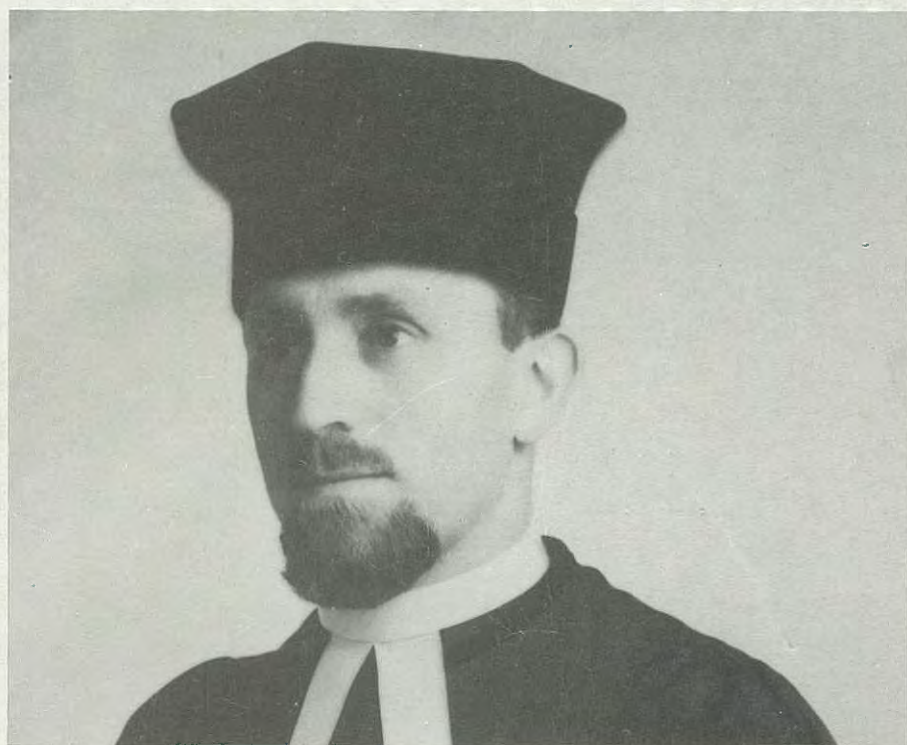


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EDITOR'S INTRODUCTION

In 1990 Mr Morris Forbes retired as editor of the *Australian Jewish Historical Society Journal* after a record period of devoted service to the needs of the Society as both president and editor. I have taken over as Sydney editor and I shall do my best to continue Mr Forbes' fine tradition of service. It is with great sadness that we have to record the recent passing of Rabbi Dr Israel Porush. It is fitting that his article on the International Bible Contest in Australia, a story which reflects one of the many different facets of Rabbi Porush's life and endeavours is included in this Journal. Indeed, my own position today in taking over as editor of the *Journal* owes much to Rabbi Porush's encouragement and support, both while I was his student at the University of Sydney and during my early years of research and writing. My first book, *Seventy Five years*, on the history of the *Australian Jewish Times* was instigated by Rabbi Porush and the late Louis Klein.

This *Journal* begins with an appreciation of Rabbi Porush and is followed by two articles dealing with early Australian Jewish settlers: the story of Samuel Shannon by Dr John Stanhope and of Simon Belifante by Mr Morris Forbes. These two articles highlight some of the central themes of nineteenth century Australian Jewish history: the convict origins of the community which was later suppressed; the fact that many Jews settled in country areas so that by 1860 60% of Australian Jewry lived in the capital cities and 40% in country areas; and the problem of assimilation and intermarriage which threatened the survival of Australian Jewry. Demographer Charles Price has estimated that there are about a quarter of a million Australians with some Jewish ancestry. Loreen Stanhope was one of these but until her husband, Dr Stanhope, began doing some genealogical research she had no idea of her Jewish ancestry — Samuel Shannon's descendants had been lost to the Jewish community. Simon Belinfante came from a well-known Dutch Jewish family but he had converted to the Church of England even before he arrived on Australian shores.

The assimilated and isolated nature of our community is further illustrated by Rabbi Shmuel Gorr's article about a group of Yeshiva students who travelled from Kelme in Lithuania to Australia via Russia and the Pacific Ocean during World War II. They hoped to establish a yeshiva in Australia but the community here was not ready to support this concept. Indeed, it is interesting to note that the first yeshiva in Australia was established not in the major centres of Melbourne or Sydney but in the agricultural settlement of Shepparton due to the vision and devotion of Moshe Feiglin. It was not until more than a decade after that group's arrival in 1941, that the yeshiva moved to Melbourne in 1952 while Sydney had to wait until 1955 for the tentative beginnings of the yeshiva movement thanks to the support of Abraham Rabinovitch. I learnt of the existence of the late Shmuel Gorr's article during an interview with Rabbi Chaim Gutnick in Sydney in 1989 and would like to thank Louise Rosenberg for readily supplying me with a copy at the time. I am happy to be in the position to publish it posthumously. Rabbi Gutnick arrived in Sydney having travelled with that group as a youth of nineteen. As he said when I interviewed him, he was advised by the *Lubavitcher* Rebbe to remain in Australia and it must have been his destiny as he and his family have contributed greatly to the strengthening of Jewish practice in Australia. After the war Chaim Gutnick was joined by his mother and step-father, the late Rabbi Abramson who became minister at

Mizrachi Synagogue in 1949 while Chaim and his brother Scholem became ministers respectively of the Elwood and Caulfield Synagogues in Melbourne, new congregations which grew as a result of postwar immigration.

In looking at the revolutionary effect of the immediate postwar immigration to Australia, a time in which every facet of Australian Jewish life was strengthened, this watershed period resulted from the vision and dedication of a small group of local Jews. Among those who played a central part in these developments was the Hon. Sydney D. Einfeld, AO, whose contribution to Jewish development in the period from 1945-1966 I have discussed in my article which is based on a paper I presented to the Sydney AJHS in 1989 in commemoration of Einfeld's eightieth birthday. Historians often debate as to whether great men make history or whether history produces great men. Which ever view one supports, Sydney Einfeld is one of those great leaders to whom Australian Jewry owes a debt of gratitude. To date, almost nothing has been written about his life and I hope that my article will prove to be a step in the right direction, towards producing an authentic biography.

One group which Einfeld did much to support was the *Sephardi* immigrants and Dr Naomi Gale has written a summary article of the findings from her doctoral dissertation where she studied the *Sephardi* identity in New South Wales. As a minority within a minority the needs of the *Sephardim* are often neglected so it gives me great pleasure to be able to include Naomi Gale's findings as part of this *Journal*, following on from the articles by Gad Ben-Meir, Marcello Montagnana and Dr Joseph Gentili in the previous issue.

Since I have taken over as Sydney editor, there has been excellent collaboration between myself and Melbourne editor, Professor W.D. Rubinstein. As joint editors we are producing Sydney and Melbourne editions of the one *Journal*. In keeping with Melbourne policy, I have included a wide range of book reviews. This has included Sophie Caplan's review of *Surviving Treblinka* which, although it is a book dealing with the Holocaust and does not have specific Australian content, I feel is still relevant to our community. As Professor Rubinstein has noted in his and Hilary's newly published two volume history, *The Jews in Australia: A Thematic History*, "From the viewpoint of the evolution of Australian Jewish history, there can be little doubt of the profound effect which the arrival of the survivors of the Holocaust had upon Jewish life here", (p.72, vol 2)

Although we do not usually publish correspondence, the joint editors are of the view that some of the correspondence that has been received should be included in this *Journal*. As with all other material in the *Journal*, the views which these correspondents express are their personal views and do not represent the views of the Society.

I would like to take this opportunity to thank Gael Hammer for her willing assistance in copy editing, former editor Morris Forbes for his advice and readiness to assist, and Helen Bersten and Sophie Caplan for their ready cooperation.

Suzanne D. Rutland

RABBI DR. ISRAEL PORUSH, O.B.E.

The whole Jewish world is bereft with the passing of Rabbi Porush, He was a Rabbinic leader with such style and stature that he was known and respected everywhere. But it is Australian Jewry that feels the loss with especial sorrow. For he had been, for over 50 years, the most influential figure in the Australian Rabbinate, and much of the shape and structure of the postwar community in this country is due to this one man's extraordinary vision, dynamism, persistence and inner wisdom. When the time comes to write his biography it will thus inevitably be a history of our times.

Within the Australian Jewish Historical Society, Rabbi Porush played an unrivalled role. President for more than half of its history, author of papers of consistent historical and literary quality, guide and mentor to new generations of historians, and its great advocate in the wider counsels of the community, he gave the society status, stability and direction. And as an inspired interpreter of its motto, the biblical verse, "remember the days of old", he was untiring in urging a developing community to know and understand its past in order to build appropriately for the future.

In the words of the sages, "The memory of the righteous will be a blessing."

Rabbi Raymond Apple, A.M.
Immediate Past President.



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AN APPRECIATION

RABBI DR. ISRAEL PORUSH O.B.E. 1907 - 1991

History will assess the full measure of a leader's worth as "good" or as "great". Usually, too, it is the times which make the man, often extending his horizons far beyond anything he himself might have imagined. Someone once said, "No great man ever complains of want of opportunity".

Rabbi Porush came on to the Australian scene at a time when no one could possibly have foreseen the testing times - most of all for the Jewish community - which would call for all the potential greatness any leader could muster. His family background was undoubtedly an asset here, as were his educational opportunities.

He was born on 16 July 1907, in Jerusalem, a member of the sixth generation of one of the oldest Ashkenazi families in Palestine, established by his grandmother's grandfather in the 1830s. His ancestors belonged to the *Mitnagdic* group, most of whom were followers of the school of the Vilna Gaon, and were imbued with a fervent love of Eretz Israel. The first of the direct family to settle in Eretz was Menachem Mendel Kamenitz, the grandfather of his paternal grandmother, Pearl Porush (1851-1947). His surname was "Baum", but he was known as "Menachem Mendel from Kamenitz". Though born in Brisk, Lithuania, in 1800, his family had settled in Kamenitz, Lithuania. In Eretz Israel the name "Baum" was never used. Menachem Mendel's father was Rabbi Aharon ben Menachem, the author of the rabbinic book '*Seyag Latorah*', a reference commentary on Tosafot. This was published in Lvov in 1810. Rabbi Aharon's wife was Zippora, daughter of Uri Lippa of Kamenitz. It was immediately after their marriage in 1833, that they left Lithuania for Eretz Israel.

Rabbi Porush's father was the manager of the Shaare Zedek hospital in Jerusalem. Israel Porush went to Germany at the age of 15 to complete his high school studies in Berlin. He then studied mathematics, physics and philosophy at the University of Marburg where in 1931 he obtained the degree of Ph.D. with a thesis on mathematics. He obtained the Rabbinical Diploma at the Hildesheimer Seminary in Berlin on 8th July 1932. The famous motto of that institution, incidentally, is from Proverbs 3, v.6: "In all thy ways acknowledge Him, and He will direct thy paths."

In 1928, he began to preach on the High Festivals for the Berlin Jewish community and became a teacher of religion in secondary schools and Hebrew classes. For two years, he was headmaster of a Talmud Torah. In 1933, Rabbi Porush moved to London, where he was married to Bertha Link, whom he had met in Berlin. The Chuppah was at Golders Green Synagogue in October 1934.

In June 1934, he had been inducted into office as minister of the Finchley and District Synagogue. His experiences at Finchley Congregation were comprehensive. He was headmaster of the religion classes, vice president of the Finchley Memorial Hospital, a member of the executive of the Jewish National Fund, vice-president of the Finchley Branch of the League of Nations Union, founder-chairman of the literary circle of the Finchley Scout Troop. He was also one of the contributors to the Soncino translation of the Talmud. He translated into English two of the tractates: *Kerithoth* and *Mailah*.

During his ministry, the Finchley congregation increased from 80 to 600 members, and the number of children on the roll of the Hebrew Classes rose from 30 to

155. This is remarkable by any criterion, but particularly so, as he admitted later in life that he had always had difficulty in communicating with children, but he had learned that he could possibly get his thoughts across to their parents, and he hoped and believed that through them he could reach the next generation.

So this was the young man, with his wife and two small daughters who came to Australia in the early months of 1940, to become the fourth fully-qualified minister to have charge of the "Mother Congregation of Australia".

The Synagogue had been without a first minister in its 112 year history for almost two years, following the departure in 1938 of Rabbi E.M. Levy, although Rabbi L.A. Falk, as second minister, had kept the congregation well served during that time.

The Board of Management of the Synagogue had a fine representative in London in the person of Norman Mandelson, who had placed an advertisement in the *Jewish Chronicle* seeking applications for the position of chief minister. There had been quite a good response but Rabbi Dr. Israel Porush's application came with strong recommendations from Rabbi Israel Brodie, former minister of the Melbourne Hebrew Congregation, and from Chief Rabbi Hertz, although both expressed some reservation because of the fact that, in 1937, Rabbi Porush had declined a "call" to Melbourne.

An interview with Norman Mandelson, after the latter had attended a service at Finchley, resulted in the following report: "Rabbi Porush has a nice manner, his learning is profound and he is well thought of here. I certainly do not think you could find anyone who would suit you so well. Moreover, he has a charming wife who would be a great asset, and both have done and are accustomed to do, a great deal for communal visiting work. He has a pleasant and melodious voice and no accent; and is a gentleman in every sense of the word. He is much liked and very popular with his congregation, having done excellent work during his office at Finchley."

In a letter dated 28th August, 1939, to John Goulston, President of the Board of Management of the Great Synagogue, Rabbi Porush accepted the position, though there were several questions, such as the mixed choir, the omission of the silent Musaph prayer, and the reading in English of certain prayers, which were still to be discussed. (During his ministry in Sydney, Rabbi Porush gradually introduced more traditional patterns to the services.)

