Jewish Contributions to Civilisation*. In a further *Sydneian* the terms of the letter from Jacobs to the Headmaster, Weigall, are quoted:

Permit me to congratulate you most heartily on the distinction conferred upon you by His Majesty, of which I have just heard from my brother Sydney. As one of the oldest of your 'Old Boys' I feel that I have a small share in the joy it must give you. I always look back to my School days under your charge as the happiest time of my life, and perhaps the most successful in intellectual acquirement. Whatever I have of scholarly tendency and method, I owe to your influence and training. You may be interested to know that about ten years ago I left England to carry through a big 'Jewish Encyclopedia', in twelve volumes, which I succeeded in doing within five years, which was regarded as a great triumph of constructive scholarship, as the materials for such a work had never been gathered together. In recognition the University of Pennsylvania conferred upon me (at the same time with the Emperor of Germany!) the degree of Doctor of Letters (litt. D.), and I was thereupon appointed Professor of English Literature and Rhetoric at the great Jewish Seminary here. This, with the Editorship of *The American Hebrew*, the chief Jewish weekly published in this country, occupies my time so fully that I am afraid I cannot look forward to much literary work for the rest of my life ... I thought you would be interested in these details of the fate of one of your oldest pupils, and with kind regards to yourself and any of my old fellow-students who may happen to remember me.⁶⁰

These authentic personal items relating to the career of so eminent an Australian born Jew lend some local flavour and significance to one who was nurtured and gained his initial inspiration in Sydney, at the edge of the Diaspora. One is entitled, at least to ask, whether Joseph Jacobs would have enriched his people's history and literature had it not been for the formative impact upon his mind of the Sydney Grammar School. His abovementioned remarks, written as a mature man in the full flush of his achievements long after his early education, are a clear acknowledgment by Jacobs of the School's influence on his career. More than a century later, it can no longer be said that nothing is known of the first period, the stage of juvenile preparation in the career of this man. It is fortuitous, indeed, that the humble *Sydneian* school magazine has provided posterity with these details which, in future, should be duly incorporated in any studies of the life and work of Jacobs. Only too often, the early stages of a successful life tend to be disregarded, but Jacobs' own comments emphasise the formative role of his early education.

Edward Purcell Cohen (1867 - 1933) followed his brother, Victor, to the Grammar School. All of his four sons came to the School, and one of them, Rupert, died on active service in World War I. E.P. Cohen was a keen cricketer and played with the Albert Club. For about 40 years he was well known and liked as a commercial traveller throughout the Pacific Islands and was a close friend of the celebrated writer, R.L. Stevenson. Cohen's brother-in-law was Sir Julian Salamons.⁶¹

Louis Phillips, who was associated in business with Moses Moss, married Moss' daughter. Moss was a leader of both the York Street and Macquarie Street Synagogues. Although I have not been able to confirm the details with the family, I believe that at least two of his sons attended the Grammar School. Hyam was a pupil, 1870-2, followed by David Lionel, 1874-8. The Roll shows their father's address as 3 Carlton Terrace, Wynard Square, a particularly fashionable area of Sydney in those days. In 1879, Leopold Alfred William Moss was enrolled by Mrs Moss of the same address. There was then also another Moss boy at the school, Laurence Albert.

The names of three sons of Henry Cohen, students at the school, have been furnished by Mrs Irene Rothenberg. During 1868-70, these boys, namely, Henry, Isaiah, and Lionel, were living with their parents at Margaret Street Sydney. Henry and Elizabeth Cohen arrived in Sydney in 1853. Together with his brother, Hyam, Henry established "The Monster Clothing Store" at 402 George Street where they remained in business for over 30 years. Another son of Henry became prominent in Adelaide as Sir Lewis Cohen, a Lord Mayor of the City.

A perusal of the *Liber Nominum* for the period of the 'seventies and 'eighties reveals a succession of Jewish schoolboys. There were two other sons of I.L. Isaacs as pupils, Samuel, 1874, and Phillip, 1877. Also, there were: Louis Levy of Oxford Street, 1875; Samuel Benjamin Jacobs, son of M. Jacobs of 346 Elizabeth Street; two sons of A. Marks of Elizabeth Terrace, Upper William Street, Solomon Adolphus and Frank Samuel, 1877; Sidney Benjamin Cohen, son of H. Cohen, of 60 Upper William Street 1878; Solomon and John Aarons, sons of L. Aarons of Exchange Hotel, Pitt Street, 1878-9; Sigmond Mandelson of Potts Point, 1879; Harry Henry Marks, son of Jacob Marks of "Glen Ayr" Glenmore Road, Paddington, 1879; Louis Segal, son of Dr Segal of Inverell, 1880; David Abraham Solomon, son of J. Solomon, 16 Albert Terrace, Darlinghurst Road, 1880; Montague Ferdinand Levey, son of M. Levey, 64 Wynard Square, 1881; Edgar George Cohen, son of L. Cohen, Queen and Nelson Street, Woollahra, 1881; Louis Tamworth Levy, age 16, and Herbert Levy, age 14, sons of Hon. L.W. Levy MLC of 107 Macleay Street Darlinghurst;⁶² Samuel Henry Harris, son of H. Harris of Potts Point, 1883; Harry Hyam Solomon, son of Charles Solomon of Cooma, 1883. Charles Solomon had settled at Cooma as a storekeeper and was the town's first Mayor. He died in Cooma in 1915 where he had been active for 60 years.⁶³ Solomon was a brother-in-law of L.W. Levy, MLC.⁶⁴ Harry Hyam Solomon was a solicitor and clerk to Monaro Shire Council. The father of the abovementioned boy, M.F. Levey, was

Montague Levey who arrived in Sydney in 1844. He had financial interests, was a member of the Board of Technical Education, Chairman of the Syd & Country Bank, director of the Benevolent Asylum and City Night Refuge, and was active in Jewish affairs. He died on 9 May 1884.⁶⁵

Additional names during the 'eighties were: Aaron Cohen of Ocean Street Woollahra, 1884; Henry Moses Brasch, son of M. Brasch of Botany Street Surry Hills, 1886; Henry Hyman, c/- L. Nathan, Gipps Street Surry Hills, 1886; Albert Joseph, son of M. Joseph of George Street, 1886; Percy Abraham Phillips, son of Joel Phillips, Milton Terrace Dawes Point, 1887; Joshua Landauer, son of Samuel Landauer of Cudal, c/- M.A. Cohen, 20 Orwell Street Darlinghurst, 1887; William Laurence Cohen of Queen & Nelson Streets Woollahra; 1887. W.L. Cohen, Solicitor, was an Alderman of Waverley Council. His wife and daughter (Mrs Brass) were active members of the A.J. Historical Society. His son, Ian, later a Solicitor, was also enrolled in the School, 1929-34.

There were five Cantor boys, commencing with Isaac Cantor in 1878, followed by Emanuel Arthur, 1886; Emanuel Harry of Merriman Street Millers Point, 1888; Philip, son of C. Cantor of 80 Bayswater Road Darlinghurst, 1888. Two sons of H. Zions, namely Louis and Morris of Oxford Street, Paddington attended the School in 1888. Sons of Asher Hart, Ernest Lewis and Percy Benjamin of Pacific View Villa, Ocean Street, Bondi, were enrolled in 1889. Leopold Wolfe Cohen, and Byron Cohen age 13, sons of G.J. Cohen of 'Engadine' Onslow Avenue, Elizabeth Bay attended the School, 1888-9. Another son, Sefton Cohen was a pupil in 1895. Enrolled in 1889-90 were Leopold Wilfred Marks son of M.M. Marks of Elizabeth Bay, and John Solomon Harris, son of Henry Harris of 60 Albert Terrace.

Between 1882-9 boys of the De Lissa family attended the School. According to notes in this Society's Archives Montague De Lissa was a pupil at the School in 1861. He was a brother of Alfred who for several years acted as Secretary of the York Street Synagogue. Emile son of L. De Lissa was enrolled in 1881; Osborne son of Montague De Lissa, 1888; Cecil and Horace, both sons of Alfred of Bayswater Road, 1889; and Gerald, son of M. De Lissa, of Rosebank Street Darlinghurst, 1902. Horace qualified for the Bar and acted as Associate to Justice H.E. Cohen. He was a keen supporter of the School's Literary and Debating Society and was regarded as a prominent Old Boy. He died in a riding accident.⁶⁶

In 1885 Moritz Ahronson, son of Herman Ahronson of Cundletown, Manning River, was enrolled. The father was a native of Hamburg who settled in the Manning River district. Moritz was prominent in business and local affairs before retiring to Sydney. An Obituary of the latter, published in this Society's *Journal* in 1953, referred to his "abiding taste for history" which, it was said, Moritz acquired at the Grammar School. He served on this Society's Committee.

Septimus R. Levy, son of L.W. Levy, attended the School, 1882-3. He maintained an

interest in the School and in 1908 made a donation towards the new Cricket ground. He joined David Cohen & Co at Maitland and Newcastle, was a Chairman of Tooth & Co Ltd, Nestles, and the Newcastle & Hunter River Steamship Co Ltd. Levy was President of both the Maitland and Newcastle Synagogues and served on the Board of the Great Synagogue for many years and acted as Treasurer. His son, Maitland B. Levy was later a pupil at the Grammar School. During the Great War he served as as Captain in the Irish Guards and was awarded the Military Cross, before being killed in action in 1918. Another son of Septimus, Douglas Alexander Levy, was at the School in 1910 and afterwards served in the Imperial Army.

A few further names are listed during the above period but I have not pursued the identities of these pupils. They are, Lewis Myers son of Mrs Myers of Glebe, 1888; Lawrence Herschell Levi, 1885; Bernard Levi son of Aaron Levi of Upper Dowling Street, 1888. Members of the Phillips family, all sons of Louis Phillips, were all closely associated with the School and may be mentioned at this point. Alfred H. Phillips (1888) had strong sporting interests which started in his school days when he represented the School in athletics and other competitions. He was to be involved in commerce and charitable work.⁶⁷ Albert Edward, a brother of the latter, was enrolled in 1892. For particulars of his career, see *Biographical Register*.⁶⁸ Laurence David Phillips of Orwell Street Potts Point, left the School in 1882, Louis Morris, a brother, was enrolled the following year. He was to be most active in the Great Synagogue, in Jewish communal organizations, and charitable work.⁶⁹ As Old Boys, their interest in the School was manifested by a donation of ten guineas towards the Jubilee Fund in 1907. Laurence Moss, possibly a relative of theirs, gave three guineas to the Fund.

ORWELL PHILLIPS

Of all the sons of Louis Phillips, Orwell was the most prominent as regards the School. He was a student there from 1892-5. As already mentioned, the father of these boys maintained contact with the School and occasionally donated prizes or helped to defray the expenses of a Cricket match.⁷⁰ Orwell seems to have been a good student and excelled in Athletics. In 1894 he came second in the 220 yards championship and third in the 440 yards championship. In the next year he won the 120 yards Hurdles at the Sydney Cricket Ground. "His style of flying hurdles", it was said, "is, to say the least of it, distinctly novel".⁷¹ He was active in commercial life, with directorships in leading companies. When he died in 1957, reference was made to his "courtesy, tact and never failing kindness", to his wisdom and calm judgement, spoken of as being of "inestimable value."⁷² He was first elected a Trustee in 1925 and was Chairman from 1949 until 1951. Orwell Phillips also gave of his services to the Jewish community. He was a member of the Great Synagogue Board for 40 years, President for four terms and Vice-President and Treasurer for six terms. Speaking at an Annual Dinner, in the presence of the Prime Minister, R.G. Menzies, the Headmaster, C.O. Healey, mentioned the passing of Phillips whom he described as a "Gentleman, honourable, immensely generous, unobtrusive and above all, I think, kind in everything he did."⁷³ In the words of the School magazine, published in the Centenary year, the School had lost "two Grammar

elders of great renown, Orwell Phillips and Hyam Marks.⁷⁴

HYAM MARKS

Hyam Marks, who was to become a school legend in his lifetime, joined the school as a pupil in 1887 and left two years later. He was enrolled by his father, S. Marks of Pitt Street. As a pupil, Hyam played cricket, was Vice-President of the Debating Society, and a Prefect. After a short engagement as a teacher in the Education Department, Marks returned to the School in the early 'nineties where he remained until his retirement in 1943. He taught mainly French and Mathematics, was a forceful teacher and a strict disciplinarian. It was said of him that, "he has devotedly applied himself to turning dunderheads into Rhodes scholars, putting a wholesome fear into the heart of the slacker, making every pound of the Trustees money which drifts his way go as far as twenty five shillings ..., faults he has, as we all have ... the embodiment of single-hearted enthusiasm for the School."⁷⁵ Marks is remembered by numerous Old Sydneians particularly as Sportsmaster and Football coach, and it is claimed that he probably turned out more Rugby internationals than any other school coach. He played Rugby Union for Australia and for his State and was a referee of international matches.⁷⁶ As to Marks' Jewish antecedents, little, if anything, has been recorded. My researches disclose that Hyam was the third of five children (Morris, Florence, Leah, and Julia) whose parents were Solomon and Bertha Ballin Marks. The father, who died in 1914 at Ashfield, age 76, was born at Isbeitz, Poland. Rev Wolinski officiated at the funeral.

SIR DANIEL LEVY

Among the greatest, scholastically, of all those educated at the School, must have been Daniel Levy. Born in London in 1872, son of Joseph Levy, tailor, and his wife Esther, the family arrived in Sydney in 1880. After leaving Crown Street School Daniel won a scholarship enabling him to attend the Grammar School for two years. He was Captain of the School in 1889, won the Senior Knox Prize, and the Morehead Scholarship in 1890. As was written of Levy later, "there took all before him."⁷⁷ At Sydney University his progress in Arts and Law was distinguished. His career was afterwards notable as a NSW parliamentarian as well as Speaker of the Legislative Assembly for many years. His passing in 1937, it was recorded, "removed one of the most prominent Old Boys and familiar figures in the public life of this State."⁷⁸ As Rabbi Porush has written, Sir Daniel Levy was a "faithful Jew, and did honour to Jewry and to his country." According to an item in *The Sydneian*, Levy left the School at the age of 15, and it was said that it was impossible for him to learn more. He could quote at pleasure from any of the Classics. Some said that he was to be the Australian Disraeli.⁷⁹

ERNEST MEYER MITCHELL

The career of Ernest Meyer Mitchell is noted in *A.D.B.*⁸⁰ He was born in 1875 at Wynard Square Sydney, son of Philip Mitchell, jeweller from Germany, and his wife, Rosalie, nee Brodziak. Educated at the Grammar School, E.M. Mitchell was both Captain and winner of the Knox Prize in 1892-3, and gaining the Morehead

Scholarship to the University. He had a fine record in Arts and Law and achieved professional eminence as a barrister and served in the NSW Legislative Council. Mitchell was a trustee and twice President of the Old Sydneians Union. Ernest Meyer was one of seven children. Their mother, who died at an early age, was a daughter of Myer Brodziak who was associated with the Macquarie Street Synagogue. When Rabbi Saphir visited Sydney in 1861, he wrote that he stayed with Mr Brodziak of Posen.⁸¹ Here may be mentioned another Brodziak, Cedric Errol Meyer, who attended the School in 1904 and afterwards qualified as an Electrical Engineer. He was awarded the D.S.O. and died on active service in France. Both parents of E.M. Mitchell were and remained Jews but he himself severed his religious connections with the Jewish community. A brother, Felix, who then lived at 82 Bayswater Road, in 1889 preceded Ernest at the School. He qualified as a lawyer and later settled in the Cooma district.⁸² He was the author of an informative publication, *Back to Cooma Celebrations* (1926, and re-printed).⁸³ Reverting to Ernest Mitchell, one finds that he was disclosing powers of oratory at school in the course of debates as, for example, when he opposed cremation which, he argued, was condemned by intuitive religion of the heart as well as by the divinely taught depositories of the revealed truth from the beginning of the world. He opposed the "far-breathed perfume of paganism". Mitchell's stand, it was then said, was a masterpiece of oratory.

In 1890, John Solomon Harris, son of Henry Harris, was enrolled at the age of 10, residing at 60 Albert Terrace, Darlinghurst. Two years later, a brother Samuel Henry Harris, also at that age joined the School. This boy, it is assumed, went on to become Captain of the School in 1900. Was the father of these boys the same Henry Harris who was the Proprietor of *The Hebrew Standard*? Others who were pupils in the 'nineties were: Sydney Lionel Cohen, son of Dr Cohen of 71 Darlinghurst Road, 1891, and a brother, Harold David, 1892; Samuel Levy, son of Joseph Levy of 202 Evans Street Balmain, 1891; Edwin, Edgar, and Albert Jacobs sons of L. Jacobs of 67 Darlinghurst Road, 1891; Stuart Samuel Cohen, son of Norman S. Cohen of 'Larbert' Macleay Street Potts Point, 1892; Phillip Clive, son of Sydney Cohen, Challis Avenue, Potts Point, 1892; Julian Cecil and David Mitchell Rogalsky, sons of Adolphus Rogalsky of 'Mansion' Bayswater Road and 72 Hunter Street, 1892-5; David Mitchell Rogalsky represented the school in football and athletics. William Wolf Benjamin, son of Marcus Benjamin of Pyrmont, 1893; Cyril Stanley and Ernest Leslie, sons of Moss Rensefeld, 113 Macleay Street; David Leonard and Leslie W, sons of B.D. Cohen of Macleay Street, 1895; Leslie Gordon, son of Sidney Cohen of 50 Albert Terrace Darlinghurst, 1895; Walter and Ralf Neville, sons of Neville D. Cohen of Elizabeth Bay, 1896. The latter was the eldest son of David Cohen of Maitland and Newcastle. He was the Treasurer of Maitland Synagogue and was twice President of the Great Synagogue before leaving with his family for London.⁸⁴ His son Ralf Neville was a Prefect in 1902 and 1903. In 1896, Lionel, son of the Jewish educationist, M.A. Cohen of 27 Womerah Ave Darlinghurst, was enrolled.⁸⁵ Also in the same year, Ronald Solomon, son of Mrs Levien Solomon of 103 Darlinghurst Road. In 1897, sons of R.H. Levien, Alexander Harry, and Robert Henry of Elizabeth Bay attended the School. The father of these boys, a well

known parliamentarian and solicitor, ceased to be Jewish at birth.⁸⁰ Before the turn of the century are recorded the names of Vivian Rich, son of L. Rich of Elizabeth Bay, 1897; Leopold Alfred Cohen, son of A. Cohen of 61 Darlinghurst Road, 1898; Louis Goldstein, son of E.A. Goldstein of Onlsow Ave, Elizabeth Bay, 1899; and Louis George Cohen, brother of Stuart Samuel already mentioned. He served in the Imperial Army in World War I. For many years he was a director of Elliott Bros. The school magazine reported that in 1920 he remembered his old school by a gift of medical comforts for use at the Weigall Sports Ground. It was best, he said, to be prepared.⁸¹ For 30 years Cohen served on the Board of the Great Synagogue and was active in both Jewish and non-Jewish charities and causes.⁸²

Alroy M. Cohen, son of George Judah, joined the School in 1892. The magazine shows that he was prominent in the Literary and Debating Society. Several of the debates in 1898 are noted in *The Sydneian*. As "Premier" Cohen argued that the present system of trial by jury should not be altered – a subject which has continued to be a matter of perennial discussion to the present time – and, that international disarmament was inadvisable. On another occasion he opened the opposition to Sunday trading in fermented and spirituous liquors. He apparently had a strong penchant for debating and he donated a prize which is still awarded in the Sixth Form as the Alroy Cohen Prize for Oratory. During World War I, while then still a Lieutenant in the Army in 1916, Cohen is recorded as attending the Old Boys Union Speech Night, replying on behalf of Sydneians who were training in camp. "It is not remarkable", he said, "in view of the influence of the Old Chief that the Sydneians have so approached the call of Imperial Duty."⁸³

Henry Emanuel Cohen, a Judge of the Supreme Court was a leading personality in the Jewish community of his day.⁸⁴ Two of his sons, Edgar Henry and Cecil Hope, were enrolled at the school in 1900. C.H. Cohen had a distinguished career while a student. He twice gained the Wigram Allen Prize for Mathematics, won the Knox Prize in 1905 and 1906 and was Captain of the school in 1905. He also gained the Morehead scholarship. Both boys later qualified as barristers. Cecil Hope was a Captain in the Royal Field Artillery and died on active service in 1918. Another Old Sydneian, Cedric Keith Cohen, died on service in the Imperial Army in 1918 when serving as a Captain in the Royal Army Medical Corps. He was the son of Judge John J. Cohen and joined the Grammar School in 1904. He served as a Captain in the British Army. Early in the century appear the names of Cyril Henry Alfred Cohen son of J.R. Cohen of Annandale; a further son of H. Zions, Bertie; Horace M. Joseph, son of Kate Joseph of 38 Macleay Street; Reginald George Cohen of 8 Macleay Villa, Roslyn Gardens, and Alexander Weingott of Forest Lodge. The latter died on service in 1915 at Gallipoli. Leonard Sydney Abrahams, who attended the School, 1901-3, was awarded the Junior Knox Prize. He was to become an eminent Sydney barrister, losing his life in the "Kyeema" disaster. For five years, until 1938, Abrahams was a member of the Great Synagogue Board. His son, Eric Weston, entered the School in 1925.⁸⁵ During the years 1902-3 the following boys were enrolled: Neville Philip, son of Edward Cohen, of Ithaca Road

Elizabeth Bay; Rupert Raphael, son of Maude Cohen of Bayswater Road; Gerald, son of J.H. Landau of 154 Victoria Street Darlinghurst. Rev J.H. Landau was a Minister of the Great Synagogue for several years until his resignation in 1903. Further students at the School at that time were Roy Lionel, son of J.R. Cohen of 80 Johnston Street Annandale, and Norman Edward Packer, son of L. Packer of 38 Castlereagh Street. Lewis Packer was a communal identity of those and latter times. His son, Norman, graduated in Medicine and later, during the War, joined the English Royal Army Medical Corps. He wrote to Headmaster Lucas, "There isn't an Officer in the Army who isn't always hard up; but the life is good, at least, that is my opinion."⁹² Only a few months later, serving with the Army of Occupation in Germany, he took part in a side-car paper chase. When some horses bolted, Packer tried to assist but suffered injuries causing his death. He was spoken of as a fine type, brave, cheery, and honourable.⁹³