John Goulston went to London and together with Norman Mandelson, met and discussed with Rabbi Porush further details of the appointment and on 6 January 1940, Goulston cabled to Sydney that Rabbi Porush "agrees to all conditions."

The initial period was for the engagement to be of a three year duration. It was to last though, for more than 32 years. So he might gain more experience with Beth Din procedures before leaving England, it was arranged with the Chief Rabbi - who proved very helpful in the whole matter - that Rabbi Porush would, until his departure for Australia, attend meetings of the London Beth Din.

Chief Rabbi Dr Hertz, sent a special letter dated 19th January, 1940, to the executive of the Great Synagogue saying, "I wish formally to testify that Rabbi Porush has both the moral and intellectual qualifications for the post. His rabbinical degree is of a high order and he now has had intensive practical training in connection with my Beth Din. I would ask you to look upon Dr. Porush as my deputy in all ecclesiastical

problems that may arise in your Community. I pray that God may bless his activity in this new and larger sphere of labour which he is now entering." At a special meeting of 19 February 1940 the congregation unanimously accepted the recommendation of its Board that Rabbi Porush be appointed Chief Minister of the Synagogue.

The Australian Department of the Interior was very helpful to the Congregation in its efforts to bring not only Rabbi and Mrs Porush and their two small daughters, but also Mrs Porush's mother, Mrs Link, as quickly as possible to Australia.. Rabbi Porush and his wife had Palestinian passports, the children were English born and Mrs Link had a Czechoslovakian passport. So the family was able to set sail for Australia, a country they were to adopt for their permanent home. En route to Australia, they visited Rabbi Porush's parents in Jerusalem, as it had been many years since they had seen each other.

On their arrival in Melbourne, early one June morning, they were met by Rabbi Jacob Danglow and members of the boards of the Melbourne and St. Kilda synagogues, who had arranged a joint reception of welcome.

From Melbourne they travelled by rail to Sydney, arriving on 6 June, and were welcomed at an official luncheon by the members of the Board of the Synagogue and their wives. In the evening, the new Rabbi was inducted into office by Rabbi L.A. Falk, at a well-attended choral service. The following Sunday, a reception was held in the Maccabean Hall, where Rabbi and Mrs Porush were welcomed by over 300 members of the congregation. Rabbi Porush officially assumed office on 16 June 1940.

The Board had rented a nicely furnished flat for the family at Birtley Place, Elizabeth Bay. And, so Rabbi Porush and his family settled down in Sydney. He soon realised he would be bearing most of the rabbinic responsibility for the whole Jewish community. As rabbi of the Great Synagogue, he was the religious representative of the community and he was invited to all State and civic functions with other senior clerics.

In 1943, after he had completed three years in office, the Board of Management held a reception at which tribute was paid to Rabbi Porush's work, and he was congratulated on the warm place both he and Mrs Porush had won for themselves in the affections of the congregation and the esteem in which they were both held. The Board was gratified, too, that Rabbi Porush had accepted a re-appointment for a further five years.

The *Hebrew Standard* wrote on 8 July 1943, that Rabbi Porush had at once become a leader of New South Wales Jewry and had associated himself with every Jewish activity. Recalling the controversies which had abounded during the ministry of Rabbi E.M. Levy, the *Judea* wrote "Rabbi Porush has sought none of the artificial popularity that is based on cheap publicity or undignified propaganda. His recognition has been won as much by his modesty and unspectacular methods as by the soundness and constructiveness of his Ministry."

Although he made it clear in his initial correspondence with the Board that he was a Zionist, already involved in J.N.F. activities in London, he was careful not to go to extremes in preaching to his congregation on Zionism and was thus able to avoid some of the problems which had led to Rabbi Levy's departure from the Australian scene.

Rabbi Porush broke new ground by the formation of intermediate and junior membership groups of the Great Synagogue. In the field of education he played a leading part. He was prominent in the negotiations for the recognition of Hebrew as a subject for the Intermediate and Leaving Certificate examinations. He was largely responsible for the re-organisation of the community's scheme of religious education, and held office for many years as Honorary Director of Education. He also took senior Sabbath Class at the Great Synagogue. He was Chairman of the Sydney Beth Din from the time of his arrival and, after Dr Hertz's death, Chief Rabbi Brodie especially endorsed Rabbi Porush's position as *Av Beth Din* 1947, 1953 and 1962.

Rabbi Porush devoted himself to the United Emergency Committee for European Jewry, and one newspaper said of him, "To the large number of newcomers, he has been a warm and sympathetic friend. His home has been the centre of cordial and generous hospitality."

As the representative of New South Wales Jewry, he was active in public relations work and spoke with dignity and conviction on many important platforms. He frequently lectured to a variety of Christian audiences.

One of Rabbi Porush's main activities in his work for the general community was in the field of public relations. And Rabbi Porush's work for the community in general and for education in particular was recognised by the award of the O.B.E. in the 25th year of his ministry at the Great Synagogue.

Already by 1941, he had begun publishing with a pamphlet, *The Revolt Against Religion*, which spelt out the evils of racism and the Nazi ideologies. On 15 May 1941, he delivered a lecture to the Sydney Legacy Club on this subject.

In 1942 the NSW Jewish Advisory Board (the predecessor of the NSW Jewish Board of Deputies) formed a special Public Relations Committee and Rabbi Porush became a member and one of its panel of speakers. He later became a member of the Constitutional Committee of the Board. One of his major, and lasting achievements was the inauguration of the *Great Synagogue Congregational Journal*. Soon after his arrival, he expressed the view that a direct avenue of communication between the Synagogue and its members would greatly enhance the congregational activities as well as help to spread more generally the message of the Synagogue. In September 1944, the first issue of the *Journal* made its appearance, and for over 40 years, he was a regular contributor. The *Journal* has maintained unbroken publication for almost 50 years.

As early as 1951, Rabbi Porush had been using radio for the propagation of Jewish knowledge among the Jewish community. He had been presenting regular festival broadcasts over the ABC. At his suggestion, formal application was made for a licence for a Jewish station, an affiliation with one of the commercial stations or at least for one Jewish programme, once a week. Nothing came of this revolutionary idea at the time.

In 1942, with the frightful news of the fate of European Jewry becoming fully understood, he tried to establish a Council of Christians and Jews but was only successful in this venture in 1943, after a similar organisation had been formed in Great Britain. With the consent of the Advisory Board, he called on the heads of the main Christian denominations and formulated, as the main aims of the Council, the promotion of understanding and goodwill among Christians and Jews, a fellowship between the different youth organisations in educational and cultural activities, and

the fostering of co-operation towards post-war reconstruction. It was only after protracted negotiations that the Council was formally constructed on 24 March 1943. He was later to write a paper on this subject for publication in the *Australian Jewish Historical Society Journal*. On 19 October 1942, he was elected on to the Committee of the Society, and was subsequently to become its longest serving president - his term of office was from 1946, on the death of E.S. Marks, until he left Sydney to live in Melbourne in 1973. In April 1973, Rabbi Porush celebrated his 27th anniversary as president of the Australian Jewish Historical Society. He had always been interested in Jewish history, and had been one of the contributors to Vallentine's Jewish Encyclopaedia published in 1938. He joined the A.J.H.S. soon after his arrival, and on 18 April 1942, delivered his first address to the community on Australian Jewish history, on the occasion of the centenary of the laying of the foundation stone of the York Street Synagogue on 19 April 1942. This address was published in the Historical Society's *Journal*, in which in due course, most of his other historical studies appeared. One important paper of his was "The Story of State Aid to Jewish Establishments in New South Wales", read before the Society on 8 July 1943. After he left Sydney, Rabbi Porush became the Society's Patron. His 27 years' presidency resulted in a great development in research of Australian Jewish history, as he was always greatly encouraging to budding historians and his efforts and continuous collaboration with the Society will not be forgotten.

In 1946 the Rabbi attended an international conference of Christians and Jews at Oxford, after having been selected by the Australian branch of the Council of Christians and Jews as one of its two representatives. During his stay in England, Rabbi Porush preached at his old Finchley Synagogue, and a reception was arranged for him at Jews' College. He then visited European centres. He took the opportunity on his way home to visit his family in Jerusalem.

The Council did valuable work in the public relations field, organised brotherhood rallies and distributed pamphlets exposing anti-Semitism where it was known to exist. But by 1948, the Council had become inactive, and it died without formal dissolution. The Rabbi later termed the work of the Council "unspectacular but meaningful."

War-time conditions also necessitated other activities, and with the help of Rabbi Max Schenk of the Temple Emanuel, who was an American, Saul Symonds, president of the Great Synagogue, and others, Rabbi Porush formed a special committee to care for the thousands of American soldiers in Australia.

During 1944, he helped to unite the three youth groups of the Synagogue, Junior, Intermediate and Senior, into G.S.Y. (Great Synagogue Youth). Pastoral visits by Sydney ministers to the scattered Jewish families in country districts took place regularly from the 1940s. In 1944, Rabbi Porush visited the Jewish residents of Wollongong and district on behalf of the Jewish Overseas Relief Fund. This was his first contact with the Jews in country areas. Many of the pastoral tours, which led him as far as Lismore and Tamworth, were to follow.

It is not generally realised that in the early 1960s, when Australia was contributing to the calculations towards putting a man on the moon, Rabbi Porush's skills as a mathematician were called upon to work out astronomical calculations. A creative mathematical mind was needed to formulate solutions.

The office of Director of Education, which was envisaged by his terms of

engagement, naturally commenced soon after his arrival. As he himself wrote, strong efforts were necessary to raise educational standards and achieve appreciable objectives. During 1942 and 1943, together with M.H. Kellerman, this course was pursued. In 1943, when the Central Synagogue joined the Board of Education, Rabbi Porush helped establish the present New South Wales Board of Jewish Education, which became a more comprehensive communal body. He worked unceasingly to improve Jewish education, and to make the work of the Board more effective. During the whole of his Sydney ministry, Rabbi Porush was an executive member of the Education Board, serving continuously, as chairman of the Education committee, for 23 years as Honorary Director, and for 14 years as deputy president, and later president. He assisted in Bible quizzes, in Demonstration Seders, called on possible sponsors, supervised teachers and taught various special classes. At all times, he actively participated in every phase of the work of the Education Board. Rabbi Porush also became Chairman of the International Bible Contest.

When the controversial proposals to make religion a part of the social studies course in state schools made headlines in 1953-1961, and again in 1966-67, Rabbi Porush represented the Education Board and the Jewish community generally in putting forward a Jewish viewpoint strongly opposing the proposals.

The Rabbi Porush Kindergarten on Old South Head Road, Bondi Junction is a tribute to his inspiration and zeal in introducing Jewish kindergartens to Sydney.

No account of Rabbi Porush's educational work would be complete without reference to the help and active participation of Mrs Porush, especially as life president of the Education Women's Auxiliary.

When in April 1944 the 100th anniversary of the opening of the York Street Synagogue was celebrated there was a commemorative service at the Synagogue and a reception at the Paddington Town Hall. Rabbi Porush gave an address which was a comprehensive survey of the early history of New South Wales Jewry, later to be printed in instalments in the *Hebrew Standard*. His commemorative address on the occasion of the 70th anniversary of the Great Synagogue in 1948, showed how deeply he had delved into early Australian Jewish history. After this, he continued to do serious research into the early Jewish history of Australia and in February 1952, suggested - alas, unsuccessfully - to the Board of the Great Synagogue, the publication of a booklet relating to the history of that Synagogue or at least of Sydney Jewry, on the occasion of the 75th anniversary celebration of the Synagogue planned the following year.

Rabbi Porush never failed to be ready, as president of the Historical Society, to call a committee meeting when asked for it. He concerned himself with many of the important tasks undertaken by the Society, such as the preservation of the historical tombstones at Lidcombe and Botany Cemeteries. He was instrumental in the collection of funds for their re-erection at Rookwood, and in the Pioneers' Memorial Garden at Botany in 1974.

When the *Encyclopaedia Judaica* was planned in the 'sixties, he was commissioned to write over twenty articles and particularly those concerned with Australian Jewry. In 1972, he published his book, *Today's Challenges to Judaism*, in which he discussed the present day problems of Australian Jewry. Then, in 1977, he published *The House of Israel* (which, incidentally, is the actual name of the Great Synagogue).

Rabbi Porush's Jewish scholarship was recognised in 1951 by his appointment as honorary lecturer in Semitic Studies at the University of Sydney. For 24 years he was to lecture on Post Biblical Hebrew at the University.

In 1955, he delivered a series of lectures in the United States under the auspices of American B'nai B'rith. Rabbi Porush had joined the B'nai B'rith Order as a foundation member of the Sydney Lodge in 1944. He addressed the first of the meetings of the Lodge after each summer recess.

During the same trip in 1955, Rabbi Porush went to Israel with Mrs Porush, and when there planted trees in the Queen Elizabeth Coronation Forest on behalf of Australian Jewry.

The war and post-war years had seen the conflict between the British Government and Jewish interests. Some prominent Australians like Sir Isaac Isaacs and - to a lesser extent, perhaps - Sir Samuel Cohen, felt duty bound to support British policies, although, as Rabbi Porush has pointed out, "they, as Jews ought to have felt that a great injustice was being committed."