The next few years, 1904-1910, had its quota of Jewish students, commencing in 1904 with Kenneth, son of A. Isaacs of Feldheim Gotthelf & Co; Julius son of J. Bloom of 155 Glenmore Road Paddington; Kenneth M, son of A.M. Brodziak of 64 Macleay Street, and in 1905, the latter's brother Norman Leslie. Elijah Selig, son of Mrs B Selig, 'The Meadows' Seven Hills; Byron Morris Kozminsky, son of M. Kozminsky of Commercial Hotel, Victoria, and c/- Leopold Barnett of 71a Darlinghurst Road. Also, in 1905, the year in which Rabbi Francis Cohen arrived in Sydney, his two sons, Basil Hart age 17 and Harold Francis age 13, were both enrolled. The eldest son, B.H. Cohen was a Cadet Officer in 1908 and 1909. In 1906 Zachariah Jacobs, age 14 of Doncaster Ave Kensington was a pupil. He was the son of Nathan Jacobs, a Jewish communal identity of that period. The Jacobs family was related by marriage to E.E. Whitmont, and the latter's son, Cecil, attended the School in 1925, and was followed in later years by Norton and Theo Whitmont. Harold Bloom of 'Melrose' Penkivil Street Bondi, enrolled in 1909. He was to become a prominent Jewish leader in education, charity and other fields, including Presidency of the Great Synagogue on two occasions as well as holding other Synagogue positions.⁹⁴ Zadia Lazarus, son of P. Lazarus of 71 Macleay Street joined the school in 1909. Many years later he became a President of Sydney legacy, and his daughter married Gerald Falk. Zadia entered the school about the same time as Oram Edward Cohen, son of Edward Cohen of Ithaca Road. Both Lazarus and Cohen, whom I interviewed by arrangement with Mr Falk, are nonagenarians. They say they began their education at the Sydney Preparatory School at Forbes Street Darlinghurst, which was said to be linked at that time with the Grammar School. Oram was a nephew of Victor Cohen and he was outstanding at sport and captained the 1st XI and the 1st XV and was one of the Prefects. He recalls that he never experienced any anti-Jewish feeling while a student. He particularly remembers that F.G. Phillips instilled religion into the boys. Cohen was one of the few of the Jewish Grammar School students who excelled on the sports field. In 1913 he had an average of 21 runs and was described than as "A promising though very cramped bat". As a member then of the Second XV and a five-eight, it was said of him "Knows more about the game than many of the firsts, but is not quite robust enough. A good kick". In the following year Cohen was referred to as "a very keen and painstaking cricketer, a solid

bat and a very good field; made an excellent captain during the latter half of the season." As football captain he was spoken of as a "splendid all-round kick, smart in cutting-in".⁹⁵ Oram Cohen was a Prefect in 1914. He was awarded the Military Medal during War Service. Also at that time, C.A. Keith-Cohen was a Prefect, a Cadet Officer, and rowed for the school. He had, "good body form, uses his legs well and did good work in the boats: an oarsman of promise."⁹⁶

THE BLASHKIS AND COPPLESONS

Aaron Blashki is remembered as a noted Jewish communal leader who devoted his services to the Great Synagogue, to Jewish education and to charity.⁹⁷ He donated money to the Grammar School's Jubilee Fund. His older son, Eric Phillip, was at the School from 1906-9 and was active in the Cadets and in debating. He won the Wigram Allen Prize in 1909. He served in the Imperial Army and was awarded the Military Cross. Professionally, he was well known as an E.N.T. specialist. For several years he presided over the Jewish Aid Society and he was a President of Sydney Legacy, 1949-50. Eric's brother, Roy Hector, was at the School from 1906-10. He was said to have been a clever boy who, for some reason, was known as "Chutney". Captain Blashki died on active service in 1917. His father donated the Blashki Prize for Jewish education in Roy's memory. Also, to die on Service in the Imperial Army in 1915, was Lt. Kenneth M.H. Solomon. He was captain of the School in 1907. It was reported that he was a candidate for the Rhodes Scholarship.

There is a tendency in Jewish circles to overlook and forget those who have been lost to Jewry in the process of assimilation. Jewish historians, however, need not be subject to communal amnesia. It is necessary to know, not just statistically, but in some actual detail, what erosion Australian Jewry has suffered. Further, it is sometimes fascinating, at least, to examine the backgrounds of those who drifted away from their Jewish origins and heritage. It is, indeed, not uncommon for descendants of such people to acknowledge their Jewish background, to want to establish their genealogy, and even to claim that the Jewish blood contributed towards the fame of their ancestors. Their concern is sometimes in marked contrast to the lack of interest within the Jewish community towards such persons. The Coppleson family is a classical example, by no means rare, of the inroads of assimilation. In such instances, regrettably, the words of the sages come to mind in their application of the words of Scripture: "They made me keeper of the vineyards; but mine own vineyard have I not kept". Three sons of Albert Abram Coppleson were students at the Grammar School. An Obituary of their father will be found in this Journal.⁹⁸ He was prominent for his service to the Namoi Shire Council of which he was Mayor and served it for some 30 years. He had a keen and broad intellect, was well versed in Rabbinical works and wrote Yiddish poetry. The older son, Victor Marcus, who left the school in 1910, had a fine academic record and also excelled in some sports. It has been written that he became an Anglican while at school. His daughter, Mrs P. Okkerse, told me that she had never known the precise reason for the change of religion. It is believed, however, that there was more than

B Benjamin of 454 Oxford Street Paddington, and later c/- Mrs Pauline Benjamin of Cook Road Centennial Park; Keith Phillips Levy son of Maurice Levy of Darlinghurst (He won the Wigram Allen Prize in 1922); Joseph Abraham Freidman son of N. Freidman of Underwood Street Paddington; Albert Abraham Kessler son of S. Kessler of Bondi, (the latter prominent in Sydney Zionist circles); Leonard Keesing Goldberg son of N. Goldberg of Elizabeth Bay; Louis Levine son of N Levine of Bankstown; Eric Herman Wolinski son A .Wolinski of Neutral Bay; Baron, son of N. Solomon of 779 George Street Sydney. From 1916-1922 Eric H. Goulston, son of John Goulston of Elizabeth Bay was a pupil at the School, gaining an Exhibition to the University Medical School. Others enrolled between 1920 and 1924 were Rudolf Isidore son of A. Diamond of Park Road Centennial Park; Bertram Herman son of S. Isaacs of 42 Beach Road Darling Point; Frank Victor son of Joseph M. Abrahams of Victoria Road Bellevue Hill; W. Dryen of Bondi; Raymond Tobias of Burwood. It was reported that the latter went to school in England and was going into residence at Oxford to read law.¹⁰⁹ He practised afterwards as a leading Sydney Solicitor.

THE LOEWENTHAL AND LESNIE FAMILIES

There appear to be only a handful of Jewish names in the Roll during 1923-1924. The Berkman family, well known in the earlier history of the Western Suburbs Synagogue, was represented at the School by Leslie Cyril son of Emanuel Berkman of 65 Market Street Sydney. From the Bondi Jewish community came Samuel son of Reuben M. Simblist. This pupil rowed for the School, gained an Exhibition to the University, later practising as a Solicitor and also, for a shorter period, as a Barrister until his appointment as a District Court judge in 1977, but died before being sworn into the position. Also in the early years after the Great War Joseph Neville son of David Levy of Coogee; Moses Woolf, son of S. Woolf of Double Bay and Eric Lionel son of Phillip H. Rheuben of Bondi attended the School. In 1924 Henry Herman Loewenthal, who, it is presumed was a son of A.M Loewenthal, entered the School, the Roll showing then that he was in the care of Vera Loewenthal (address D. Mitchell & Co, Clarence Street Sydney). This boy must have been an outstanding scholar, winning the Junior Knox Prize in 1925 and being Captain of the School in 1927. Mrs A.M. Loewenthal was most active in organising a fete for the School House Fund.¹¹⁰ J.I. (John Isaacs) Loewenthal was enrolled in 1926 as the son of A.M Lowenthal of Randwick. That boy was Captain of the School in 1931 and also won the A.M. Cohen Oratory prize. He became an eminent Surgeon and a Professor at Sydney University and was head of the Division of Surgery at Royal Prince Alfred Hospital. His services were recognised by a Knighthood and the Award of C.M.G. For particulars relating to A.M Loewenthal, who was prominent in the Sydney Jewish Community, see, this *Journal*.¹¹¹ Emanuel Henry Lesnie was the first of that family to be enrolled in 1925, followed the next year by his brother Norman M.G., who lost his life in the "Centaur" disaster in World War II. A son of Emanuel, David G. Lesnie, was a pupil in 1948. He was twice President of the Sydney Grammar School Foundation for the years 1983-5. Two other sons of Emanuel, Warren and Howard were pupils in 1950 and 1954. It has been pointed out that, between the families of Emanuel and brother Allan, three generations

have so far attended the School. Also David's son, Gavin attended the School in recent years, and Warren's son, Michael is presently a student.

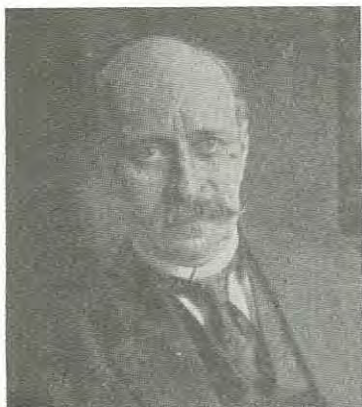
Maurice Ginsberg c/- Mrs B Ginsberg of Darlinghurst was a pupil during 1920-1, later qualifying as a medical practitioner. For the years 1925-6 names appearing in the Roll are: Godfrey Moses Harris, at age of 15, son of Alfred Harris of 175 George Street Sydney (Editor of *The Hebrew Standard*); Sol George Marks son of Maurice Marks of Pharlet's Hotel Wynard Square Sydney; Benjamin Maurice Solomon son of J.H. Solomon of Zetland; Victor Raphael Goldstein son of Hyman Goldstein of Coogee. The latter was a NSW Parliamentarian for the Eastern Suburbs Electorate from 1922-5 and the Coogee Electorate from 1927 until he died in 1928. In 1925 Arthur Rosebery was enrolled. His father, Dr Sidney Rosebery, then of Manly, was a well known Physician. The family traces descent from the marriage in 1831 between Jacob Moses and Mary Connolly (afterwards to be known as Rebecca Moses.)¹¹² Dr S Rosebery had attended the School, 1902-9. Arthur, by way of anecdote, recalls that the Master of the Lower School made a point of informing the class that there were two Jewish boys who would be permitted to leave the class while Scripture lessons were in progress. He goes on to say that, being singled out as Jewish, he became involved in playground brawls. However, when he acquired some expertise in boxing, he gained more respect from the boys, and the brawling incidents were ended.

ORWELL E. PHILLIPS

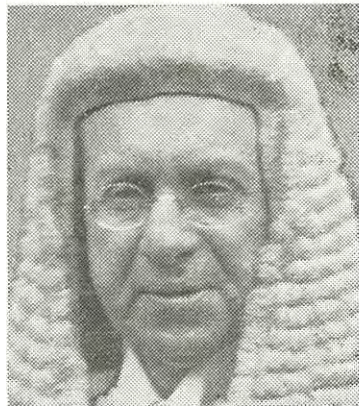
Perhaps due to his modesty, one hears little of the student prowess of Orwell Edward Phillips, son of Orwell Phillips of "Tusculum" Manning Street Potts Point. He came to the School on a Weigall entrance Scholarship in 1926 and left in 1930 with one of the three best passes in the Leaving Certificate.¹¹³ It was further recorded that he had gone on to Oxford and was "mixing the Higher Mathematics at Balliol College with a course in Rowing". He stroked the College second crew and "lifted them one place each night, on to the heels of the Balliol first crew, which went up four places". The *Sydneian* noted that the *Times* had wrongly written that Phillips had learned rowing at the Kings School Parramatta.¹¹⁴ About a year later it was further reported that Orwell brought real distinction to Grammar by gaining a First Class in the Final Honours School of "modern Greats". Concluding, the writer of this item remarked: "It is what we do and what we are, five, ten, forty years after we leave school, that test most truly how successful school has been in shaping our beginnings."¹¹⁵ It may be added here that three generations of the Phillips family have attended the school.

DAVID J. BENJAMIN

In the early 'thirties Adrian G. Bassar was most successful as a student, gaining the Senior Knox Prize, the Wigram Allen Prize for Mathematics and for Natural Science, as well as the Morehead Scholarship. He was also a School Prefect. Bassar went on to the Medical school and later specialised in Neurology. At about the same time, 1933-4, David J. Benjamin was concluding his school days. His was later a name that ought to be well known in the history of the Jewish community. For many years of a life that



Joseph Jacobs
1854-1916



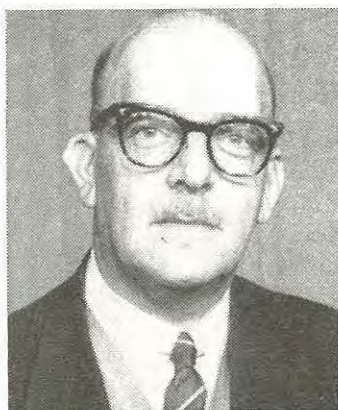
Sir Daniel Levy
1874-1937



Orwell Phillips
1877-1957



Saul Symonds
1894-1952



David J. Benjamin
1916-1961

was regrettably shortened, Benjamin gave dedicated services to Jewish causes, including Education, the Great Synagogue, and the Historical Society. Although he was a member of the Bar, he practised little, devoting most of his time to Jewish affairs. He had a cultured mind which he turned to intellectual and scholarly pursuits. He was Captain of the School, being Dux in Languages in 1933, and he was awarded the Salting Exhibition tenable in the Faculty of Arts. When leaving in 1933, an item of his, headed "to the School", appeared in the *Sydneian*. It read: "whether my four years at Sydney Grammar School will turn out the happiest of my life remain to be seen, but they will take some beating; and it is with real sorrow that I bid them farewell. But not farewell to Grammar; Grammar still belongs to me...I don't want the school to think I am leaving it without any pangs; no-one can leave a school, even if we had to learn Maths there, without regrets if the school is any good at all."¹⁶ No doubt, many Old Sydneians had fond memories of their school days but few would have expressed their affection for their School in more genuine terms. David Benjamin's sentiments were not dissimilar from those of Joseph Jacobs who had preceded him. These two Jewish Old Sydneians were alike in their zest for scholarship and learning. Each of them, at different times and along different paths, were dedicated in their services to Jewry. It was most fitting that Benjamin, who must have been an admirer of Jacobs' life, wrote a sympathetic and comprehensive biography for this *Journal*. Both of these Grammar School products acknowledged the School influence upon their minds.

Eric and Arnold Rosenfeld were pupils during 1927-32. The former attended the School House and was a member of the School First XV. Stanley Marcus Goulston, another son of John Goulston, joined the School in 1929, gaining an Exhibition to the Medical School, and specialising later as a prominent surgeon, particularly in gastroenterology. Alex Kahan and S.M. (Max) Falstein went on to the Law School. The latter started his schooling at the School House, qualifying later as Barrister and entering the Federal Parliament as Labor member for Watson. Others who proceeded from the School to the Medical School at this time were Henry Seamonds, (First XV and Athletics), Yaina Michael Goodman, and Douglas Harry Cohen. Dr. Douglas Cohen was later to be in charge of the Childrens Hospital. Eric Lewis Davis, who entered the School in 1928, was School Captain in 1932. In later years he specialised as a neurologist. Also from 1928-9, Keith John Henry, son of Mrs Esther Horwitz, was a pupil. He died at an early age. Members of the Klippel family were represented at the School from 1933-8, beginning with David Alec, recorded as a son of A. Klippel of Darling Point, and Robert Edward, son of H. Klippel of Point Piper. John Owen Klippel, who left the School in 1938 played with the First Eleven in that year. He had a batting average of 18.30 runs and an average of 22 wickets for the season. He was described as "A good bat, but lacking in batsman's temperament, a very promising spin bowler."¹⁷ He lost his life while serving as a Flight Lieutenant in World War II. A Memorial Lamp in the Great Synagogue War Memorial Hall was donated by his parents, Mr & Mrs Alec Klippel, in his memory, and a Hall at Temple Emanuel also bears his name.

Other names recorded from 1930-5 were: Leslie Julius Symonds of Bondi; Lewis

Ernest Isaacs of Coogee; Stanley Leo Epstein of Willoughby; Geoffrey Michael son of L.F. Cohen of Bellevue Hill; Maurice Salmanow Henry son of D.H. Henry of 392 George Street Sydney (He played in the Seventh XV and the Seventh Eleven); Brian John Davis son of C.L. Davis of Bellevue Hill; Theodore Freilich son of Max Freilich of Bellevue Hill later serving on the Great Synagogue Board;¹¹⁸ Roy Frank Goulston son of John Goulston of Bellevue Hill, also to serve on the Synagogue Board. Another Old Sydneian to join the Board was Allan Lesnie, brother of Emanuel Lesnie. He was at the school 1935-9. Two of Allan's sons Robert and Andrew attended the school in 1963 and 1965. Stanley George Lands, son of Sam Lands, together with Keith and Norman Wolfson, sons of J. Wolfson, were pupils at about the same time. They died on active service during the War. Names of pupils in the later 'thirties were: Robert Stewart Marks son of B. Marks of Rose Bay; Arnold Coleman Davis son of Dr Neville Davis of Beecroft; Kenneth Nathan Joseph son of M. Joseph of Randwick; Leonard Libow son of W. Libow of Waverley; Coleman Bertram Goldstein son of J. Goldstein of Bondi; Herbert Freilich (brother of Theo); David Green son of Simon Green of Vacluse; Douglas Joseph son of H. Joseph of Bellevue Hill; Cedric Reuben Symonds son of A. Symonds of Randwick; Kenneth Eric Wolinski son of E.H. Wolinski of Neutral Bay; Keith David Berkman son of W. Berkman of Coogee; Anthony Neil Cohen son of L. W. Cohen of Double Bay; Bernard Kezelman son of Rev A. Kezelman (Great Synagogue); Ronald Basil Levy son of B.H. Levy of Coogee; Paul Unger son of E. Unger of Bondi; John Joseph Abrahams son of L.J. Abrahams of Grafton; Brian John Keith Cohen, son of Dr C.K. Cohen of Double Bay (later a Justice of the NSW Supreme Court); Stanley A. Solomon son of David Solomon who was *Shamash* of the Great Synagogue; Ian Phillip Julius Bloom son of H. Bloom.

Douglas Joseph, A.O., MB, BS, FFARCS, FFARACS; DA (Eng), died on 6 March last at the age of 65. He was born at Bondi, the youngest of four brothers, all of whom graduated in medicine. Douglas Joseph became director of anaesthetics and resuscitation at Sydney Hospital, establishing Sydney's first intensive care ward. In 1963 he was appointed Nuffield Professor of Anaesthetics at Sydney University and was Emeritus Professor as from 1989. He was responsible for important two revisions of the undergraduate course in the subject and was directly instrumental in raising the standards of the University's Department of Anaesthetics to a high level. While at the Grammar School he seems to have been a good student and keen on sports such as the 1st All Age Football team, the under 14 3rd XV, Athletics, as well as being involved in the Cadets.

Two sons of Abraham Rothfield, for many years Headmaster of the classes conducted by the NSW Board of Jewish Education, were pupils of the School from 1934-9. R.D. (David) Rothfield was awarded the Junior Knox Prize in 1934 and in 1938 the Morehead Scholarship tenable at the University. His brother, Neville, won the Senior Knox in 1939 and the Morehead Scholarship in 1941. Both of them were Prefects of the School. At the Prize Day in 1939, which was very shortly before the death of H.S. Dettmann, the Headmaster proceeded to read portion of a parent's letter as follows:

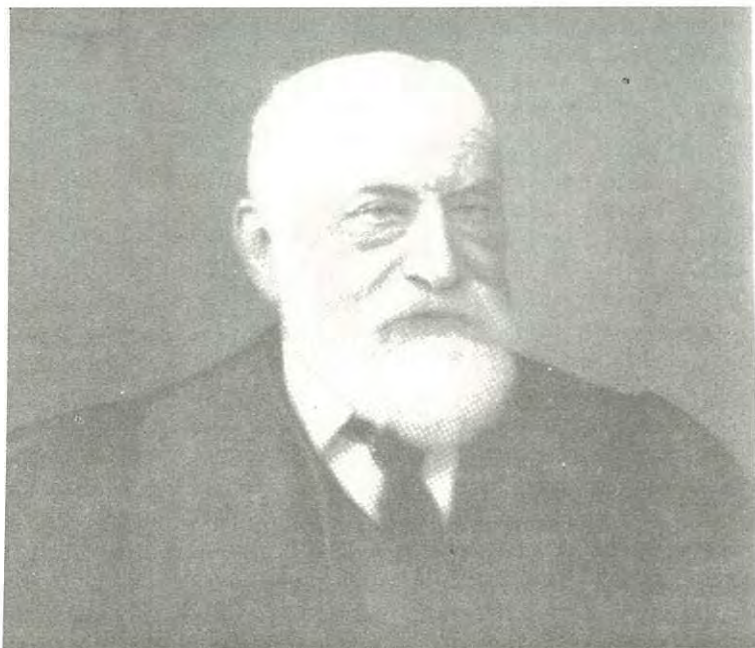
I write to express the grateful appreciation of his mother and myself for all that you

and the splendid body of masters have done for both our lads ... You have certainly made scholars of them but not merely scholars ...some 3,000 years ago the wise man advised to 'train the lad in the way he should go; when he is old he will not depart from it' And that is just what Grammar has done for our lads ... We have a warm corner in our hearts for Grammar and both feel that in and through our sons, we belong to the School ourselves.¹¹⁹

The Headmaster spoke anonymously of the writer of that letter. However, the fact is that the letter was written by A. Rothfield to whom the Headmaster had later indicated that he proposed to read part of it at the ensuing Prize Day. The present writer knows from discussions with the late A. Rothfield that he held the School and particularly its then headmaster, H.S. Dettmann, in high regard. Indeed, the writer of this paper felt obliged to Rothfield who had recommended that he should complete his own later schooling at Grammar. I attended the School in the later 'thirties and I was much impressed by the natural and quiet modesty of Dettmann who had a subtle but real influence on all and sundry at the School. The atmosphere and traditions of the School, and the quality of its education services, did not fail to exert an influence on me at an impressionable age. Whatever latent potential that I had for learning was brought out of me while at the School. Further, I can only say that I never experienced as a pupil any form of anti-semitism whatever. As far as I was concerned, there was then no school influence or activity to turn me away from the more traditional paths of Judaism. Who can say, but perhaps my parents' influence was too strong for any outside impact, adversely, on my Jewish background.

H.S. DETTMANN - HUMANISM & SPIRITUALITY

For some years before the advent of Dettmann, the policy of the School was strictly undenominational, thereby seeking to avoid any risk of embarrassment to those of differing religions. However, the latter, though very carefully, introduced a special school Assembly twice a term as "the one most valuable change in School practice and procedure during my term as headmaster". On those occasions, as Dettmann remarked in his Speech in 1935, "we do try, all of us, Jews, Catholics, Anglicans, Non-conformists, simply to worship God, however we understand Him."¹²⁰ Speaking at a Speech Day in 1933, the Headmaster quoted from three verses of Micah, including the words inscribed on a mural tablet in the Big School: "What doth the Lord require of thee". He also cited from the Psalm, "Who shall ascend the mountain of the Lord?" With reference to such Scriptural texts, Dettmann emphasised their significance and value: "if our young men and our young women can learn these lessons in their schooldays and cling to them and practise them in their lives, then, whatever outward changes may come upon them and encompass them, all will be well with them and with their country."¹²¹ It is therefore little surprising that when the Headmaster died on 1 Jan 1940, a personal friend, Canon Garnsey, delivered an Address in which he noted the spirituality of Dettmann's work: "Such humanism, coupled with such reverence for eternal things, in our schoolmasters, may do much to stem the drift of our people into a devastating secularism, that can be overcome only by a robust and well grounded faith in



A.B. Weigall, C.M.G., M.A., 1867-1912



H.S. Dettmann, M.A., B.C.L., 1923-1940

God.¹¹¹²²

JEWIS AS SCHOOL LEADERS

The names of leading sportsmen at the School are all collected in the Appendices included in Clifford Turney's recent History. Such names are also often to be found throughout the pages of *The Sydneian*. However, though Jewish boys gained distinction as Captains of the School, and perhaps in inverse proportion to their overall numbers, it is striking that they seldom seemed to have excelled as leaders on the sporting field. It does not follow from that observation that the Jewish students did not participate in school sports at various levels. Even if it be speculation to assign reasons in that regard, it is suggested that the strict pursuit of learning, factors relating to physique, and perhaps also the concern to avoid games on the Sabbath may provide some explanation. In addition to the few already mentioned, another earlier sportsman of note was C.A. Keith-Cohen who rowed in the First Crew and he took part in Debating contests. In the period covered by this Paper, there were some Jewish Prefects but they were very few in number. They included H. Marks, A.E. Phillips, B.B. Cohen, N.W. Cohen, Oram Cohen, C.A. Keith-Cohen, A.G. Bassier, and R.D. & N.J. Rothfield. The Senior Prefect was selected on the basis of special qualities of leadership, including sporting prowess, and, intellectual capacity. Perhaps because the Jewish pupils were generally not outstanding in sports, there does not seem to be one instance of a Jewish *Senior* Prefect in a period of some 60 years. Although it is not suggested that a boy's religious background had any bearing on the appointment of Senior Prefect and of other Prefects, it is strange that the Jewish students, who often excelled in other directions, seldom were selected as Prefects, a prestigious School position. For many years Hyam Marks had a controlling influence in the School's sport but this had no bearing on the relative dearth of outstanding sporting talent on the part of the Jewish boys. As regards scholarship, the Grammar School Jewish boy was given, and often availed himself of, every opportunity to display his ability. Nevertheless, the extraordinary results achieved by some of them academically, is not generally balanced, at least not sufficiently, in schoolboy leadership in other fields.