It was not an encouraging augury for him on the occasion of the first anniversary of the foundation of the state of Israel, in May 1949, when delivering a powerful sermon, he found the Synagogue half empty and the gallery almost empty. When a year later, he delivered a sermon on Independence Day, and the same thing happened, Dr. Hans Kimmel wrote in the *Sydney Jewish News* that, "every good Zionist should consider it a matter of regret if he missed the high-spirited sermon which Rabbi Porush gave on this occasion." The same poor attendance was observed when in October 1953, Rabbi Porush paid homage in the Synagogue to the Memorial for the late Chaim Welzman, first President of the State of Israel. It was at this Service that, probably for the first time, an oration was also given in modern Hebrew in the Synagogue, by Mordecai Nurock, Ambassador for Israel, and it was also the first time that the Rabbi allowed a lay-man to speak from the pulpit of the Synagogue.

Rabbi Porush kept wisely out of the political controversy concerning the reason for poor attendances on occasions relating to the State of Israel. He devoted his time instead to helping the refugees who had arrived recently before and after the war. A membership committee was formed in the Synagogue which made it their business to approach and welcome the newcomers as members of the Great Synagogue. Rabbi Porush speaking some of the languages of the newcomers, was very helpful in their integration and, in two years, the Committee was able to attract 300 immigrants as members of the Congregation.

Within a single decade of his arrival, the Australian Jewish community had more than doubled (from 22,000 in the 1920's and early 1930's to over 50,000). And, with this explosion of population from many disparate sections of European Jewry came problems of integration which might have stunned into immobility a lesser man. Rabbi Porush was able to meet every challenge with a sense of urgency, and with dignity, turning them into positive victory after positive victory, and usually with a supreme confidence. Welfare organisations, Jewish day schools, new synagogues ... The great weight of these responsibilities never seemed to daunt him.

One of the newcomers, John Lewinnek, Rabbi Porush perceived to be "good leadership material" and he recommended to the Board of Management that, in view of the newly arrived immigrants a non-Anglo Jewish presence on the Board

might be valuable. The suggestion was adopted, and for the first time in almost 80 years, the Great Synagogue made a radical change to its policy.

After he had been here for five years, Rabbi Porush felt strongly the need for a regular exchange of ideas and experiences among the ministers of this far-flung and isolated Jewish community. In August 1945, he invited together all rabbis to a first Conference of Australian Ministers. The response was most gratifying, and on 3 & 4 March 1945 the first "Australian Conference of Jewish Ministers" at which no fewer than 15 rabbis and ministers participated, took place in Sydney, proclaiming the adherence to historic Judaism.

One of the tangible benefits of the Conference was the publication of three pamphlets and their extensive dissemination throughout the community: *The Sabbath* and *Kashrut* by Rabbi Porush, and *Intermarriage* by Rabbi Jacob Danglow of Melbourne. At the second Conference, which did not take place until March 17 & 18 1952, this time in the presence of Chief Rabbi Israel Brodie, the Orthodox Ministers founded the Association of Jewish Ministers, and elected Rabbi Porush as president, a position which he held until his retirement. Further conferences took place in November 1956, February 1962, April 1972 and May 1975. This latter conference was also attended by two rabbis from New Zealand - as New Zealand was included in the Association from the beginning. Rabbi Porush was to retire from the presidency after 29 years. After the Conference of 1975, he was honoured with the status of Honorary Life Presidency of the Association.

During the long period of his presidency, the Sydney Jewish community had found the need for a great many more synagogues. It fell to Rabbi Porush to consecrate or dedicate most, if not all, of them: Bankstown, North Shore, Maroubra, Wollongong and the Gold Coast. As most of these synagogues started as Education Centres, Rabbi Porush was closely associated with the creation and stabilising of the new suburban and country congregations. He did not see that they proved to be any competition to the Great Synagogue, but, to the contrary, he helped with their planning, with solutions to their problems, finding ministers for them, and establishing them as viable congregations.

Three times during Rabbi Porush's Ministry, Chief Rabbis from London visited Australia. In 1952 and 1962, Rabbi Israel Brodie came, and in 1970, Rabbi Jakobovitz came. When Rabbi Brodie retired from the Chief Rabbinate post, Rabbi Porush was one of eleven rabbis nominated for the office.

According to an interview given at the time of his retirement, and published in the *Great Synagogue Journal* in January 1973, Rabbi Porush expressed the opinion that "the impact of those visits on the internal development of Australian Jewry was not very exciting. I do not think that it is necessary for us (in Australia) to rely upon the Chief Rabbinate to the same extent as in earlier periods, as the community of 75,000 has now 45 rabbis and ministers. We need some independence. It will not come easily, because the orthodox community is not sufficiently united. The first step towards the establishment of a local Rabbinate should have been a head who would be regarded as the Chief Rabbi."

In the same issue of the *Journal*, Rabbi Dr. A. Fabian wrote that, "While the Australian Chief Rabbinate does not seem a practical proposition at this juncture, Rabbi Porush would have been the one Rabbi to have been assured of widespread support for such an office by reason of his distinguished spiritual leadership and his

Rabbinical personality."

It was not to be. Although, the ministers were still united in their Association, they were not united in this matter, and opposition, especially from Melbourne, but also from elsewhere, was strong. At no time was a serious attempt made to create a Chief Rabbinate in Australia.

When, in January 1974, as president of the Association, Rabbi Porush called a meeting of the New South Wales Division of the Association, to discuss proposals submitted by the United Orthodox Synagogue (U.O.S.) among which was the establishment of a "Communal Rabbi to assist communities without a permanent Rabbi", the Conference was called off because of lack of support by some of the rabbis.

Rabbi Porush's duties extended to many fields and there was hardly a communal event at which he did not participate. A recent look back over the years, 1948 to 1965 reveal that in December 1948, he opened the short lived Y.M.H.A. (Young Men's Hebrew Association) Centre at "Dunara", Point Piper. In 1950, he addressed members of the North Shore Synagogue on the history of the Sydney Community. In February 1951, he became a member of the Citizens' Protest Committee on German Immigration. In May 1951, he spoke at a rally organised by the Zionist Organisation to establish closer contact between the small but growing Sephardi community, and other members of the Sydney community. In January 1951, he delivered a lecture on "The Fundamentals of Judaism - Its Philosophical Aspects", at the Sydney University Jewish Student Union's Conference at Castlereagh, and in January 1953, he organised a lecture evening at the Great Synagogue, at which he spoke together with M.D. Friedman and David Benjamin. And, when he spoke in July 1953, at the "Tarbut" first "Oneg Shabbath", in commemoration of the deaths of Herzl and Bialik, the chairman, the late H.B. Newman, who was to become one of the most prominent leaders, not only of the Zionist Movement, but of Australian Jewry, praised Rabbi Porush's address as "one of the most fascinating of all lectures which in recent years has been heard in Sydney on such an occasion." And this continued unabated during his whole Ministry. Apart from the many obligations he found himself involved in with Jewish organisations, he, as the representative of the oldest and largest Jewish congregation, assumed also an important position in public life generally which he filled with dignity and devotion.

For decades, he worthily represented Jewry at regal, Commonwealth and State Government, municipal and diplomatic ceremonial occasions. He had thus become known to and developed cordial friendships with many high ranking and leading citizens throughout the Commonwealth. It will be recalled that at the celebrations of the 90th Anniversary of the Great Synagogue - in preparation for its centenary - the then prime Minister, Sir Robert Menzies, stated that he regarded Rabbi Porush as his personal friend. Thirty-two years is a long time for a Minister to serve a congregation, and one must say that Rabbi Porush did not only serve his congregation, but the whole Jewish community of New South Wales and in a larger sense, even Australia, during this period. He pointed this out, himself, when he wrote that it was gratifying that it was his privilege "to minister at a time when a mighty spiritual and cultural renaissance took place in the community". He added that it is not given to many rabbis to be in the heart of the great upsurge of construction in every field and to be able to participate in it helpfully; new synagogues and day schools, lodges and clubs, youth groups and camps, a solid Beth Din and kashrut facilities,

all largely brought about by the enrichment of a community through the arrival of migrants from the great centres of Jewish life in Europe.

In his work, Rabbi Porush was most ably assisted by his wife, Bertha Porush. Used to welfare work from her early youth, she had during Rabbi Porush's Ministry in London actively assisted the Hospitality Centre at Woburn House, where thousands of refugees were cared for in the 'thirties. She organised a scheme to rescue young girls from Europe and endeavoured to have them adopted. In Australia, Mrs Porush continued to rescue Jewish children from Europe and, was one of those responsible for persuading the Government to grant 150 special permits for Jewish children to come to this country immediately after the War.

Writing of his retirement from the Great Synagogue, the *Sydney Morning Herald* in a December issue said, "The farewell celebrations have been almost non-stop. A Kiddush at the Great Synagogue, lunch parties, cocktail parties, a dinner for 200 at the Maccabean Hall, with the Premier, the Leader of the Opposition and the Chief Justice among the guests ..."

Rabbi Dr I Rapaport, Minister of the Melbourne Hebrew Congregation, and Chairman of the Melbourne Beth Din, at the communal dinner, spoke in the name of the Jewish Clergy in Australia and New Zealand: "Rabbi Porush is our supreme spiritual leader in this part of the world and were we not a community that holds upon the apron-strings of Great Britain, we would have no better person to occupy the office of Chief Rabbi of this country than him. He had upheld, with the utmost rigour and devotion, the teachings of Orthodox Judaism ..." He presented Rabbi Porush with an Illuminated Address as a token of the high esteem of his colleagues.

High tribute was also paid by the premier, Sir Robert Askin, who proposed the toast to Rabbi Porush and praised his work for the general community. "He worked to increase understanding, and represented Australian Jewry well at all forums. Thanks to the work of Rabbi Porush and leaders of other faiths with similar outlook, Australia is more ecumenical than ever."

In his reply, Rabbi Porush reiterated his wish to continue his work as Head of the Beth Din and as a lecturer at Sydney University.

After his retirement, Rabbi Porush liked to point out that his 32 years as Minister of the Great Synagogue had some special significance: Thirty-two has the Hebrew name "Lev" – the heart – so, he said, we may begin to take heart from what had come out of that particular generation. And, in answer to the question whether the result of his ministry had been commensurate with expectation, he replied, thoughtfully, "probably not. With hindsight and greater wisdom I could say, if I had my life again I would have done many things differently. But then, who has not learnt from time? This much I can say with confidence: taking the ministry as a whole, I have no regrets in having chosen this vocation. If I have not achieved much, I have helped to keep the flag flying through most difficult and challenging times. If I have not created much, I have helped to prevent decay at a time when all religions and moral values are questioned if not denied, and when our people are exposed to corrosion from outside and to apathy from within to an extent that the very survival of Judaism is threatened."

In April 1975, Rabbi and Mrs Porush moved to Melbourne to be near their daughter and her family.

In 1987, Rabbi Porush celebrated his 80th birthday, and in 1988, the Australian

Jewish Historical Society marked its 50th Anniversary. These two important milestones were celebrated jointly with a festive dinner held at the Great Synagogue on 1 November 1987. Also marking the occasion, the Australian Jewish Historical Society published a collection of historical essays to honour Rabbi Porush. This special publication contained 14 essays by friends and colleagues, plus a bibliography of Rabbi Porush's own writings.

In 1962, the artist, Walter E. Pidgeon, won the Archibald Prize with a portrait of Rabbi Porush. It was later donated to the Great Synagogue by Miss Janey Davis, and hangs today in the auditorium of the Synagogue. But his congregants probably do not need this to remind them of his unprecedented achievements on their behalf. At his death on 22 May 1991 Rabbi Porush's passing was mourned by many outside the Jewish community as well.

Rabbi Porush's 32 years' ministry at the Great Synagogue will always be regarded as a milestone in Australian Jewish history which left the Australian Jewish community with an elevated status. His memory will indeed be a blessing. The Sydney Jewish Community is alive with memorials to his sojourn in Australia. These, if nothing else, will serve to remind us of the scale and influence of his ministry here. However history sees Rabbi Dr. Israel Porush, he will stand proud as a notable figure among rabbis.

Louise Rosenberg

SAMUEL SHANNON: COOMA BUSINESSMAN (1802-1868)

by John Stanhope

INTRODUCTION

My wife Loreen Stanhope is the granddaughter of Rebecca Maude Boon, the granddaughter of Samuel Shannon. In the course of family research, I found the name Shannon and expected him to be Irish. The discovery that his marriage was Jewish was a surprise. Perhaps intervening generations had suppressed either their Jewish or convict background, or both. This discovery led us to an appreciation of the contribution of early Jewish Australians to our heritage.

SAMUEL SHANNON

Samuel Shannon was born in Bishopgate Street in London in 1802.¹ His death certificate² states that he was the son of a Jacob Shannon, who was a confectioner at Cannal Place, Kent Road.³

Samuel Shannon was arrested in 1821. On 13 August 1821 at Kent Assizes in Maidstone he was convicted of 'having and forging bank notes' and was sentenced to transportation to the colonies for fourteen years.⁴ He was imprisoned on the hulk *Retribution* in the Thames estuary at Sheerness for three months. When transferred to the *Richmond* his character was described as 'good'.⁵ He travelled on the *Richmond* which left Sheerness on 27 November 1821 with 160 male convicts, one of whom died on the voyage. They reached Hobart on 30 April 1822.⁶

On arrival at the Derwent, Hobart, Shannon was described as a merchant's clerk by vocation, aged 21, 5 feet 3 1/2 inches in height, with fair complexion, dark

brown eyes and hair. He was not the first Jew from Sheerness to be transported to Hobart for 'Judah and Joseph Solomon... arrived in Hobart Town 1819, with life sentences... They came from the Thames estuary town of Sheerness and were part of the little Jewish community there'.⁷

He was assigned to work for James Cox (1790-1866) who had moved from Sydney to Van Diemen's Land in 1814 to acquire and develop properties in the Tamar and Huon valleys. In the 1828 census Samuel was listed as aged 28, working on the Cox farm at Evandale as a labourer for James' brother, George Cox (1795-1868),⁸ who later returned to Sydney and acquired property at Mulgoa. Shannon was also incorrectly described in the census as having arrived on the *Mariner* in 1821 and as being of the 'Protestant Religion'.