THE DEVELOPMENT OF CHARACTER

It has been suggested that I may have attempted to present an "idyllic" picture of the School with respect to its impact on generations of Jewish students. As far as I am aware, and in my own personal experience, there is no evidence that Jewish students felt in any way estranged, discriminated against, or subject to anti-Jewish prejudice, whether labelled as anti-semitism or by anyother name. Where parents were concerned that their children should maintain their contacts with the Synagogue and receive Jewish education, then, in general, their boys at the Grammar School remained within the Jewish fold. In many instances, indeed, much depended on the values of, and the example set by, the parents. Without doubt, the absence of Jewish Day Schools and other factors posed problems for the future survival of the Jewish community. It will be necessary to return very briefly to this question, but a historian may be allowed to record the facts without preconceptions or bias. When one sees that an

institution such as the Sydney Grammar School formerly produced many Jewish leaders and communal workers, it should not be inferred that the School had any such objective. Nevertheless, it is fair to concede that the formative training obtained at the School was usually no obstacle to the assumption of a leadership role by Jewish students who passed through the School. Like his predecessor, Weigall, H.S.Dettmann was not concerned only with high standards in scholarship and in sport. "He had also reinvigorated the notion that the School's primary business was the development of the character of the boys."¹²³ He spoke of "the value which attaches not only to intellectual but to physical, social and even spiritual progress."¹²⁴ "If you wish to assess", he remarked, "the present value of the School, watch the demeanour of the boys in their public appearances, talk with them in their homes ... or better still, see them in another twenty or thirty years' time. You will find them honest, industrious, decent fellows, thoughtful for others, good citizens; these things first and, I hope, much else."¹²⁵ With emphasis, therefore, on qualities of character, communal service and good citizenship, it is understandable that the School turned out men who proved to be successful in their vocations, and also, as regards the Jewish community, loyal and dedicated leaders who served the Jewish community with distinction. On the other side of the ledger, and at a time when assimilation continued to erode traditional Jewish values, it has to be accepted that the School also produced its quota of Jews who were afterwards lost to their community.

BEFORE AND AFTER THE JEWISH DAY SCHOOL

While already 50 years have passed since the period with which I have been concerned, qualified observers continue to warn that there is no simple solution which readily resolves and provides easy answers for the challenge of assimilation. If Jewish communities are to halt this drift, then, there has to be a rethinking of Jewish identity, continuing *adult* Jewish education which has not come to an abrupt halt after the student leaves the Day School, and, particularly, Jewish moral and ethical values have to be recognised and emphasised at all levels of a Jewish community: "The most critical subject for Jews today – the Jewish tomorrow – cannot simply be set aside. These young people are out there, waiting to be inspired by an ideal, waiting to be excited by a dynamic community and waiting to be challenged to personal involvement based on respect for the individual and motivated by genuine values. Judaism has all this to offer; yet for the most part Jewish organizations have failed to adequately promote this message." These are the modern day pronouncements of the chairman of the World Union of Jewish Students.¹²⁶ Another observer has asserted that, in general, Jewish studies are still the poor relation in the curriculum: "Perhaps it is the general ethos of Australian society and the preoccupation with materialism that is responsible for the concentration on subjects to do with career."¹²⁷ All these remarks contain no suggestion whatever that the Day School movement is other than valuable and necessary. The Day School, however, as Rabbi Dr S. Coleman and others have pointed out, cannot be expected to substitute for Judaism in the home. Against the background of these current reflections, it is possible to accept with a little more tolerance and understanding the contribution which a school such as the Grammar School made towards the secu-

lar education of many of the sons of Sydney Jewry, providing the Jewish community, as it did, with men who were prominent in the service of their co-religionists as well as being leaders in other spheres of Australian life and affairs. In other words, the Jewish historian, in the course of reviewing the School's past history and record as reflected by the lives of many who emerged from the School, will find adequate scope for his appreciation of the School's past rather than denigration in its impact on the Jewish community of former times. In those days the Synagogue and Jewish education was always available. Some families chose to ignore those influences, whether in greater or lesser degree, for reasons best known to themselves. In those instances, in retrospect, it is hardly fair to conclude that the secular schools of those times were a substantial cause of the assimilation process.

Sydney Grammar School formerly enrolled many more Jewish pupils than any other similar school in Sydney. It was then the usual choice of Jewish parents who could afford to send their sons to it, or who, in a few cases had children able to win entrance scholarships. Its standard of education was high, it was undenominational, and many Jewish boys – even though in a small minority at the school, continued to attend it. Included in the enrolments were the children of some orthodox parents such as, for example, Louis Phillips, George Judah Cohen, Aaron Blashki, Elias Green, Morris Symonds, John Goulston, Harry Lesnie, Max Freilich, Abraham Rothfield, and my father, Hyam Sholom Himmelferb. As has been seen, sons of Ministers of the Synagogue, J.H. Landau, Rabbi Cohen, Marcus Einfeld, A.D. Wolinski, as well as a son of the Headmaster of the Jewish Education classes, M.A. Cohen, were pupils of the School. Many lay leaders of the Community had earlier attended the School which apparently had no adverse effects on their Jewish consciousness at an impressionable young age. Of course, there were also those who yielded to assimilation, but it has to be appreciated that Australian Jewry was earlier very small in numbers, isolated and remote from centres of Jewish life. The impact of persecution in Europe with resultant migration to Australia, the growth of Zionism, and, eventually, the rebirth of the Jewish State, have all combined to strengthen and revive Jewish life throughout the Diaspora. During the last 50 years Australian Jewry has been a beneficiary of these processes of history. The Jewish Day School movement is one of the local developments attributable to these changes. However, in previous generations the Sydney Grammar School provided secular education for so many of the boys of the Jewish community, though it was of course necessary to provide them with Jewish instruction provided by the NSW Board of Jewish Education. In response to my request for relevant information, I was told of an anecdote by a father who, about 40 years ago, was inquiring of a close friend, Dr David S Storey, as to where he should send his two sons to school. When the latter replied, "Why not send them to the Jewish school?", the inquirer (Dr Ben Haneman) was surprised to find that his friend was referring to the Sydney Grammar School.¹²⁶ As to many of the Jewish leaders who were educated at the School, it can truly be said that they did not reject their Jewish heritage. They gave dedicated services in support of Judaism and its maintenance when local conditions made their task a difficult one. When one fairly views their work and achievements within the

context of the times, it may be conceded that the record of these people, Jewishly speaking, was praiseworthy. With hindsight, it is easy to point, under different circumstances, to the inadequacies and deficiencies of the standard of Jewish life of other times.

Reverting again to the School, it is on record that Joseph Jacobs and David Benjamin fully acknowledged their gratitude to the School. Both of them made valuable contributions to the cause of Judaism. In my own case, conscious of my limitations and with all modesty, I have for long endeavoured to uphold Jewish culture.¹²⁹ The influence of the School was a material factor in moulding my mind in the directions it has taken even if there were also other important factors. Thus, particularly in the leadership and work of the Jewish Historical Society, I found an opportunity to serve the community in a significant field. In altogether different directions, one of the School's most brilliant products, Sir Daniel Levy, gave loyal services to his co-religionists and was always regarded as a dutiful Jew notwithstanding his long services as an eminent Parliamentarian. All of the individuals of whom I have spoken, and many who figured on a lesser scale, strove to serve the Jewish community. It may be assumed that the family backgrounds were strong influences in these cases. Yet, the quality of the secular education and training at the Grammar School should not be disregarded. It is no bad thing, provided that historical perspective is applied, to acknowledge the past significance of that training, though today many value the role of the Jewish Day School. In that sense, as perhaps the Rabbis of old would have said, "Cast not a stone into the well whose waters did your thirst dispel".

Not unlike their classmates, the Jewish students would have enjoyed all the facilities and opportunities offered by the School without many of them *excelling* in sport and without being selected as Prefects. The Jewish boys were quite often to the fore in scholarship while being less represented as leaders in other areas. The average boy, however, was well catered for by the school. As the Headmaster observed in his speech in 1935, it is a poor school if "the average boy is lost sight of and cannot find his level and develop his character and his individuality" He added, "For one characteristic of the School impresses me more and more every year. School nowadays ... is a joyous place. The boys are genuinely happy, so far as I can judge; they find life good."¹³⁰ The average Jewish student fitted into this picture.

NOT ALWAYS A JOYOUS PLACE

It is apparent, however, that there were some boys who did not always experience the school as a "joyous place". In an article published in the *Melbourne Chronicle*,¹³¹ which is the text of an address by Barry Cohen MHR at a Conference at the University of Melbourne, the speaker elaborated on aspects of racial prejudice. He mentioned that he was born in Griffith, NSW where, as a very young child, he had no experience of anti-semitism. The town in 1935 contained but 16 Jewish souls and the young Barry attended the local school where the Jewish children numbered seven in a total enrolment of 1,000 students. In 1945, with the object of receiving Jewish instruction in

Sydney, Barry was sent to the Sydney Grammar School and boarded at the School House in Randwick. At the age of nine, when he entered the new school, Cohen's recollections are not those of Elysian fields. Indeed, as Barry has stated, his arrival at the school was "a rude shock" for him. On his first day he was involved in three fights during which he was taunted by some boys on account of his Jewishness. Those incidents abated as Cohen says that he was able to fight fairly well in those days. During the second year, at the School House, he was the youngest and smallest and became the butt of a boy who was the 14-stone member of the Rowing Eight and a boxing Champion who, it is said, made an issue of Cohen's Jewishness. That particular experience, as I have been told, virtually then made the situation unbearable for young Barry. My attention to these recorded incidents was drawn by the listing of Barry Cohen in an article in this Society's *Journal* relating to "Jewish Parliamentarians in Australia".¹³² The writer gave a reference to the article in the above mentioned *Chronicle* and she referred briefly to Cohen who, though it was not mentioned, held Ministerial Office in the Hawke Labor Government. However, that writer's remarks refer to Cohen's own writings about his "Jewish childhood in the country town of Griffith and of the prejudice he encountered as a new pupil at Sydney Grammar School."¹³³ Nevertheless, the subject of those remarks had himself written and spoken of much else. If unintended, the unqualified remarks in question seem to cast a reflection on the Grammar School and they may create the impression that anti-semitism, if not a feature, at least lay beneath the surface of School life. Barry Cohen has explained to me that it was certainly no part of his intention to suggest that the school of his time was anti-semitic in character.

The former Federal Minister and retired Member for Robertson has explained to me that the above school experiences in Sydney were isolated ones and that his progress through the School was not otherwise marred by occurrences of such a nature. His added remarks in the *Chronicle* expressly go on to disavow a suggestion that the School was anti-semitic. In this regard, there would be very few Jewish children who would never have experienced anti-Jewish behaviour of some kind. Racial or religious prejudice of that type, while never extreme, and usually far less serious than its manifestations in other countries, has existed since the beginnings of white settlement in Australia. For this obvious reason, few, if any, schools of consequence would have had Jewish pupils who were not occasionally subjected to some anti-Jewish treatment, of whatever form. For that matter, it cannot be pretended that Jewish adults are always immune from discrimination, or even misconduct, by reason of their Jewishness. It is therefore not surprising that there were occasional instances of this problem at the Grammar School. The great majority of boys did not misbehave in this fashion. The Masters and the school Authorities, during the period I have covered, had never countenanced such misconduct. I have already indicated that as a pupil (1936-37) I had no conscious experience of that nature. The matter, I have thought, merits special mention as Barry Cohen's reminiscences have been featured by the Jewish press and others. Some years later, although I cannot be certain who was then the Headmaster, there were some complaints of anti-Jewish prejudice, and some action had to be taken



Sydney Grammar School

to put a stop to it. Some references thereto were made in discussion at a meeting of this Historical Society. But, turning again to Barry Cohen, who continued on at the Grammar School for three years, the records show that he apparently integrated well into the School life. He was actively involved in the school sports, especially boxing, Junior Cadets, cricket, football, and tennis.

A PLEA FOR FURTHER RESEARCH

I trust that my researches touching the Jewish Community and the Sydney Grammar School, which relate back to the early stages of secular education in the Colony, will have brought to the fore some facets and historical incidents which will be found to be of interest from the viewpoint of local Jewish history as well as for those, whether or not Old Boys of the School, who would like to become a little more absorbed in the annals of one of Sydney's most prestigious and historic educational institutions. For very many years this leading School, undenominational, as it was, developed the minds and characters of a great number of Jewish students at a formative stage of their lives. It is remarkable how many of these students became leaders of the Jewish community or otherwise contributed their services to the community. As I have endeavoured to show, individuals such as Joseph Jacobs, Daniel Levy, David Benjamin, and other too, did not emerge, so to speak, from a vacuum. They all owed a great deal to the influence of the School. Inevitably, though regrettably, in the climate of those times, some others rose to eminence and left the community from which they had sprung. Today, however, the Jewish Day Schools are attracting the Jewish youth. While the broad history of the Day School movement has been studied and recorded, I believe that it would be desirable to follow the careers of the students, not omitting to ascertain their impact on the Jewish community and the contributions made by them.

Another important question is whether the former Day School pupils have opted, in addition to their professional studies, for continued adult Jewish education. The younger elements of the *Kehillah*, the products of the Day School, will be setting up a demand, it is hoped, for heightened Jewish scholarship and knowledge, better libraries and facilities for learning, and generally, increased identification with, and support of, Jewish communal work in its varied manifestations. The pursuit of Jewish history, not limited entirely to one's ancestors and the family tree, is also an important avenue of Jewish identification. For this latter reason, even if for no other, my researches should be found to be relevant for those who require more data and information concerning co-religionists of the past generations, their backgrounds, and their contributions, not only to the general Australian community, but also to their own group, particularly when Jewish numbers were much smaller and the task of Jewish identification was not easy.

What has been referred to as a time of "Progress then unrest, 1951-1968", followed thereafter by "The transformation of the School, 1969-1988",¹³ are stages of the School history beyond the scope of the present Paper. Indeed, the transition period during the last War and the immediate Post-War phase when F.G. Phillips took over the Headmastership, is also not covered. Thus, a half century has elapsed since Dettmann's time. It will be found, no doubt, that the School's intake of Jewish boys has decreased since the opening of the Jewish Day Schools. I would hope, however, that a historian, preferably of modern day vintage, will not leave incomplete the account which I have begun. If that responsibility is accepted – as it ought to be – further historical materials of significance to the Jewish community will become available. It should be of interest to compare the School's earlier impact on the Jewish community with the relatively recent situation. It would be interesting to ascertain the extent to which the School has continued to produce leaders and workers in the Jewish fold. Leaving the Sydney Grammar School, should not researchers, even if they only qualify as "amateur" historians, unfold the story of Jewish pupils at such leading Public Schools such as Sydney Boys High School and Fort Street School? If, perhaps, some should think that this exercise should not be confined to Boys Schools, there is scope also for similar type of research as mine but extending it to Girls Schools as well. Of the Scriptural text, "Thus shalt thou say to the house of Jacob, and tell the children of Israel," the commentators have explained that "the House of Jacob" denotes the female element of the community. There was no sexual discrimination in the content of the basic Revelation. In the historical field, our Historical Society is likewise non-discriminatory. Nevertheless, I would wish that priority is given to the continuation of the School history which I have commenced. It contains lists of many Jewish names and

other information of purely genealogical value and, in addition, information which should be of broader historical value.

The Grammar School Archivist, Mrs Ily Benedek was most helpful at all times in the compilation of this story. I fully acknowledge my appreciation to her in making the School Archives readily available to me. The Archives of our own Historical Society also served to elucidate and resolve genealogical questions. The Mitchell Library was able to supplement some of the School's relevant books, *The Sydneian*, Sydney College Reports and other materials.

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AN HISTORICAL NOTE ON JEWS AT TARBAN CREEK ASYLUM, 1848-1854

by M.Z. Forbes, B.A. LLB.

Included in the Commission issued to Governor Phillip in 1787 was the care and custody of 'ideots and lunaticks'. It was not until 1843 that the New South Wales Legislature enacted a measure to regulate proceedings relating to insane persons (7 Vic. No. 14). As an example of the earlier local procedure whereby persons could be found to be insane, was the writ *de lunatico inquirendum* upon which in 1829 the Commissioners and jury found that Esther Johnston was not of sound mind and incapable of managing her affairs.¹ A great improvement in the management and medical treatment of mental patients was achieved when the Tarban Creek Asylum was established at Bedlam Point on the Parramatta River, distant about 13 kilometres from Sydney. Despite its connotations, the name Bedlam was derived from a London institution, a corruption of Bethlehem. Although isolated and difficult of access, the site at Tarban Creek was considered to be scenically attractive: "One of the most beautiful and inviting prospects in the Colony is that opposite the asylum, where every step

along the front forms a different point of view which gives a rare charm and variety to the scene. How delightful, refreshing and restorative it would prove to many of the convalescent patients, to whom in the meantime, all the natural beauty - this heavenly gift is rendered almost a perfect blank by the dead wall which forms the front of the airing yard".² When opened in 1838, the foundations began then to be laid for the first properly organized lunatic asylum in the colony.³ Within a few years, however, there was dissatisfaction with the conditions operating at the new Institution. A Select Committee of the Legislative Council reported thereon in 1846, mentioning inter alia that accommodation was inadequate, proper records were not being kept, and patients had died in the asylum without any inquest being held.

BARNETT LEVY

The present writer recently had occasion to investigate some of the genealogy relating to Barnett Levey (of Theatre Royal fame) and his family. The second child of the latter and his wife Emma, was also known as Barnett Levey, born in 1827. In *The Forefathers* by John Levi, there are listed two convicts, Barnett later known as Bernard Levy (arrived in Sydney 1814) and Bernard Levy (arrived in 1817).⁴ In order to avoid confusion, it has to be appreciated that these particular names and the variants thereof were formerly quite common in Jewish families. Yet a further Barnett Levy is listed by T.D. Mutch, *Index of Births, Deaths and Marriages*. This last-mentioned representative of the Barnett Lev(e)y tribe, a lunatic of Pyrmont, age 39 (or 41) is recorded as having died at Tarban Creek on 20 September 1848. The burial was witnessed by Rev Turner of Hunters Hill. The body was afterwards disinterred from the Asylum grounds and given Jewish burial by Jacob Isaacs, Reader of the York Street Synagogue. An official Certificate, apparently of more recent origin, shows that Jacob Isaacs officiated at the re-burial of Levy. It was further stated that deceased was aged 39 years and that his place of origin was Plymouth, England. There is a file in the Archives of the Australian Jewish Historical Society containing this information concerning this Barnett Levy. It seems that the file came into existence after enquiries about the identity of one of the Levy convicts referred to above. The matter was investigated by the late George Bergman about a decade ago. He then stated that he believed that Barnett Levy, the Tarban Creek patient, was a pauper who was re-buried in the Devonshire Street Cemetery. There was no tombstone for later removal to the Botany Cemetery.

It is desirable, as well as being of interest, to refer to some of the details included in the Tarban creek Asylum records now held at the State Archives Office. It appears therefrom that three patients of a total of 55 in 1848, including Levy, were recorded as being Jews. Levy was stated to be aged 41, single, a pauper, and formerly a watchmaker. A ticket, in the usual way, had been issued by the Colonial Secretary authorising Levy's admission to the Asylum. He had been a patient at the Sydney Infirmary, later to be known as Sydney Hospital. While in the Infirmary, the patient was no doubt in 'necessitous circumstances and unable to pay for medicine and medical advice'.⁵ Accompanying Levy at the time of his admission to the Asylum was Emanuel Crabb, stated in the records to have been then the Secretary to the Jews Synagogue.⁶ Crabb

was the Secretary of the Sydney Synagogue from about 1839 and was the Secretary of the York Street Synagogue from its inception until 1846 when George Moss was appointed in his stead⁷ Either the Asylum assumed that Crabb was still acting as the Synagogue Secretary or, which was possibly the case, he was representing the Jewish Philanthropic Society which had its address at the Synagogue premises in York Street. Further, it may well be that Crabb was then involved by reason of his association with the Righteous Paths Society which was founded in 1848⁸

Until his death 14 weeks after his admission to the Asylum, Levy's general and mental health continued to decline. He was reported to be suffering from general paralysis and delusions, including a belief by the patient that he had two million sterling. The possession of great wealth, the Medical Officer added, was "a common delusion with insane Jews". However, the reliability of the quoted comment may seriously be doubted if it was based on the experience of Jewish patients at the Asylum who were so very few in number. The observation in question is more likely to be attributable to some degree of anti-Jewish prejudice which in fact was not uncommon in those times. The remarks, which were then made of another Jewish inmate, seem to confirm an element of such generalised prejudice.

The Medical Case book contained a significant remark by the Medical Officer in connection with Levy's condition and prognosis. "I have deferred", the Officer wrote,



Tarban Creek and the Asylum (c 1845)

*Henry Curzon Allport - from a photograph in Mitchell Library, State Library of NSW,
of a watercolour in possession of Mr. K. Fahy*

"making any remarks on the nature of his mental derangement in the full expectation that some of his friends would have come forward before now to supply me information on the subject but I have been disappointed". It may be inferred, regrettably, that the ministrations of the Jewish community did not extend, in this unfortunate instance, beyond Levy's preliminary admission to the Asylum and to his ultimate burial. Visitation of the sick is of course traditionally considered as a religious *mitzvah*. In accordance with a Rabbinic dictum, "He who visits the sick lengthens his life, and he who refrains shortens it."⁹ The existing evidence suggests that Barnett Levy's condition did not elicit appropriate interest on the part of his co-religionists. In mitigation of this apparent neglect, it may be said that the total Jewish population of Sydney at that time would not have exceeded some 600 souls.