Shannon's term expired in 1835. His certificate of freedom, issued in New South Wales on 28 August 1835, states that he was 5 feet 4 inches in height, had dark complexion, dark brown hair and eyes, and scarred hands and that his occupation was as a carpenter.

When and how Shannon arrived in New South Wales is unknown, but it may have been between expiration of his term and issuance of the certificate. He and another Cooma Jew are referred to as 'free migrants of the mid 1830s'.⁹ We may speculate that having served his sentence in Van Diemen's Land, he was free to arrive in Sydney in August 1835, perhaps as an unlisted steerage passenger. Apparently his convict background was not noted, or noteworthy, in the Sydney Jewish community which seems to have 'preferred to completely conceal its convict elements'.¹⁰ Mitchell Felix, a Cooma historian, suggests that he 'seems to have arrived, probably also as a steerage passenger in the late thirties'.¹¹ I believe that this date is not correct.

On 10 February 1841 Shannon was married to Emelia Abrahams according to Jewish rites by Jacob Isaacs.¹² Economic depression in 1841 persuaded many Jews to leave Sydney and 'spread out'.¹³ Shannon went south to the 'Manaroo' (Monaro) district where other Jewish entrepreneurs were in business.

From 1837 to 1841, from his base in Sydney, Abraham Moses delivered supplies to the southern tablelands and alps. These activities included the setting up of a store near Michelago, about 320 kilometres south of Sydney, and another at Reid's Flat, at Bunyan, 7 km north of Cooma, soon to be known as Jews' Flat, because of the presence of the Moses, Solomon and Shannon families, all interrelated. Shannon is reputed to have been a brother to Abraham Moses's wife, Leah (nee Shannon). Abraham Moses added a public house, *The Squatters' Arms*, which still stands, to his store but in 1841 he sold his holdings near Cooma to Solomon Solomon who was married to Emelia Shannon's sister, Rachel, in 1840. Shannon opened a store at Jews' Flat some time in 1841-1842.

Shannon received a pasturage licence, gazetted on 1 November 1842.¹⁴ He was already the father of a daughter, Rebecca, born at Jews' Flat (Bunyan). Rebecca's birth was not registered, as there was no civil registration at that time. She was neither christened in a Christian Church nor registered with the Sydney synagogue. The place of her birth is ascertained from her first marriage certificate¹⁵ and her children's birth certificates, for example Rebecca Maude Boon.¹⁶ Her age in early 1860 was 18, early in 1891 was 49 (Emelia Shannon¹⁷), so that she was probably born late 1841 to early 1842.

On 19 December 1842, Shannon took over the licence of *The Squatters' Arms*.¹⁸ His remaining children were also born at Jews' Flat — Abraham, 1843, John Ernest, 1845, Isaac Albert, 1848, John Frederick, 1850 and Eli Augustus, 1854. Shannon's respectability in this period was exemplified by his support of Dr Dunmore Lang's petition against further convict transportation. He presented his position on this issue in a personal paper dated 31 August 1850.¹⁹

Shannon's adoption of inn-keeping was common among colonial Jews. Most Jewish convicts were very poor and adopted new trades. As John Levi and George Bergman noted in their seminal work, *Australian Genesis: Jewish Settlers and Convicts*, 'The Jews of both New South Wales and Van Diemen's Land spread out from the first areas of settlement as hawkers and licensed hotel keepers'.²⁰ This view was endorsed by historian Hilary Rubinstein who wrote: 'In Australia a large number of tavern or hotel keepers and licensed liquor sellers were Jews'.²¹

In 1854 Shannon relinquished the Bunyan Inn to Alexander Davidson and moved into Cooma town to develop a career building houses and shops.²² His subsequent career is well documented.²³ In March 1854 Samuel opened a slab-and-bark store in Cooma called *The Big Drum*, now the *Big Mack*, on the corner of Sharp and Bombala Streets. He was granted a spirit merchant's licence for this store on 29 March 1854, renewed on 19 March 1855, 25 January 1856 and 15 January 1857. About 1857 the post office was located in this store for a short time. In 1855 he built a slab-and-thatch store at Lambie Street, Mudhouse Flat, and obtained a spirit merchant's licence for this store on 1 October 1855, renewed on 28 January 1856, and 24 September 1956. In January 1956 he disposed of this property to Abraham Levy who 'respectfully begs to acquaint the public of Cooma... that he has taken those premises lately occupied by Mr Shannon as a store situated in Lambie Street'. In 1857 Shannon opened the *Victoria Hotel* (now the *Prince of Wales*) and received a general publican's licence on 1 December 1857. The spirit merchant's licence for *The Big Drum* was not renewed. The publican's licence was confirmed on 20 April 1858.²⁴

On 21 May 1860, Samuel's daughter, Rebecca, was married aged 18, with her father's consent.²⁵ The groom was Robert Barr, a carpenter, from Lanarkshire, Scotland. The celebrant was Rev. Thomas Druitt, Anglican rector of Cooma, 1856-90. The venue was 'Williams' Station at the junction of the Big Badga and Numeralla Rivers',²⁶ Mary Ann Williams being one of the witnesses. Why was the marriage performed 20km out of Cooma? One surmises this was a compromise between Jewish and Anglican factors. Robert Barr was an Anglican and his grave is in the old Christ Church Anglican cemetery. Yet the ceremony could have been performed in the Anglican Church rather than on private property. Samuel and Emelia Shannon were later to be buried with Jewish rites. Possibly Cooma lacked a Jewish marriage celebrant. Shannon turned over the Victoria Hotel to Robert and Rebecca.

During 1860, Shannon built two cottages, a bakery and a new store for Solomon and Harry Solomon. The following year he rented for a brief period *The Big Drum* to a third Solomon brother, Charles.

In 1861 Shannon and three other businessmen decided to establish a national (that is a non-denomination) school. Two previous attempts at establishing private schools had apparently failed. As one of the businessmen was a Roman Catholic and Shannon was a Jew, it seems likely that the group had hoped to forestall the

development of a sectarian school. Two of the four had sons attending a Mr Taylor's school adjacent to the Victoria Hotel. The national school was built in 1863.

Shannon owned other buildings. In July 1865 he leased the *New London Store* in Sharp Street to Sampson Hain, whose own building had been burnt down. On 28 December of that year his son-in-law, Robert Barr, innkeeper, died suddenly of bowel obstruction and was buried by Rev. Druitt, leaving Rebecca and three young children.⁵⁷

Four months later, on 23 April 1866, Rebecca remarried. Her address was given as the Victoria Hotel, her occupation as innkeeper. She was married to Daniel Boon, a jockey, in the Church of Scotland, by Rev. William Baker, Presbyterian incumbent, 1865-1872.⁵⁸

By the mid 1860s Shannon must have been in declining health, for when he died on 16 May 1868 at his Sharp Street residence, the cause of death was certified as natural decay for four years.⁵⁹ He was described as an 'innkeeper'. The body was buried the next day on private land near the Christ Church Anglican cemetery.⁶⁰ Emelia stated that he had been 38 years in New South Wales, that is since 1830, which suggests that she may have been unaware of his convict past.

The witnesses were the undertaker, Edmund Harrison and Charles Solomon, a long time friend, Monaro identity and fellow Jew. Although the 'name and religion of minister' was left blank, we may assume Solomon performed a Jewish ceremony, since when Emelia Shannon died in 1891 'C. Solomon J.P. according to the rites of the Jewish Church' officiated — the same Charles Solomon.

Although described as being on the west side of Church Rd surrounded by a railing (in 1982), the grave could not be found by my wife and myself on two searches. Apparently there was an inscription misread as 'SHANNON Samuel, died 10 May 186-'.⁶¹

No descendents are known to remain in Cooma. Shannon's daughter, Rebecca, moved to Wagga Wagga soon after Shannon's death. Abraham Shannon also moved to Wagga Wagga in 1876-1877 and then settled in Queanbeyan. Isaac Shannon, after a notable business and civic career, retired to Guildford, as did bachelor Jonah Shannon. John Shannon also did not marry. Eli Shannon alone married in the Jewish community to Emily Cohen in 1892; if any of Samuel Shannon's descendents are of Jewish faith today, they would be through Eli.

Samuel Shannon was one of the Jewish businessmen, some of convict origin, who were scattered through New South Wales in the early middle of last century. In particular he was one of a group who pioneered the Monaro district.

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SIMON BELINFANTE IN AUSTRALIA

1863 – 1874

By M.Z. Forbes, B.A., LL.B.

The township of Gulgong, which is in the Mudgee Shire, 296kms by road North West of Sydney, is today classified as an historic conservation area by the National Trust. During a brief span of years beginning in 1870, Gulgong experienced the peak of its gold rush fever, attracting a population estimated to have reached 10,000 within four years. Slab and bark huts and calico tents sprung up within Gulgong and the surrounding landscape, though some structures carried false timber fronts presenting a more substantial appearance. The town drew

numerous tradesmen and others who set up businesses, theatres, banks, as well as the practices of professional men, doctors, chemists, and lawyers. As many as 60 hotels were opened within the area and some nine proprietors provided vans and coaches as transport. When the gold rush was over, the district began to resume its peaceful pastoral character. Today, as one historian writes, "The golden fleece and, the golden grain have replaced the gold of yesterday." The population of Gulgong is now about 1700 and the town enjoys much interest as an historic tourist centre. The life and times of the gold era as well as the pastoral history of the district can be explored in the substantial Pioneers Museum which contains an outstanding collection of exhibits and archives.

Gulgong was originally known as Guntawang where cattle and sheep grazed along the banks of the Cudgegong River. Some gold had already been found there in the 'fifties and 'sixties, leading eventually to the gazettal of the Gulgong Goldfield. In 1870, Tom Saunders, a shepherd, dug up gold attached to the roots of the grass at Red Hill. This proved to be a significant strike, almost immediately causing a rush when many were able, initially, to find gold just below the surface. Other major discoveries followed at Canadian Lead and Home Rule. The town of Gulgong, with its narrow winding streets, grew rather quickly, reaching its heyday in about 1872. About 300,000 ozs of gold were finally won, valued then at £3/ 17/6 an ounce. "The scene from here is immense", declared an English clergyman, "exhilarating. Yes, Gulgong is the hub of the world". A few of the townspeople can be singled out for special mention, including Simon Belinfante who is the subject of this Paper.

Thomas Alexander Browne, who was well liked as the Police Magistrate and Gold Commissioner at Gulgong, was persistently criticised by the editor of the *Gulgong Guardian*, Fred De Courcy Browne, resulting in the latter's conviction in Sydney on a charge of criminal libel. T.A. Browne later achieved prominence for his writings and was best known as the novelist, 'Rolf Boldrewood', the author of *Robbery Under Arms*, a classic for which the author gained much praise within Australia and beyond. He also wrote *The Miner's Right*, which contained dramatic scenes and pen pictures from the goldfields. His namesake, the journalist, is deserving of credit, for his newspaper is a valuable contemporary record of Gulgong's goldfield events and life at that time. A Petition for clemency was successful in securing De Courcy Browne's release from prison after one month and an apology tendered by him.¹ Another leading local personality was Dr Charles Zimmer who carried on a Pharmacy, which is depicted on the Ten Dollar Note. He was a medical doctor from Hanover but, presumably, was not qualified to practise in the colony. At one time he faced serious criminal proceedings at Bathurst Assizes on account of alleged professional neglect in the death of a child.² Mention should also be made of the actress Joey (Josephine) Gougenheim. She was said to be of Jewish extraction, the daughter, born in Ireland, to an English lawyer, Augustus Gougenheim.³

THE HENRY LAWSON COUNTRY

Were it intended to cover the history of Gulgong, many other identities would be worthy of mention without in any way lessening the extraordinary character of Simon Belinfante who, albeit, might well be matched by a few other figures. The Ten Dollar Note depicts Henry Lawson, who, though born at Grenfell, spent his early childhood at Eurunderee close by Gulgong when the gold rush was at its height. "In the first fifteen years of my life", he wrote in the *Bulletin*, "I saw the last

of the roaring days of the Gulgong goldfields. I remember the rush as a boy might his first and only pantomime." He recalled those scenes in the lines of his famous poem, "The Roaring Days" ...

The brooding bush awakened,
Was stirred in wild unrest.
And all the year a human stream
Went pouring to the West.

O who would paint a goldfield,
And paint the picture right.
As we have often seen it
In early morning's light:
The yellow mounds of mullock
With spots of red and white,
The scattered quartz that glistened
Like diamonds in the light.

The rolling country of the Cudgegong Valley in a bend of the ranges was the setting of much of Lawson's prose and verse. As Frank Dalby Davison has truly written, "Lawson's roots run deep and wide in this ground."⁵ It was here that he evolved his philosophy, providing the basis for much of his work.⁶ Further interesting background material is included in a Paper by Robert Darby devoted to the Lawson Family Home.⁷

The historian of Gulgong and of Mudgee cannot fail to notice the influence upon Henry Lawson and his associations with the area from which he drew inspiration. This country, as Davison and others have seen so clearly, "represented a humanised landscape". From the hill behind the family homestead at Eurunderree, which was later allowed to fall into complete ruin, Davison has succeeded in describing the surrounding area as Lawson would have seen it:

You could fire bullets as far as Ross's farm, the old Bark School, the site of the Shanty on the Rise, the selection of the Hairy Man, the home of the old school-master, John Tierney; and Ben Duggan's horse would carry you to all the other places: Reedy River, Mt Buckaroo, Havilah Station, Lahey's Creek; Bellenfante's Bridge, and bring you back to the homestead gate by sundown.

Professor Colin Roderick, the acknowledged authority on Lawson, has kindly provided me with some details which assist in understanding this reference to *Belinfante's Bridge*. Firstly, and contrary to what is occasionally believed, Lawson wrote no poem or prose in which Dr Simon Belinfante appears. As Prof. Roderick explains, Lawson's "eccentric bush doctor" was Doc. Wild who has been identified with one, Wylie Gollan. However, in 1891 Lawson wrote the poem, "Ben Duggan" which he later entitled "Talbragar", containing the lines

The night he passed the humpies of the splinters on the ridge,

And roused the bullock-drivers camped on Belinfante's Bridge;

The poet, like so many others, got the name wrong. His original version of the poem spoke of "Ballanfaulie's Bridge".⁸ In 1891 there also appeared the first prose version of the same incidents covered by the poem, but, according to Roderick, there was no reference then to the Bridge. In the latter's most recent edition of the prose stories, *The Master Story-Teller* (1984), there is included "Roll Up At Talbragar", in which appears the statement that ...

At Belinfante's Bridge across the Cudgegong Ben struck a big camp of bullock

drivers, some going down with wool and some going back for more.¹¹ Colin Roderick tells us that when this story was written, the author had been in prison and, mentally speaking, was at a very low ebb. The story, like the poem, focuses around two funerals, which suggests that it is a reflection of the emotional condition to which Lawson was then reduced. "The background", our commentator writes, "is the 'gaol' of his (Lawson's) boyhood: Eurunderee and Belinfante's Bridge, Deadman's Gap and Talbragar." "The 'roaring days', their colour and excitement, provided no solace for the stark reality of Lawson's childhood, which, as recalled in the autobiography, was 'a miserable little hell.'"

Writing to me in 1984, Roderick states, that when he saw the Bridge in about 1949 (but rebuilt in 1966) the adjacent signpost designated it as "Belinfante Bridge". A photograph supplied to me by the then department of Main Roads, indicated that this Bridge on Trunk Road 55 was known as "Belinfante Bridge". These discrepancies, perhaps minor in themselves, are by no means the only mistakes or misunderstandings associated with Simon Belinfante.

MORE LIKE A FAIR THAN A TOWN

Turning again to Gulgong in its roaring days, Anthony Trollope, the famous English novelist, visited the place when he toured the Australian colonies and New Zealand in 1871, afterwards publishing in London a lengthy account of his experiences and impressions.¹² His itinerary included Gulgong, though he noted that nearby Mudgee was "a clean little town". Of Gulgong, he wrote that "That rush had been rushed before I reached it."¹³ He said, "Gulgong was certainly a rough place when I visited it, but not quite so rough as I had expected ... the place looked more like a fair than a town... everything needful seemed to be at hand."¹⁴ Trollope went on to say that the town itself was of more interest to him than the mines. He found miners and shareholders working together at the mines, remarking on the "courtesy and civility" of all concerned. The novelist however, was not there long enough to avoid some of the generalisations of his account. Those who had crossed characters such as F. De Courcy Browne and Simon Belinfante, for example, would have formed some reservations about the civility of some of Gulgong's identities. Trollope observed correctly when he noted that the town and its goldfield offered no real prospect of riches to those who had flocked there. The average miner, under difficult conditions, was earning about £2. 10- to £3 per week.

The Town on the Ten Dollar Note is the association which Gulgong has in the minds of many Australian of today, featuring reproductions of photographs taken by Beaufoy Merlin during 1871-1872. A visitor such as Trollope was of course struck by the feverish activity of the goldfield but not without apparently gaining an appreciation of the citizenry. The photographs in the Holtermann Collection have preserved for all time the appearance of Gulgong as it was in the early 'seventies of the last century. One notices, as an example only, the picture of Abraham and Simeon Moses and others standing by the store with its sign, "The Greatest Wonder Of The World" which Keast Burke in *Gold and Silver* rightly describes as "a magnificent photograph". That author's researches restored and helped to identify many of the negatives of the Collection in the Mitchell Library. Keast Burke was well qualified to draw special attention to the character and quality of those who contributed to the life of Gulgong: "Hill End and Gulgong stand out as examples of settlements in the true sense of the word with each member contributing his special skills to the bene-

H Y M N E, LOUANGES ET PRIERES,

*Prononcés par le Révérend Grand-Rabbin des Israélites
Portugais à Amsterdam ;*

A l'occasion de ce que Leurs Majestés IMPÉRIALES ET
ROYALES L'EMPEREUR ET ROI,
NAPOLÉON LE GRAND,
et L'IMPÉRATRICE REINE,
MARIE LOUISE,
daignèrent honorer de leur Auguste présence le
Temple de la susdite Communauté, au mois
d'Octobre 1811.

A Amsterdam, de l'Imprimerie de BELINFANTE et Comp., Imprimeurs-
Libraires, rue Nes, n°. 64.

1811.

*Title page of Order of Service printed in 1811 by Belinfante & Co
(Printers & Booksellers) to mark the visit by Napoleon and his Consort
to the Synagogue of the Portugese Jews at Amsterdam.*

fit of all."¹⁵

This is not the occasion to speak of Hill End, midway between Bathurst and Mudgee, the town which boomed about the same time as the Gulgong rush. Unlike Gulgong, it had no recognisable Jewish community of any kind. Although more inaccessible, Hill End experienced a rush and conditions resembling, to some extent, the Gulgong story. From its ridges, in 1872, the brothers-in-law, Holtermann and Beyers, excavated the huge slab of reef gold weighing 630lbs. and said to have been the largest single mass of gold ore ever mined. It may be assumed that the residents and miners of both these goldfields were able to maintain lines of communication. All the writers and historians, whoever, have tended to look at both these places in isolation from each other. They are joined together in the Collection of photographs which were taken by Merlin in 1872 and restored for posterity in Keast Burke's valuable work.

BELINFANTE GENEALOGY

The preceding paragraphs should provide the setting for the short period of Simon Belinfante's life on the Gulgong goldfield, the significant part of a mere decade in Australia where his life closed, tragically and untimely when in 1874 he was drowned in the Cudgegong River. His career was indeed brief, full of much promise and marked by the excitement personally experienced by some of those who chose to be part of the drama of a gold rush community. Simon Belinfante, it will be seen, though apparently unstable in temperament, was highly intellectual. He seems to have followed in a tradition of Belinfantes, even if in other directions, in making important contributions as writers and divines to Jewish learning and scholarship. The founder of this Sephardi family, Joseph Cohen Belinfante, was a fugitive in 1526 from the persecution of the Jews in Portugal, seeking refuge, as many others did in those times, in Turkey. Members of this family eventually settled in Holland where Zadik Belinfante (1675-1750) produced Talmudical works and was Chief Rabbi in Amsterdam. Another prominent descendant was Isaac (died 1780) who was a poet, wrote on grammar, ethics, and philosophy and revised the prayer book. Some of his Manuscripts are held in the Bodleian Library. He is referred to as being a precursor of the *Haskalah*, the movement which emphasised and developed the Jewish intelligentsia. A grandson of Isaac, Moses Belinfante, was a noted linguist, a Judaeo-Dutch journalist, produced almanacs, Hebrew readers, and translated the Portuguese prayer book into Dutch. He is said to have been active in furthering the cause of Jewish emancipation in Holland. A brother of his, Jacob (1780-1848), was the editor of the official Netherlands Gazette.¹⁶

In order to trace the many branches of the Belinfantes, it is necessary to study the complete genealogy and Family Tree available from Amsterdam. This genealogy discloses that Simon's parents, of Amsterdam, were Abraham and Elizabeth Belinfante. Simon was born at Amsterdam in 1831, the second of a family of nine children. The details seem to have been established with some accuracy, it being also stated that Simon was drowned in New South Wales on 14 July 1874. He was the father, in 1859, of a boy named William Scheckspire Belinfante, but no mention is made of the mother. Simon's son, it is recorded, died in America in 1870. Simon's father, Abraham, died in 1876 but a compiler of all this data saw fit to add the Dutch word, "dronkaard", presumably meaning to indicate that he was an alcoholic. It may

be conjectured, therefore, that Simon probably had more than one reason for leaving Holland and the immediate family circle. Firstly, of the mother of his only child, nothing has been recorded. As to his associations with his own father, Abraham, one surmises that they were not happy ones. Further, though the Belinfantes' history was rooted in Jewish traditions, Simon pursued emancipation to an extreme point in severing all personal links with the faith of his ancestors, joining the Dutch reformed Church and, later, the Church of England. He was always to remain restless and ambitious, unpredictable, essentially an individualist. Incidentally, the particulars of death recorded at Gulgong in 1874, show the first names of Simon's parents as David and Marie. Janet Underwood whom he later married at age 35 (but without issue) must have supplied these erroneous details of her late husband's parentage. This is just another instance making up the cloudy picture of our subject's life.¹⁷

SIMON BELINFANTE'S EARLY CAREER

Belinfante, when at Gulgong, advertised that he was a Gold medalist of the London University,¹⁸ an award which was repeated in the Obituaries on Belinfante. However, some particulars were furnished to me by the University of London Library. It was indicated that Belinfante did not *graduate* from that University. He matriculated there in 1856 and passed the examination for the 1st M.B. (later called Examination in Medicine) in 1858 as a student of University College. He is not listed in the calendar as having won a gold medal. The registers show that in 1845 he gave his address as 40 Gower Place, New Road, his age 24. A certificate was provided from French Chapel, 21 King Street, Portman Square. His place of study was St. Edmund's College, Ware, and place of birth was recorded as Amsterdam. He was placed in the 2nd division at the pass examination. Also, inquiry of the Royal College of Surgeons of England discloses that he first became a Member of the College in 1859. In the following year his address for College purposes, was 2 Upper Terrace, Islington, London. It is of interest to know that between the years 1867-71 his address was stated to be Grafton, New South Wales.

The next step in Belinfante's medical career, according to particulars supplied to me by the University of St Andrews (Scotland) was his graduation from that University on 10 May 1861 as M.D., having been examined along with 48 other candidates (11 of whom failed) on five consecutive days. That degree was purely one by examination of those already qualified to practise. It should be added here, that non-conformists were still being denied admission to the Universities of Oxford and Cambridge. Such discrimination did not exist in the Scottish Universities. It has been estimated that by 1862 some 35 Jewish doctors obtained Scottish qualifications. (Dr Kenneth E. Collins of Glasgow has presented a brief Paper on this subject).¹⁹ Australia's first medical school at Melbourne University did not open until 1862.

In the early 'sixties the Government of the newly separated colony of Queensland was vigorously promoting immigration, and Queensland was said at that time to be the most popular field for immigration from the United Kingdom. Henry Jordan was given the official task of proceeding to London to supervise the selection of desirable migrants, which he carried out by a public relations campaign by extensive lectures, literature, and advertisements.^{20, 21} Incidentally, although this programme was very successful in attracting migrants to the colony, too few of them were Jews. Apart only from Tasmania, which then had the lowest Jewish influx of

migrants to Australia, Queensland was the next lowest in the number of Jews it attracted from overseas.

It was decided to use ships chartered by the Migration Commissioners for free and assisted passengers or ships chartered by the colony's agent to carry free, assisted and fare paying persons. The ship owners were originally paid by the Government in land orders. The first ship under this scheme landed in Moreton Bay in November 1861. Many of the vessels sailed on a regular monthly basis under arrangements with the Black Ball Line, flying the Line's red and black flag. The average duration of the voyage was about 94 days, around the Cape of Good Hope and encountering the gales of the Roaring Forties. Much hardship was often experienced aboard the ships, entailing sickness, disease, and deaths. The Black Ball Line appointed its own surgeon-superintendents for each ship, paid a fixed sum for every voyage (£40-£50) and a capitation fee for each adult landed safely on disembarkation. As regards the Emigration Commissioner ships, the medical officers were described as being highly qualified, all being married gentlemen "of good standing and high moral character". For the Black Ball vessels, it was usually difficult to recruit other than young and inexperienced qualified men who often regarded their appointment as a means of free passage, afterwards leaving the ship to settle in the colony of Queensland. The duties of these surgeons were many and varied, and they had to sign articles like any other crew member. In addition to the normal medical tasks, they were required also to maintain discipline, to act as immigration officials and as moral guardians, including sometimes the holding of religious services and Sunday School classes. The surgeon was also responsible for the appointment of various subordinate staff, e.g. school master, sub-matrons, cook's assistant, hospital assistant, and mess constables. Not all the medical men were suitable for the discharge of all these duties, and, friction between them and the ships' captains was not uncommon.

Simon Belinfante, as the records disclose, was the surgeon on the *Beejapore* which anchored off Gravesend on 22 March, 1863 with a large passenger list to number 702 souls.²² The ship, a relatively large vessel, reached Moreton Bay on 17 July 1863, having called at Keppel Bay on 24 June. The ship would have carried its quota of distressed and unemployed cotton mill workers from Lancashire. However, it seems that Belinfante left the ship when it arrived at its destination, losing no time in seeking out other professional opportunities.²³ There are so few records available but there is no doubt that medical and hospital practice was still in an early stage of development in Australia. In Sydney, for example, there was no medical school until 1883. In Queensland there were, in 1861, but 18 registered doctors to serve a population of 30,000. Hospitals were looked upon as a charity for the poor, and even in England at that time it could be said that, "the doctor and the patient are alike the objects of a pinching parsimony."²⁴ The immediate prospects facing a professional migrant such as Belinfante were by no means alluring, and it was to his credit that he was determined to virtually assume the role of a pioneer at the outset of his career in regions which were still undeveloped and remote from the established centres of professional and social life.