THE SICK POOR

Very little is known and has been written regarding the Jewish community's charitable efforts of those early times. The Hebrew Philanthropic Society was founded in 1833. Even by 1854, its annual income was not in excess of £375 and the Society disbursed relief to the value of £6/2/6 per week.¹⁰ According to a report in the *Voice of Jacob* the Synagogue maintained "The Jews Philanthropic Institution", which in 1841 gave weekly relief to about 20 persons.¹¹ The same writer also indicates that the Synagogue paid "pensions" to paupers to the extent of about £20 per annum (total) by 1847.¹² However, allowing for the paucity of information and records on that subject, it does seem that these sources of benevolence would have been inadequate to sufficiently support the Jewish poor. Moreover, in the case, for example, of Barnett Levy, his mental state completed the helplessness of his situation. The small Jewish community would have reflected, in general, the attitude and standard of colonial society. Historians have concluded that the public "were not greatly interested in the Asylum which had been established for a group of persons whose presence in the community they would prefer to forget."¹³ The writer speaks of Tarban Creek as an institution intended primarily for paupers whose condition did not attract much sympathy: "Poverty was still regarded as the natural result of unwillingness to make the effort required to help oneself to the abundant opportunities available for self-advancement while insanity was evidence of moral instability".¹⁴ As late as 1873, with special reference to the Sydney Infirmary, a Royal Commission was scathing in its comments, epitomising "the amateurish, unwilling community efforts to provide a modicum of care for the sick poor of the community of New South Wales."¹⁵

Almost invariably, patients were sent to the Asylum without any medical history, a practice which was referred to as "an evil of inexpressible importance" A Report of a Commission of Inquiry in 1844, which quite rightly stated that it was "one of the most interesting and important inquiries which can engage the philanthropic attention of any Government",¹⁶ disclosed that paying patients were charged no more than 1/4d per day. There was no provision for patients of a superior class even though that would have been most conducive to their comfort and would best promote their recovery. When viewed against the background of those 19th century conditions, the occasional Jewish patient was left entirely in the hands of the Institution. These earlier

colonial conditions were difficult and were not conducive to a more favourable and benevolent system. Nevertheless, the Jews of Sydney, though small in numbers, were then already a compact and organized group, so that one would have expected a more positive measure of sympathy and aid for its needy and helpless members. Should that observation, in fact, not be fair, it can only be said that there appear to be no relevant records indicative of a better state of affairs during the period in question.

TWO JEWISH PAUPER PATIENTS – ZADOCK AND BROWN

Coleman Zadock was another Jewish patient at Tarban Creek until about a year later in 1848 he was discharged to his wife, cured. He was then 40 years old, a pauper who had been a general dealer.. It was recorded that he was "congenitally simple" suffering from mania induced by drugged liquor.. The Case book history commences with the opening remarks, "This patient is a Jew". The 1845 Report of the York Street Synagogue discloses that Coleman Zadock donated £5 to the Synagogue's Building Fund. His generosity seems a little surprising as the colony, in the early 'forties, was in the throes of an economic depression. Zadock's was one of many Jewish owned businesses declared insolvent in 1842.¹⁷

Early in 1848 Abraham Brown came to Tarban Creek on a ticket of admission. It was stated that he had lived at Surry Hills, was single, a pauper, and formerly a tailor. He had been affected by mental illness for several years. His condition was incurable, leading to his eventual transfer to the Parramatta Asylum. The case history showed that he was a German Jew who had earlier come to the colony to join a brother to whom he had given moneys for speculation. The business referred to was a failure and Abraham was left without support. The Medical Officer then proceeded to describe this patient as a "large man with the broad countenance of a German and the peculiar features of a Jew". He then went on to add: "His head is large and wide . . . the ears and eyes showing that singular relative position which is so remarkable in the ancient heads and many of the tribes of the present Jews". These remarks, curious to a modern reader, were of course intended for official information and record purposes. Perhaps they were a means of identifying the patient but their medical relevance is not readily discernible. Again, it has to be said that it was not then uncommon for Jews to be stereotyped in this fashion. By modern standards such remarks might be considered to be racist and offensive. Prior to the gold rushes in Australia there were few foreigners of any one race, so that they excited interest rather than prejudice.¹⁸ With the later influx of many migrants, including Jews, crude and exaggerated caricatures of the Jewish element were sometimes published.¹⁹ English writers would sometimes refer to the distinctiveness, as they thought, of the Jews in physical structure and physiognomy of their features²⁰ It seems a little odd, however, that a professional officer, in the course of his medical duties at Tarban Creek, was stereotyping a Jewish patient along those lines, though it cannot be said that he intended any offence in so doing.

GEORGE MOSS

In his comprehensive and valuable biographical article on George Moss, the

author, George Bergman, mentions that Moss was relieved of his position as Secretary of the York Street Synagogue in March 1854.²¹ It is unnecessary to repeat here that Moss was indeed an outstanding Jewish communal worker, erudite and cultured. However, Bergman attempted to condone Moss' action when he wrote to the press in 1853 to expose the Synagogue authorities for their failure to secure the services of a Minister. "The community attend the Synagogue", Moss wrote in the *Sydney Morning Herald*, "they retire from it no better or wiser men". Such public criticism by its paid Secretary was far too much for the Synagogue Officers and the Committee. Moss' conduct, whatever else might be said about it, could not be dismissed, as Bergman does, by referring to it as a "Purim joke", though perhaps too strongly worded, seeing that it was written about that time of the Jewish calendar. The author of the biography asks what terrible crime Moss had committed to justify the action taken against him. That he had given valued services to the Jewish community is undeniable. His wife died in 1850, and shortly before his forced resignation, Moss' eldest daughter died, leaving him in extreme difficulties, both financially and otherwise, to care for his three other young children. It may well be doubted, however, that Moss had any kind of joke in mind when he wrote, publicly, ridiculing the congregation. Perhaps, in the circumstances, his apology, which he offered, should have been accepted, though Moss' behaviour at that time may have been viewed as erratic. If that, as seems more likely, was the position, then it is neither fair to Moss nor to the Synagogue leaders to fail to recognise the true facts. Bergman notes that Moss was admitted to the Tarban Creek Asylum in 1854, suffering from, as he said, "what one would describe today as a nervous breakdown". There is no longer any case book existing in the Archives for that period. A brief note in the official returns shows that Moss, age 41, entered the Asylum as a paying patient in June of the above year, it being clear from the record that his condition was one of serious mental illness. He died there on 19 November following. The newspaper death notice indicated that G.M. Moss, age 43, Secretary of the Sydney Synagogue, was to be buried on 20 November at the Jewish burial ground.²²

PATIENTS ISOLATED AND HELPLESS

In the Tarban Creek Report of 1852 by the Medical Adviser to the Government, forwarded to the Colonial Secretary for the information of the Governor General, it was stated that "when Roman Catholic patients feel themselves suffering from extreme bodily illness they very frequently apply for the services of their clergyman which, from the proximity of the Priest's residence, is always quickly afforded; but the application for the services of the Protestant clergy is rarely made by patients of that persuasion".²³ There was no mention, in that context, of Jewish clergy, presumably because Jewish patients were very few, their Minister was not readily available, and he was seldom sought.

The few details relating to these early Jewish mental patients warrant a brief notice in this Journal. The cases in question belong to the formative period of mental hospital treatment and administration in New South Wales. Even though the first medical Superintendent, Dr Campbell, endeavoured to improve the conditions at Tarban

Creek, too little funds were then available to assist in the cure of the inmates, most of them paupers. The Jewish inmates must have experienced a sense of isolation. Two of them, namely, Moss and Zadock, would have been accustomed to the normal comforts of urban domestic life, as well as being members of the Jewish community, and, doubtless, they would have been depressed and affected by a prison like confinement, sharing their cells with all manner of other patients. The two other inmates, Levy and Brown, would already have experienced poverty and loneliness, so that they were probably resigned to their ultimate fate. With the best of intentions, the Asylum Officers must have realised the limitations under which they worked. They would have understood that a low priority was then attached to the care of those who required admission to the Asylum. Many of the serious cases were inevitably incurable and often grave bodily complications supervened as the unfortunate patients lapsed into a state beyond help.

EARLY JEWISH CHARITY

According to the familiar statement of the Mishnah, the world is said to be based upon three things: upon the Torah, upon the Temple service (Divine worship), and upon the practice of charity. The great significance of charitable works has been much emphasised in Jewish teachings: "All virtues doth benevolence transcend, with it the Torah doth begin and end."²⁴ In this regard, the Sydney Jewish community, from its early history onwards, was conscious of the need for charitable works and institutions. A burial society, for example, was one of the very first Jewish organisations in the colony. Later, as has been seen, Philanthropic societies came into being. However, our Jewish historians, with the recent exception of a history of the modern day Australian Jewish Welfare Society, have researched and written but little of the history of local Jewish charity, notwithstanding the religious and communal importance of that field of endeavour. On the other hand, the history of the Synagogues and of Jewish education have been adequately covered. One of the oldest of the communal organizations, the Sir Moses Montefiore Jewish Home, has not yet engaged the full attention of an historian. Against this background, the subject of the present writer's article, small though it is in scope, fills a lacuna which is of interest, it complements - on the Jewish side - what has been written with respect to the colonial history of the treatment of the sick poor, including the development of the early Tarban Creek Asylum, and the article may provide materials for inclusion in future researches. It is of course true that research of this kind is difficult but it need not be neglected.

It is evident, for so it seems, that the early Jewish community preferred to completely conceal its convict elements, and, perhaps likewise, concern for its paupers and the mentally ill was a necessary evil not embraced in accordance with all the traditions of Jewish charity. The Sydney Synagogue Report of 1845, which contained a reference to an early burial society, made no mention of charity even though the Synagogue had an involvement in that direction. The Report, understandably, stressed the need for Jewish education and it even suggested the formation of a Library. It cannot be inferred therefrom that Jewish charity was not then considered important, but its omis-

sion from the Report leads one to believe that charitable efforts were and continued to be amateurish and inadequate. True, the community was very small, but, in relative terms, much was being done. The erection of the Synagogue was itself a great achievement. The leaders placed on record their awareness of the significance of Jewish education. Nevertheless, having regard to the traditional religious emphasis on charity in its various directions, it seemed to receive no publicity or emphasis. True also, the community was not wealthy, and the means of a livelihood would have been a struggle for quite a number of its members. In those times, unfortunately, when a pauper finally succumbed, whether bodily or mentally, as a result of his or her circumstances, the Infirmary and the Asylum provided the last refuge. It may be, however, when further historical investigation is done, the charitable efforts of the Jewish pioneers will be found to be creditable. Perhaps, if the records are searched, as S.B. Glass did in the case of Simon Lear who died in 1847, leaving funds in his estate to the Sydney Synagogue as well as the Jewish Philanthropic Institution, others will be found to have been equally responsive to the needs of philanthropy.⁴⁵ Very little is known of the Hebrew Mutual Benefit Society which provided funds for (inter alia) the erection of tombstones.⁴⁶ That Society was established in 1842. A Sydney Directory of 1855 showed that the Society had a capital of £300. Its Officers at that date were: H. Harris (President), A. Levy (Treasurer), L.M. Barnett (Secretary), L. Baron (Medical Attendant). It had a membership of 28 at that time.⁴⁷ There were then three or four charitable organizations, including the Synagogue, working in different directions. A united body, had it existed, might have produced greater efficiency in achieving the necessary charitable objectives.