Our corresponding member from Queensland, Morris S. Ochert, has recently carried out some researches which confirm and also supplement the present writer's investigations into Belinfante's initial associations with Queensland. The Press

reported that the *Beejapore* had arrived off Moreton Bay Heads on 17 July 1863 from Keppel Bay. The ship (1676 tons) was referred to as being of the Black Ball Line, managed by Bright Bros as Agents.^{23b} The same vessel had brought Irish migrants, on some previous occasion to Queensland, many of whom had died during the voyage. The *Brisbane Courier* contained a detailed account of the ship's passage in 1863 from Queenstown to Keppel Bay, the source of the information being the *Rockhampton Bulletin*.^{23c} A Roman Catholic Chaplain was on board as the passengers included an Irish quota embarking at Queenstown (a port at Cork). The ship proceeded round the Cape of Good Hope, rounded the south end of Van Diemen's Land, passed Sydney, and then on to Keppel Bay before finally travelling down the Queensland coast to Moreton Bay. Many of the passengers, who previously intended to go to Brisbane, "have on good grounds changed their destination, and resolved to stay at Rockhampton". It was reported that, although the food had been abundant and good, "the water was filthy, stowed away in casks", and that, "with inexcusable culpability, considering the number of human lives at stake, there was no distilling apparatus on board, and the galley was far too small for the cooking to be prepared therein." It was added, that there was likely to be a searching inquiry at Brisbane, and the *Bulletin* went on to say that the charterers of vessels, and those holding responsible offices in them, had to realise "that we look for something more than the disembarkation of fellow creatures like live stock, fenced up during the voyage without regard to the proprieties of life and the comforts of existence". It was made plain that many of the passengers on this ship would have suffered much hardship. The name of the ship's surgeon was not then mentioned. Simon Belinfante would have shared some of the responsibility but the charterers and the Agents were primarily to be blamed. As regards Belinfante, it has also been confirmed that he immediately secured registration as a Medical Practitioner under the Medical Act of 1861 (Q'ld). As Mr Ochert states, his name is included in the list of all the practitioners in 1863 but it does not appear in any subsequent year. His name was printed as "Bellinfante".^{23d} According to *Pugh's Almanac* of 1864 Simon Bellinfante (so spelt) is listed as a Medical Practitioner at Pioneer River (Mackay), which therefore indicates that he practised there in 1863. That district was only then settled by John Mackay and a few others. A strange fever attacked these settlers and perhaps Bellinfante was there for a short time to help with this illness.^{23e}

For a short time Belinfante served at Mackay in North Queensland but no details are available. Not long after his arrival in Australia he secured registration as a medical practitioner from the NSW Medical Board which, at its meeting on 5 April, 1864 at the Sydney Infirmary, granted him his Certificate. There were also reports that he practised at Forbes Hospital and at Newcastle in New South Wales. As previously indicated, Belinfante practised at Grafton (NSW) which is confirmed by information furnished by the Royal College of Physicians, disclosing that Grafton was given by him as an address for a period of some four years prior to his settling at Gulgong in 1871. He held an appointment at Grafton as a medical officer for the Aborigines.²⁴ For the year 1868 he was listed as a medical practitioner of 50 Wynard Square, East Sydney. Belinfante's name appears in the *Government Gazette of 1867* as a registered medical practitioner residing at Forbes, as well as for 1868, practising in Sydney.²⁵

ADMISSION TO THE NSW BAR

It is nothing less than extraordinary to find that in 1867 Belinfante was admitted by the Supreme Court of New South Wales as a barrister-at-law. Only newly arrived in the colony, concerned to establish himself as a medical practitioner, and having taken Janet Underwood as a wife in about 1866, Simon launched himself into the study of Law with a view to qualifying as a barrister. The Law Faculty at Sydney University was then about seven years old and there was no Law School at that time. Belinfante did not present himself to the University but rather to the Supreme Court for his legal qualifications. It has been suggested, perhaps a little in jest, that the Court did not require much legal knowledge of practitioners in the very early times: "It is said that when the Charter of Justice first empowered the court to admit fit and proper persons to act as barristers, the judges did not think it essential that a candidate should have any knowledge of law. It was sufficient if he had the education of a gentleman, measured by the ability to construe an ode of Horace... As time passed, it seemed to have become recognised that a little knowledge of law might reasonably be required from a candidate; but how little can be judged by reference to the list of subjects of examination..."²⁹ Belinfante, it was reported, however, was complimented on his proficiency by Sir Alfred Stephen, the Chief Justice, on the occasion of his admission to practise. The NSW Law Almanacs from 1869 to 1874 all include Belinfante's name in the yearly list of barristers. In *Sands Directory* (1870) he is listed as Simon Belinfante MD, barrister, of 112 Elizabeth Street, Sydney.

When Belinfante applied to the Court for admission as a barrister, a literary examination, in addition to one in legal subjects, was not required if the candidate was a graduate of Sydney University. The NSW Statute provided that a graduate in arts or Law or in Medicine of the Universities of Oxford or Cambridge or of any other University constituted by Act or Royal Charter should be entitled to the like privilege. The Minutes of the Barristers admission Board of 19 Sept. 1867 disclose that a question was raised whether Belinfante's graduation at the University of St Andrews qualified him for exemption from the usual literary examination. After due consideration it was decided that the candidate should not be required to undergo such examination.³⁰ Nevertheless, there seems to be no doubt that Belinfante's legal studies would have been very compressed, if not cursory, by the standard of later times or of today.

As gold began to be found around Gulgong in 1870, there developed a general feeling that the area would prove to be an expansive field. In the early months of the following year, Fred De Courcy Browne was able to write in the *Gulgong Guardian* that "the goldfield is, as a matter of fact, the largest in the colony, and from the general appearances promises to be the most important gold discovery since the time when the dazzling wealth of the Lachlan, and the immense extent of the Burrangong goldfields, attracted miners from all parts of Australia.² A few months later, the same editor left no doubt whatever in the minds of the public that Gulgong's immediate future was assured: "the goldfield has now assumed gigantic proportions ... All express surprise at the size of the goldfield, and the abundant signs of permanence and prosperity that is met with in every direction."³¹ By 1871 the general excitement was beginning to reach its peak. "There is every chance", a correspondent remarked, "that the whole country will get a fair overhauling before Gulgong is on the wane. In the meantime diggers from all quarters are flocking to

the township.²⁹ The town was to have no shortage of doctors as seven or eight of them were in practice. Belinfante was attracted to the district from the earlier part of 1871, notifying the public of his English qualification as well as being registered by the NSW Medical Board. He advertised that he had commenced practise as a physician, surgeon, and accoucheur at Mudgee, daily, at the Belmore Hotel, Market Street.³⁰ Not long afterwards, a similar advertisement of his indicated that Belinfante was permanently residing at Gulgong and could be consulted at Tattersall's Hotel, Herbert Street.³¹ There remain, however, far more indications of his activities as a local lawyer than is the case of his medical practice. That is understandable as one does not expect disclosures of private medical matters in the press, though the contrary was the case with regard to court proceedings in which the public had a legitimate interest. Moreover, it seems that Belinfante had a marked flair for legal work in the courts. It provided ample scope for his powers of advocacy and it enabled him to hold the stage, often confronting the Bench and opponents alike. It is quite evident that he identified himself with his clients' cases, so that every matter had personal repercussions for Belinfante.

As early as March 1871 Belinfante was appearing in the local courts in mining and a diversity of other matters, some of them of rather minor importance. He was disposed to raise technical points though the Bench was not always likely to be overborne by such points and the threat of appeals. Thus, he appeared against the appellants at the Mudgee Appeal Court in a case originally heard at Gulgong by Commissioner Macarthur. Belinfante argued that there were questions of law fit to be referred to the Supreme Court but the Bench was able to simply dismiss the appeal by having regard to the merits of the matter. In another mining appeal at Gulgong he asked that assessors should assist in the hearing of the case, the court commenting that the Attorney-General's opinion would be sought. In an appeal case involving unlawful possession of a mine share, he threatened to take the matter to the Supreme Court by way of Prohibition. A further example of Belinfante's attitude is to be seen when he applied to the Registrar, Mr Browne, to change the venue of the case to Mudgee where there was a greater bench than at Gulgong. His opponent, whose argument prevailed, protested that it was "blackguardedly" of Belinfante and unbecoming of him to have raised such a matter in court instead of prior discussion with the Registrar.

The magistrates and others were usually required to dispense rough and swift justice. A woman who charged assault against her husband refused to answer certain questions in cross-examination by Belinfante: "You may put me in the lock-up or where you like, I will not answer that man". The case was dismissed when the complainant continued to refuse to answer. Nevertheless, Belinfante's client, the defendant, did not emerge altogether unscathed. The magistrate by reason of his local knowledge warned the defendant that in future he would be bound over to keep the peace, as from what he (the magistrate) had heard, he was in the habit of ill-treating his wife. Sometimes claims of right were vindicated before the law ran its course, in the belief that "possession was nine-tenths of the law". A charge of malicious injury to property was brought against a client of Belinfante who pulled down a stable erected by complainant on land registered by defendant as a business allotment which was held by him and regularly worked as a miner. Complainant, whose materials were thrown into the street, had been warned that the land was owned as

a mining claim. The case was dismissed but Belinfante's client received no costs. It is not surprising that the court lists included their quota of sly-grog matters. Belinfante, it was reported, appeared for the "fair ones of Gulgong." As the *Guardian* put it, "such a distribution of silks and flowers has never been seen in the court before, and the ladies experienced a reciprocity of feeling as the ominous sounds 'Fined £30' were uttered."⁵² On another occasion he appeared without fee for Henry Abraham of the Oriental cafe when Lizzie Gordon was acquitted. Abraham was charged with contempt for clapping his hands as a mark of approval. He was discharged with a caution, it being noted that Belinfante acted "with his usual urbanity." However, it became obvious that Belinfante lacked discretion, and that although he was one of a rather small band of barristers admitted to practise, his knowledge of the law was flawed by a lack of experience. His limitations were not helped by a practice which was very largely confined to the goldfield of Gulgong.

Belinfante apparently carried out his threat to apply to the Supreme Court for a Prohibition in the case concerning title to a mining share. Having failed in the Gulgong Appeal Court, he took the case to the Supreme Court where, as it seems, the Chief Justice referred to his appeal as "a most unjustifiable waste of time."⁵³ Not content to let the matter rest, he distributed a tract criticising the morality of the case. As the letter writer then said: "Mr Belinfante's virtuous outburst against the magistrates and the injustice of the Judges of the Supreme Court is simply the pitiable wail of a defeated man... We miners would prefer him winning cases in Court, to writing rubbish about them after he loses them." The force of that writer's remarks are not diminished by the fact he was the successful litigant in the case in question.

There were many other legal matters in which Belinfante was involved and which merit brief discussion. In an early mining matter, he had threatened to report the proceedings to the Attorney-General as being without jurisdiction. His opponent, Mr Clarke, was the Articled Clerk of Mr Dunn, Solicitor of Mudgee and Gulgong. He promised to tell the Attorney General that Dr Belinfante acted in opposition to the etiquette of the Bar by taking cases as an Attorney. As is well known, a barrister should not appear in court without being instructed by a Solicitor. That rule of practice has always been strictly applied though it was apparently not always observed in the Gulgong court.

Prompted by the success of the Imperial Troupe of Japanese, the actress, Joey Gougenheim, briefed Belinfante to appear against William Binder who was charged with allowing an unlicensed performance to proceed at his "Star Assembly Rooms", alleged to be unauthorised premises for such a performance, in default of a licence by the local Bench.⁵⁴ It seems that the Attorney-General later advised that the local magistrates had no power to authorise such performances. Belinfante's submission was accepted that only a nominal fine of one shilling was necessary.⁵⁵ Belinfante was well qualified to appear, as he did, for Rose Corrigan, the mother of eight or nine children who had tried to hang herself while suffering from hysteria. She was charged with attempted suicide and committed for trial at Mudgee Quarter Sessions. As her counsel so rightly said of such unfortunate cases, "they cannot discern right from wrong."⁵⁶ The law on this vexed question has only today begun to be liberalised, it being emphasised that such cases cast a slur on all concerned, and that a real intention to commit such an act must be affirmatively proved. In this instance he showed himself to be well in advance of the legal thinking of others. In a crimi-

nal case of a different kind, Belinfante appeared for George Wolfe Moss when charged with false pretences in passing a valueless cheque at Selff's Hotel, Gulgong. Upon conviction of his client, Belinfante requested that Quarter Sessions judge to state a case on various points which had been reserved.⁵⁷

At the Home Rule diggings during 1872 there was a long standing dispute between the conflicting claims of the block men as against the frontage miners, Belinfante arguing the case for the latter. It was a case, as the newspaper said, of "the redoubtable little Doctor" as against "the venerable Tebby" (Police Magistrate, H. Tebbutt JP). The diggings were thrown into idleness by the dispute. The Minister had tried to reverse rulings upholding claims by the block men. The court was filled when Belinfante appealed to Mr Tebbutt, arguing that the Commissioner's decision had unjustly deprived those who held frontage areas. The magistrate decided that the latter failed to prove a trespass, and, that he had a discretion to find that the Home Rule should be governed by the block system. The Mining Appeal Court, when Belinfante appeared there, ruled in favour of the frontage men, though apparently on some technical grounds.⁵⁸

Public agitation was rising against the administration of the mining laws. In September 1872 thousands of miners gathered at the Camp reserve to Petition against the new Mining Regulations. Belinfante called for a simple code of laws and urged that the magistrate should be replaced by a judge. He announced that "he didn't care a dam for anybody and would speak fearlessly... he had his two professions in his hands and could earn his money by his brains." His remarks were interrupted by a questioner who asked if Belinfante wished to be a judge. However, the popular ex-grazier, J.F. Plunkett, whom Belinfante accused of dishonesty, successfully moved an amending Resolution seeking the establishment, not of a mining court, but a tribunal consisting of a jury and the Commissioner. The petition was prepared by Belinfante who referred it to Mr Church MLA for presentation to the Governor.⁵⁹ A few months later about 3,000 residents of Gulgong met on Red Hill to protest against the Land Bill's effect on the miners and to press for mining on private property. Belinfante supported the Resolution, remarking that the "landed snobocracy" was not wanted. He regarded the mineral resources as wealth, and asked, "What the devil does any man want with 16,000 acres of land?"⁶⁰

GULGONG'S AMALGAMATED PROFESSIONAL GENTLEMAN

Early in 1872 meetings were being held to return a Member to the Parliament for the Western Goldfields. Belinfante was only able to secure 144 names out of a total of some 2500 voters to requisition his candidature. The *Guardian* was completely unrestrained in its criticism of Belinfante whom it castigated as "this amalgamated professional gentleman," "this pretentious aspirant", and as "a pure-bred Ishmaelite." He was specially censured for asking the miners to pay 1/- each towards the campaign expenses. More abuse was heaped on him: "this impudent mendicancy", and, "this professional immigrant."⁶¹ As might be expected, Belinfante retaliated against these insults, it being reported that he "gave a phillipic of abuse against the *Guardian*", adding that he was a poor man.⁶² The editor of the newspaper did not relent, describing Belinfante's impudence as "typical of his race" in shoving himself into a prominent position at every meeting. It will be seen here, that though Belinfante was attached to the Church of England, de Courcy Browne did not hesitate to adopt a stand which, at least in part, was anti-semitic. Though the doctor had long

since ceased to be a professing Jew, his Jewish antecedents could not be concealed. His personality, however, hardly endeared him to the general public, particularly at election time. Notwithstanding his professional talents, Belinfante could never have succeeded as a popular politician, unable to compromise, bitter in defeat, and never able to conceal his dislike for those who differed from him. The *Guardian* ridiculed Belinfante's criticisms of the Supreme Court when he failed to obtain a Prohibition in one of his appeals. That newspaper, too, was unsparing in its view of Belinfante as "the distinguished foreigner, the great Bellowflimsey who is now wooing the sweet voice of the miners of the west ... the utterances of the learned Simon are being scattered broadcast over the goldfield."¹⁴ Even if Gulgong then comprised people of many nationalities, foreigners, such as Belinfante, could be exposed to discrimination if they sought prominence in the community. However, in speaking of the diggers in general, historians believe that they "had their own code of living; a man was 'white' or otherwise according to his actions..."¹⁵ Perhaps the local journalists were particularly deserving of criticism for their standards and style, though Belinfante's own characteristics provoked antagonism towards him. That latter observation is fully confirmed by the bizarre incident which resulted in the extraordinary court proceedings between Belinfante and Benjamin Benjamin.

BENJAMIN BENJAMIN – RESPECTED TOWNSMAN

One of Gulgong's leading and well liked citizens was Benjamin Benjamin, a storekeeper and a mining investor. He was actively associated with the Golden Hill Quartz Mining & Crushing Co as well as the Guntawang Freehold Gold Mining Co. Benjamin was involved in a Committee for a local Public School under the Council of Education, was on the Hospital and also the Masonic Ball Committees, and he was one of the main supporters of James Plunkett at the time of the West Goldfields election campaign. Belinfante much resented Benjamin's association with Plunkett, and when the candidates were nominated at Sofala in March 1872, he spoke for two hours, abusing Benjamin who was referred to by the Press as "one of our most respected townsmen." Belinfante ridiculed him as a sharebroker and a "Jewish old clothes seller." When Benjamin demanded an apology, which was refused, he took what was referred to as the satisfaction of a gentleman, by whipping Belinfante outside Self's Hotel in Queen Street Gulgong. When the matter came before the local Bench, Belinfante, as the informant, succeeded in having a fine of £5 imposed on his assailant, the magistrate commenting that, while Benjamin may have been provoked, the law had to be upheld. Immediately, a subscription list was opened to collect the amount of the fine, each contributor paying 1/- . Needless to say, this sorry episode was to have a very adverse effect on Belinfante's political aspirations. The *Guardian* was most outspoken in condemning the Doctor's behaviour by displaying a "courage – not exactly Dutch", describing him as deficient in judgement, a "voluble braggadacio."¹⁶ "The little doctor", the newspaper reported, "... sticks up posters, distributes hand-bills. He addresses moonlight gatherings as "Christian Protestant Friends." In addition, so it was said, Belinfante had neither manifesto nor policy. He polled the smallest number of votes, but none of the candidates was a match for David Buchanan, the popular lawyer and orator.

In 1872 Belinfante advertised that he was practising as a doctor at his usual place, Little Queen Street, opposite Tarrant's Hotel, where he could be consulted daily. Even though there were a number of doctors at Gulgong, they were some-

times called away to court cases, so that a serious shortage of medical services was soon felt.⁴⁶ The value of Belinfante's services, when he was available, was unquestioned. Thus, a man was returning home to his hut in Happy Valley when he fell down a deep shaft. He was one of the first patients to be treated by Belinfante at the new hospital. Slight hope was entertained for his recovery and it was reported that he had died. The patient rapidly recovered, and, Dr. Belinfante was "unremitting in his offices."⁴⁷ His behaviour at times was clearly unpredictable and unacceptable but at other times his actions could be regarded as creditable. At a Public Meeting, which will be mentioned later in a little more detail, Belinfante spoke to a Resolution expressing sympathy for Rev A.B. Davis of Sydney, the subject of an unfortunate prosecution.⁴⁸ In the following year he was one of a Committee of the Church of England called to consider a stipend for a resident clergyman.⁴⁹ He described himself as a poor man when he allowed a Sustentation Fund to be set up in the hope of defraying his electioneering expenses. He had substantial holdings in at least two of the mining companies.

BELINFANTE AND JUDGE JOSEPHSON – JEWISH CHRISTIANS

The new Courthouse at Gulgong was being made habitable where, as the Press wrote, the advocates would be heard: "the shrill eloquence of a Belinfante, the Boreas-like blasts of a Clarke, the lulling murmur of a Johnstone, or the invigorating warmth of a Spring."⁵⁰ Shrill, or not, however, Belinfante was arguing difficult questions of law as, for example, the claim of a toll right asserted by him on behalf of the pioneer Lowe family who objected to carriers driving over their paddock to deliver goods at a public house in the paddock. In support of the claim of £10 for the trespass, plaintiff's counsel relied on Blackstone with reference to the boundaries of the land.⁵¹ From time to time the local lawyers were drawn to Mudgee, particularly to the Quarter sessions where Judge Josephson presided. His court became the stage for some very undignified scenes, and the Mayor requisitioned a meeting of ratepayers to protest about the unseemly conduct of members of the legal profession who engaged in personal squabbles with the Judge. The Judge was asked to put a stop to these happenings. Surprisingly, in view of his later actions, Belinfante did not question the Judge's qualifications. He opposed a resolution which he said was absurd as well as being unfair to Josephson.⁵²

Joshua Frey Josephson was the son of Jacob Josephson, an emancipist, who arrived in Sydney in 1818. The father was of German Jewish origins, but had converted to Christianity, though the family maintained some connections with the Sydney Jewish community.⁵³ The father has been referred to as a "Jewish Christian."⁵⁴ Holt, himself a District Court Judge and the writer of this biographical item, was the author of *A Court Rises* (1975) in which he has more to say regarding some skirmishes between Judge Josephson and Belinfante. On two occasions Belinfante petitioned the Legislative Assembly with respect to Josephson who had claimed that he was exempt from responding to the allegations. The Member for Mudgee, J.G. O'Connor, asked the Colonial Secretary (Henry Parkes) if some action was to be taken. The latter replied that the Judge's response was untenable though no conclusion could be reached on the basis only of the conflicting opinions of the two parties. All the Papers were eventually laid on the Table of the House.⁵⁵ Belinfante, however, did not allow the matter to rest and he commenced proceedings in the Supreme Court charging the Judge with misdemeanours by habitual and oppressive

conduct and rudeness, including corrupt and malignant motives. While the Court exonerated Josephson of any malice or corruption, having read numerous Affidavits on his behalf, the Chief Justice, Sir Alfred Stephen, remarked that the Judge was exceedingly wrong in some, if not all, the decisions in question. Later, the Attorney-General (Edward Butler), agreed that Josephson had shown a singular want of ordinary legal knowledge and had resorted to "flippant and flimsy technicalities."⁵⁶ Belinfante had taken the extreme step of publicly impeaching one of the judiciary. His action was virtually vindicated though another man would not have carried the challenge to such lengths. Neither he, however, nor the Judge had conducted themselves conformably with the traditions of those learned in the law. The men on the Gulgong goldfields were generally law abiding, not wildly extravagant in their actions, but the legal hierarchy in those places, on the other hand, were sometimes rather poor exemplars of the appropriate standards of behaviour. It is to their credit that the citizens of Mudgee called for necessary action to restore decorum in their courts. Two legal identities, whom some may have recognised as "Jewish Christians", were especially deserving of criticism, though it is not possible to determine if one of them was more blameworthy than the other. Perhaps much more ought to have been expected of Judge Josephson who remained in office until his resignation about ten years later.

THE LITTLE DOCTOR'S LEGAL TALENTS

The *Guardian* was now referring to "Our little Doctor, who is no longer exactly ours, but half a Mudgee man."⁵⁷ He was still engaged in his medical practice and occasionally had to take legal action to recover his fees, which resulted in the Commissioner, at Belinfante's instance, restraining a syndicate from working their claim when one of their number was adjudged liable for those fees. In explanation, Belinfante stated: "I was sent for by telegram all the way from Mudgee by the shareholder to attend his wife in accouchement. I did not spare my horse." He further said that there was great danger to himself, and, that he saved both mother and child. Another doctor, at Gulgong, had refused to attend the patient unless the fee was previously paid. Nevertheless, the *Guardian* questioned the power of the Commissioner in depriving five men, against whom the Doctor had no claim, of the right to earn their daily bread.⁵⁸ Pausing here, in passing, when Belinfante lost his life in 1874 while riding across the Cudgegong River, a legend developed that he was then on an errand of mercy, though the indications were that he was hurrying to attend a court case. It is suggested, however, that the incident of the previous year, in 1873, may have been the cause of the later legend.

Belinfante was entrusted, with the prosecution of the editor of the *Guardian*, De Courcy Browne, who, as already mentioned, had libelled the Commissioner, T.A. Browne. Counsel for the complainant, on that occasion, was duly instructed by a solicitor, Mr Clarke, when the matter came before the Police Court at Gulgong and de Courcy Browne was committed for trial. The popular Gold Commissioner's reputation was at stake. Belinfante's engagement in the case was no doubt indicative of confidence in his ability as counsel. Further evidence of his capacity is shown by Belinfante's involvement in the criminal proceedings at the Mudgee Assizes before Judge Faucett (Supreme Court) and a jury when certain miners were charged, pursuant to the Statute 7 & 8 Geo. IV, c 29, with stealing from the paddock of C.B. Lowe, washdirt, the ore of a metal containing gold, the property of the Crown.

Upon the prisoners being found guilty and sentenced to 12 months imprisonment, the Judge reserved some questions for the opinion of the Supreme Court. When the case finally came before a Bench of three Justices (Sir James Martin CJ, Hargrave and Faucett JJ.), Belinfante was opposed by the eminent lawyer, Sir William Manning Q.C. who appeared for the Crown. It suffices to say that difficult questions of mining law, the prerogatives of the Crown, and statutory construction, upon which the appeal court reserved its decision, had to be considered. The court was divided on the question whether the gold bearing washdirt was ore within the meaning of the statute but, by majority, it was held that the statute under which the charge of stealing was laid had impliedly been repealed by the Gold Fields Act, leading to the conclusion that the Crown had abandoned rights to gold in private lands. Under the latter legislation, pecuniary penalties were imposed only on persons taking gold from Crown lands without right and from private lands without consent of the owner. The prisoners were not guilty as they held a licence from Lowe to dig from land on an adjoining mine. The case is fully reported in the official Law Reports, *The Queen v Wilson & Others* (1874) 12 S.C.R. 258. Also contained in the official Reports is the case, probably identical with that which has been earlier mentioned, when Belinfante failed to obtain a Prohibition from the Supreme Court relating to matters of encroachment and trespass arising under the Gold Fields Act. The case is reported as *Ex parte Irwin & Others* (1871) 10 S.C.R. 49. The appeal court then consisted of Sir Alfred Stephen, Hargrave and Faucett J.J. Frederick Darley, whose notable legal career was already then in the ascendant, argued the case, successfully, for the respondents to the appeal. Sir Alfred Stephen held that Belinfante's clients had no rights of appeal to the Supreme Court: "for we, most likely, are not so competent to decide cases between miners, concerning claims and other disputes arising on the gold fields as those Appellate Courts convened for that very purpose."⁵⁰

In February 1874 an Inquiry was held at Gulgong relating to the administration of justice in that place. There were rumours of scandals, complaints of heavy sentences, and number of disgruntled claimants. The former magistrate, Mr Tebbutt, was the subject of complaints and dissatisfaction. Belinfante appeared for the Petitioners and submitted that they should not be required to present evidence to the Inquiry unless he, their Counsel, was allowed to examine them in open court. After about one week's hearing Belinfante had examined 60 of the witnesses. A Report of the Inquiry issued in the following July. The magistrate, it was disclosed, was deserving of much censure.⁵¹