*Bell's Life in Sydney*⁴⁸ reported that on 17 August 1853 the Jewish Philanthropic Society met at the Vestry of the Synagogue to make a presentation to its Secretary, Abraham Cohen of Cleveland Cottage, Castlereagh Street. He received a splendid elegantly chased salver engraved in Hebrew: "May his countenance shine on thee, and may God grant thee peace". The salver also had engraved a pair of raised hands, described in the report as an "emblem of prayer". The gift was made so as to mark Cohen's indefatigable exertions and gratuitous services as the Society's Secretary. Few attended the function on account of the inclement weather. The President, Moses Joseph, "in a neat and appropriate speech" prayed that Cohen would reap his reward from a higher source. It was further noted that the recipient was addressed by George Moss who remarked upon Cohen's piety, sincerity, and his being a sterling friend to charity. He mentioned that Cohen had served as Treasurer of the Synagogue and would rise to its Presidency. The report indicated that the Society's Secretary was H. Solomon; Treasurer, Jacob Isaacs. Nobody then would have expected that Moss, within a year, would be an inmate of Tarban Creek and was destined to die there. Moss had been fulsome in his praise of Abraham Cohen who, as President of the Synagogue in 1854, was one of those who was critical of Moss in the performance of his Synagogue duties.⁴⁹ While Moss was prepared to be unstinting in the praise of others with whom he was associated, it was to become evident that neither friendship nor any other consideration would save him from the treatment which he finally suffered

at the hands of the congregation's leaders. Moss had been direct and forthright in his views of the needs of the community. Thus, in 1842, writing in the *Voice of Jacob*, he drew attention to "the crippled state" of the Philanthropic Society, pointing out that it was "unable to afford that efficient aid which it is called on to give by its numerous applicants".³¹ Moreover, he was right when, many years later, he voiced his strong criticism of the continued failure of the congregation to appoint a fully qualified spiritual leader capable of providing guidance as the religious head of a growing community. It was indeed sad that Moss adopted an altogether inappropriate means of voicing his discontent. The only immediate effect of Moss' extraordinary criticism was that the unfortunate man was to become an object of charity himself, reduced, as he ultimately was, to a piteous state, broken in body and in heart. He had been trusting and naïve and reached the point where he needed the counselling of friends. As Bergman put it in his own inimitable style of writing, Moss "was thrown to the wolves" by the Synagogue Committee. This regrettable episode was fully uncovered by Bergman's researches. However, it is of sufficient importance to be re-examined. It is also relevant to the harshness of the conditions of those times, induced by human agencies as well as environmentally. The Jewish community, it will be seen, was by no means immune from those influences.

NOTES

1. *A.J.H.S. Journal* Vol 6, pp 109-113
2. Report of the Medical Superintendent Tarban Creek for 1848, Archives Office of NSW 4/7200.
3. D.I. McDonald, Gladesville Hospital, The Formative Years 1838-1850, *R.A.H.S. Journal* Vol 51, p 273 et seq.
4. pp 74-5.
5. Brian Dickey, "The Sick Poor in NSW, 1840-1880", *R.A.H.S. Journal*, Vol 59, p 17
6. Tarban Creek Medical Case Book, and Admission Book, 4/7654, 4/10564, Reel 746.
7. Bergman, *A.J.H.S. Journal*, Vol 9, p. 86
8. M.H. Kellerman, *Ibid*, Vol 3, p. 241; Bergman, *Ibid*, Vol 6, p. 216
9. *Nedarim* 39
10. I. Porush, *A.J.H.S. Journal*, Vol 1, p. 352
11. D.J. Benjamin, *A.J.H.S. Journal*, Vol 3, p. 351
12. *Ibid* p. 361
13. McDonald, Vol 51, *R.A.H.S. Journal*, p. 293
14. McDonald, *Ibid*, Vol 53, p. 254
15. Dickey, *Ibid*, Vol 59, p. 28
16. *NSW Legislative Council, Votes & Proceedings*, 1855
17. York Street Synagogue Report (Reprint), p. 13; Levi & Bergman, *Australian Genesis* p.215
18. Russell Ward, *The Australian Legend*, paperback edition, 1970, p. 130
19. Forbes, *A.J.H.S. Journal* Vol 9, p.611
20. T.M. Endelman, *The Jews of Georgian England*, pp. 124-5
21. *A.J.H.S. Journal*, Vol 9, p 77 et seq.
22. *Sydney Morning Herald* 20.11.1854
23. State Archives, Reel 746
24. *Sotah* 14a
25. *A.J.H.S. Journal* Vol 4, p. 163
26. Bergman, *supra*, Vol 6, p. 217
27. *Ibid* Vol 9, p. 624
28. *Bell's Life in Sydney* (20.8.1853)
29. *A.J.H.S. Journal* Vol 9, p. 90
30. *Ibid*, Vol 3, p. 454

OBITUARIES

RABBI ALFRED FABIAN

On 4 October 1989 Rabbi Dr. Alfred Fabian O.B.E., E.D., died after a long illness. He was best known, perhaps, for his connections with the North Shore Synagogue, where he was Chief Minister for 13 years from 1962 and headmaster of its religion school from 1964. He had been the Rabbi of the Adelaide Hebrew Congregation from 1940 till 1947, and in Brisbane from 1947 till 1962. In Brisbane, he encouraged the foundation of the Gold Coast Congregation. His article in the *Journal* of the AJHS Vol IX Part 2, 1981, "From School to Shul", The Early History of the Gold Coast (Queensland) Congregation (1954-1962), gives a detailed account of its development. Besides this, he was senior Jewish Chaplain to the Australian Forces from 1962, succeeding Rabbi Jacob Danglow. He served as a member of the Chaplains-General Conference, and later of the Religious Advisory Committee to the Services, and he was national chaplain to the Federation of Australian Ex-Service Associations (FAJEX). In all, he served as Senior Jewish Chaplain for 26 years, only retiring with the onset of his final illness.

Rabbi Fabian was born in Breslau in 1910, the son of a rabbi, Leo Fabian, minister of the Breslau Synagogue. His mother, Ella (nee Barn), was a school teacher. Both parents died when Alfred was still a child -first his father, in the 'flu' epidemic of 1917; his mother died the following year. He and his brother were then brought up by their maternal grandparents, Baron. Alfred Fabian attended Freiburg and Breslau Universities, graduating as Doctor of Laws in 1933. He spent five years at the Breslau Jewish Theological Seminary, where he gained his rabbinical diploma in 1939. In 1940, he married Ilse Sternberg, and they had three daughters, Miriam, Diana, and Carmel.

During his ministry in Sydney, Rabbi Fabian made time for writing. He wrote three books, *A time To Speak, An Australian Ministry*, and an unpublished work, *A Tale of Three Cities*. This latter book dealt with his ministries in the three capital cities. He wrote articles for the *AJHS Journal*. He was a Vice-President of the Society for over 10 years. His association with the Society began whilst he was still in Adelaide. He was one of the first to point out, publicly, that the Jews of Australia had shown how, in a multi-cultural society, a minority group might retain its identity as a unified entity, resisting assimilation, and participating in the life of the society around them, whilst exercising an influence for good out of all proportion to their numbers.

His involvement in the community was manifold; besides his ministerial responsibilities and his work with the Jewish Forces, he was a leading member of the Association of Rabbis and Ministers and was its treasurer for eight years. He was a strong supporter of Maccabi and patron of many of the interstate Carnivals. He was with B'nai B'rith, which he saw as symbolising his beliefs in a more united and harmonious Jewish community. The proceeds from sales of his book *An Australian Ministry* he donated to the Albert Einstein Unit of B'nai B'rith Lodge.

Gorr handled probably 20 or 30 enquiries every year from Australia, invariably with successful outcomes. Quoting from his last letters to this Society, written in June, 1988 "Much is happening with me. I am involved in so many research projects that it is quite staggering ... I am receiving more and more commissions from Australian Jews to research their genealogy and to draw up their Family Trees. It is very gratifying. This is not the time nor the place, but I can definitely identify more of the First Fleet convicts who were Jewish. One of those names is Burdo. I am currently researching a family Burdo of Lithuanian Jewish background and whose London born descendant is my client."

He was always on the lookout for connections between Australia and the Holy Land; particularly the genealogical pathos of 19th century rabbis who went from Jerusalem to Australia on fund-raising missions. In fact much of his writings concerned the derivation of Jewish family names. He addressed a wide range of groups including Yeshiva students, women's organisations and, participated in several international conferences on Jewish genealogy as well as a number of overseas lecture tours. Another subject was the Jewish settlement in the Holy Land in the nineteenth century; its research bound him intimately with Jerusalem. He laboured tirelessly to locate ancient tombstones on the Mount of Olives and braved the elements with a personally developed kit of restoration materials preparing stones to be photographed for his clients. He was a familiar figure in the libraries, archives, and Chevra Kadisha in Jerusalem, often discovering precious documents, letters, diaries, minute books of societies and manuscript family trees. He had a phenomenal memory for sources and his colleagues could always be confident of receiving sound advice on how to further their researches. His collection of portraits of rabbis was upwards of 2,000.

Above all, Rabbi Gorr was a staunch adherent of Chabad, revering its leader, the Lubovitcher Rebbe. He published a learned treatise drawn from Biblical and Talmudic sources concluding that just as we performed certain rituals and observed festivals 'Zeher lemaase bereshit' (in remembrance of the act of Creation), so the discovery of the links in the long chain of Jewish existence was "yet another affirmation of faith in the act of creation of the world by Hashem". The issue of *The Jerusalem Post* 6 October 1981, carried a full page article on Rabbi Gorr by Greer Fay Cashman (formerly of Sydney). It was entitled *Trees of Knowledge*. Shmuel did make provision in his Will for his unique archive to be housed in an institution in Jerusalem where it would be accessible to all scholars and genealogists. His untimely passing is a tragic blow to his life's work in genealogy and is a deep sense of loss to his friends. Many are the anecdotes told and fond memories held by his friends. He is survived in Jerusalem by his mother and sister, and by a son in Sydney.

The above compiled by Louise Rosenberg and contains extracts from the correspondence of Chaim (Keith) Freedman, Petah Tikvah, Israel.

GENEALOGICAL ENQUIRIES

Would anyone interested in the following families, and who did not themselves initiate the enquiry, please contact the Genealogical Section at 166 Castlereagh Street, Sydney 2000.

ABRAHAMS, Mark and Rebecca of Newcastle N.S.W.

BARNETT, David, Born c. 1832, Married Rose Levy

BARNETT, Lewis Benjamin, son of David and Rose, married Susan Widdows

BOLGRAFF family

CLEMENTS, Fred and family, from Belgium c 1939

COHEN, Karl Morris, witness to Rothchild marriage 1905.

DRAY, Hannah, second wife of Moses Moses of Yass, N.S.W.

DRISIN family

FAULKNER, John Alexander, born 1892 Montreal Canada, married Louise Agnes Feldman 1927.

FREEMAN, Mark, married Louise Louen, parents of Marjorie and Diana

HART, Thomas (convict) related to John and James Nathan Hart.

HERRMAN, Fanny (nee Phillips) married Mark Herrman.

JAFFE, from East End of London. Descendants sought

JULIAN, Jacob, born c. 1816 London

LEVANSTON, Maurice Joseph, married Lousia Bishop. Immigrated from Scotland to New Zealand 1885-1893.

LEWIS, Benjamin Barnett (son of David) married Susan Widdows.

LYONS, Joshua, married Priscilla Sutton 1837 in Tasmania. Descendants sought.

MENDELSON, Leopold, Oilman of Commercial Rd., Stepney, London. Father of Beatrice.

METZ, Maurice Frederick, born c. 1886/7.

MOSS, Edward married Emma Mary Rawnsley 1862.

MOSS, Moses and Susan, (Moses, son of Isaac and Maria Moss). Descendants sought.

MUSKAT/MOSKET

OLSBERG, Barney and family, arrived Australia c. 1920

POLLACK, Jules, arrived Australia 1903's from Montreal. Owned Textile and Woollen Mill.

ROTHCHILD, Marjorie May, married William Henry Tape at Copeland N.S.W. 1905.

SALMON, James Edward, born c. 1836 London, died 1897 Armidale

SAMUEL, Samuel and Lydia of West Maitland.

SCHACHTEL, Isaac and Rebecca, from Germany c. 1890.

SHAINWALD, arrived from San Francisco 1892. Descendants sought.

SOLOMON, Henry Benjamin and Sara (nee Coleman) c. 1875

SOLOMON, Isaac Josef and Pauline (nee Pizer)

TABAK, family

VALENTINE (possibly COHEN) Harry, son of Flora and Harry senior.

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