TRAGEDY AT CUDGEGONG

According to contemporary newspaper accounts, Belinfante, together with his wife, left Mudgee in his buggy bound for Gulgong on the morning of July 14, 1874. It was stated that he was to appear at the court in a mining case. Henry Crossing was travelling separately in the same direction. On reaching Slashers Flat, the scene of previous accidents, Crossing forded the swollen Cudgegong River and gave directions to Belinfante who, however, got into difficulties and was swept away. Mrs Belinfante, almost drowned, was rescued. About one week later the Doctor's body was found in a waterhole two miles down river near Beaudesert (looking from the Gulgong side of the River), or, as others said, near Klaudabah (from the

Mudgee side). An Inquest was held and the Government was censured for its failure to erect a bridge where the drowning occurred. Today, the bridge on the Green Swamp road to Mudgee spans a most picturesque vicinity, described as "a fit setting for lovely romance instead of awful tragedy."⁶⁰ When the funeral took place at the



The "Belinfante Bridge" 1958 (Courtesy, Road & Traffic Authority)

Church of England cemetery Mudgee, all classes and sects attended and all businesses were closed. The scriptural readings appropriately included Psalm 39: "Behold, thou hast made my days as an handbreadth and my age is nothing before thee: verily every man at his best state is altogether vanity." The clergyman had aptly chosen the reading, for, Simon Belinfante's life closed so tragically, his age then but 43 years. Details of the tragedy and of Belinfante's career were widely reported in the local as well as the Sydney newspapers. "One of those startling visitations which, ever and anon, shocks and arouse an entire community, has occurred amongst us ... As a private gentleman he was kindly, liberal and honourable. He had a certain quickness of temper, inseparable perhaps from a sensitive and nervous organisation. He was direct, occasionally blunt of speech. But there were few of those who took offence at such peculiarities who did not learn by lengthened acquaintance, to respect his incontestable talent, energy, and sincerity."⁶¹ *The Home Rule Pilot* paid a worthy tribute to him, remarking that Belinfante's loss was no ordinary misfortune. After suggesting that his anxiety to fulfil his engagements urged him to attempt the dangerous ford, the newspaper remarked upon Belinfante's independence of character, stating that, though a foreigner, he had "proved himself worthy of high consideration as a colonist ... All honour to his memory!"⁶² He was remembered as a valued physician and as a barrister who displayed "indomitable energy", having appeared since Gulgong's early days in nearly all cases of importance.⁶³ Yet, while all these tributes were genuine, an objective observer, at least today, would have some reservations about some aspects of Belinfante's personality which would have made him unpopular, particularly as some said, his "crotchety" nature, his impetuosity and impatience. The Gulgong and Mudgee communities came to know him as a foreigner who had settled amongst them and achieved much more success in his professions. Very few at that time, or since, were aware of

his Jewish origins and background. It should be said that Belinfante had been concerned, throughout his life to avoid his Jewish antecedents and background. Nevertheless, it seems that he would have been accepted by the local Jewish community as Jewish ethnically speaking, though not of course in the religious sense. As has been seen, Belinfante identified himself with the move to provide a Sympathy Fund for Sydney's Jewish Minister, Rev A B Davis. It is interesting, also, to find that his Will of 19 October, 1872, was witnessed at Gulgong by Simeon Solomon Moses, Merchant, and his wife, Matilda. Several months after Belinfante's death a short item relating to the fatality appeared in the London *Jewish Chronicle*. The immediate members of the family, it may be assumed, would already have learnt of the sad occurrence. Though the deceased had earlier left the Jewish fold, it seems that the news of Simon's death was of interest to the London Jewish community.

Roma Wallis of the Gulgong Historical Society has written to me regarding the likely route taken by Belinfante on the fateful day when he was drowned. She has also referred to the conflicting legends and stories relating to that event. As indicated, it is probably true that Belinfante was travelling to the court rather than proceeding to an urgent medical case.⁶⁴ Shortly after that occurrence, a timber bridge was built near where the drowning happened. Nearby on the Gulgong Road was the Junction Hotel, renamed, for obvious reasons, the Belinfante Hotel.⁶⁵ One may speculate, as Roma Wallis does in her correspondence with me, that it is unlikely, geographically speaking, that Belinfante would have normally travelled between Mudgee and Gulgong, by taking a devious route via Slashers Flat. She asks whether, in addition to the court case, he also had an urgent medical engagement. The newspapers, however, referred only to a court case. It may be presumed that Mrs Belinfante, the survivor, was the source of some of the particulars which the Press published with reference to her husband. Yet, as I have said, there was a degree of confusion surrounding the circumstances which led to Belinfante's accident. Even Henry Lawson, quite wrongly, is claimed to have written about Doctor Belinfante.

Incidentally, as early as 1853 a relative of Simon, Solomon Belinfante, was residing in Melbourne where he married Ada, nee de Lion. Solomon was one of the distinct group of the Melbourne Jewish community of Sephardi (Spanish-Portuguese) origins which maintained its association with the Sephardic Bevis Marks Synagogue in London.⁶⁶ Solomon Belinfante was in business as a Merchant Importer who was insolvent in 1862.⁶⁷ It may be presumed that Simon was not then on friendly terms with other members of the Belinfante family, which is perhaps one of the reasons why he did not settle in Melbourne.

THE JEWISH PRESENCE AT GULGONG

In 1873 Gulgong was officially referred to as being "the most important gold-field in the colony" by the Commissioner of Western Goldfields.⁶⁸ As had been the case with the other principal gold centres, beginning with the major Australian discoveries, Gulgong also attracted Jewish representatives who were prominent in business affairs and in promoting the welfare of the town and its institutions. Even though they were only a handful of the general population of the area, the influence of the Jewish element was far out of proportion to its numbers. Clearly, Belinfante's contribution cannot be ignored, for, his Jewish background played its part in that contribution, notwithstanding that he ceased to profess the Jewish faith. Mention has to be made of Moses Bros. who conducted the store referred to by Keast

Burke and included in his collection of photographs. Simeon S. Moses, one of the proprietors, was the third son of Solomon Moses of Astor House, Cumberland St. Sydney. His marriage to Matilda Jones (daughter of Joseph Jones of Goulburn) by Rev Davis took place at York St. synagogue on 19 June 1872.⁶⁹ G.S.C. Johnson drew attention to the Moses business, at first at the upper part of Queen St (on the South side) and later at Herbert St Gulgong. For some reason, he noted that Moses had "a good mop of very red hair." It seems that Moses Bros. had been in business as Auctioneers at Emu Creek (Grenfell) in 1867. About the same time Simeon Moses conducted the Doncaster Hotel at Braidwood and was also a Tobacconist at Araluen. He had apparently been moving around the various goldfields of that time. Early in



Moses Bros.
Gulgong.

*From the
Australian Photo Review
March 1953*

1871 he advertised his establishment at Gulgong as "The Greatest Wonder of the World" where Melbourne made clothing was on sale. "Every article", it was said, "is marked in plain figures for which no abatement will be made." In other words, no discount or price reduction might be expected. Boots were on sale: "the quality and price defy competition". Indicative of his public activities, Moses seconded a Resolution supporting the formation of a Hospital, claiming that he had considerable experience in the management of hospitals. He was appointed to the hospital Provisional Committee and was the first Treasurer when tenders were called for its erection. He was on the Provisional Committee of the local Progress Association.⁷⁰ Another of his interests was Freemasonry. He was on the Working Committee to establish a Lodge,⁷¹ and he was to be the Worshipful Master of the new Abbotsford Lodge of Freemasons at Gulgong.⁷²

With reference to Benjamin Benjamin, there is no doubt that he was one of the town's prominent citizens. It is unfortunate that he and Belinfante became such antagonists, culminating in the incident previously mentioned. Benjamin was

regarded as most inoffensive and courteous: "one of our most respected townsmen, who is ever found ready to assist in any work having for its object the development of the resources of the goldfield – the alleviation of poverty, and the relief of the sick and suffering."³ It was Benjamin who moved the Resolution (seconded by de Hirsch) at the meeting chaired by the Church of England catechist (J. Pickering) to adopt an Address to Rev. A.B. Davis, expressing sympathy in the prosecution brought against him. A Committee was duly appointed to carry out the objects of the meeting and to present Davis with a testimonial. Mr. Plunkett was the Committee's Secretary and Benjamin acted as Treasurer.⁴ The reverend gentleman received similar expressions from other country towns. However, Gulgong adopted the most substantial form by the presentation of an elegant piece of silver plate.⁵

Another Jewish trader at Gulgong, with experience of previous goldfields, was Morris Asher who opened a store as a wholesaler and retailer of goods of every description at Sydney prices in Herbert Street.⁶ Old customers from Albury, Wombat, Grenfell and Rydal were notified that M. Asher & Co had commenced business.⁷ On 20 April, 1872 occurred the first fire in Gulgong's business portion when the Asher store and Clifford's Brewery was destroyed. Sam Asher was in charge of the store and saved £300 worth of stock out of a total value of £3000. The Insurance cover was £1200. Cash and the books of the business were lost in the fire. An Inquest was held by the Coroner (Dr. Rawling of Mudgee together with a jury). S. and M. Asher and others gave evidence. It was deposed that Asher was long and favourably known as a goldfields storekeeper.⁸

There are just a few other Jewish names which may be noted. A Myers set up business in Herbert St. as a watchmaker and jeweller.⁹ Not long afterwards he advertised that he had shares for sale as he was leaving for San Francisco.¹⁰ D. Salamon was to sell the stock of Myers' business. Myers claimed that his stock would "compel the most economic golden hole man to draw a cheque. His "leviathan safe, weighing a ton", he said, "is alone a good advertisement." For whatever reason, Myers' plans changed and he resumed his previous business.¹¹ Supporters of James Plunkett's election, in addition to Benjamin, were Siegmund Salamon, S.A. Levy, and Abraham Hyams.¹² Maurice Lazarus, together with Jacob Myers, were proprietors of the Crystal Cordial Co. of Little Belmore St.¹³ Lazarus was a writer of light drama and vaudeville items. He composed a comic medley, 'Odds & Ends' as well as a new operatic burlesque for the Gulgong Amateurs, entitled, 'The King of the Gold Mines'.¹⁴ Among the names of Sydney Jewish shareholders in Gulgong mines were, David Levy and Lewis Cohen, each 200 shares in Sandhurst Quartz Mining Co Ltd; H. Baron Cohen, 50 shares, and Solomon Wolff, 20 shares in Gulgong Gold Mining & Quartz Co. Ltd. Saul Samuel held 2 shares in Doctors' Commons Gold Mining Co Ltd. at Tallewang, near Gulgong.¹⁵

I am informed by Roma Wallis that in Sept. 1871 the Gulgong Press notified the dates of the Jewish New Year and of the Day of Atonement, it being added that, "Divine Service will be held at the Synagogue, Day of Atonement, Monday week." Perhaps it can be presumed that Services were held at private premises at Gulgong, referred to as the "synagogue". A little more semblance is lent to this religious advice by the following note in a Jewish journal: "Gulgong - Through the instrumentality of the single young men of the place, Divine Service was performed in the late holy days. Mr J.A. Moss took the initiative in calling the young men together. He

also officiated, in conjunction with Messrs Hyams, Blumenthal, and Solomons. Indifference was displayed by the older and married men of the place. On the Day of Atonement several worshippers from Home Rule, distant about 7 miles from Gulgong, attended. If the place continues prosperous, hopes are entertained that a permanent Synagogue may be erected.⁸⁷ No such structure ever eventuated as many of the miners were leaving the area by 1875 when much less gold was yielded.

In 1873 a Petition was circulated for the establishment of a Gulgong Municipality. Of a total of 275 names, only 5 can be identified as being Jewish, namely, Simeon S. Moses, A. Moses (spirit merchant), M. Lazarus (watchmaker), B. Benjamin (agent).⁸⁸ A Counter-Petition, containing 342 names in opposition to a Municipality, did not appear to include a single Jewish person.

There are no extant Jewish burials at Gulgong. There is but little trace of the earliest cemetery. Many Memorials can no longer be deciphered. For the first 18 months burials were registered at Mudgee. A small portion of Simon Belinfante's headstone is among a Memorial wall in the Church of England cemetery at Mudgee.

Gulgong, the Eldorado of the early 'seventies in the colony of New South Wales, had a visible Jewish presence which was fascinating and deserves to be more widely known. I have attempted to view that presence against the general Gulgong background of those roiling times. The Jewish identities, even including the strange and tragic figure of Belinfante, were no doubt more real and significant than emerges from the details which I have been able to assemble. It is fortunate that some of the Gulgong newspapers were made available to me by the Mitchell Library a few years ago, though such materials cannot today be seen. I have also been most fortunate in the friendly co-operation extended by the Gulgong Historical Society and by others in Mudgee. Admittedly, researches of this type are difficult and their results are not predictable. There still remain gold rush areas for consideration by Jewish historians: for example, the Turon fields, Araluen and Braidwood, Kiandra in the Snowy Mountains and the North-East Victorian fields. Unlike the alluvial gold diggers - difficult as their operations could be - historical findings have sometimes to be excavated from the reefs in which they are embedded. The records of the Australian Jewish pioneers in the frontier like areas of the country are today too few. When expanded and comprehensive histories of Australian Jewry are written, the future historians, hopefully, will benefit from materials which researchers have uncovered, even if some of the segments of the story are not always of the greatest immediate interest. It has been my view that it is useful to re-embody such historical data, as authentically as possible, rather than simply relegate it to an amorphous repository to await the chance inspection of a potential historian or genealogist. In the process of historically re-organising such materials - of which Gulgong is a case in point - the writer's interest in the subject develops momentum which often leads to the discovery of further relevant data, providing thereby more substance for what might otherwise be a shadowy and vague picture or impression of these earlier Jewish contributions to the Australian story. Today, only a generation or so afterwards, many are understandably desirous of learning more of the Jewish migrants since World War II in Australia. In the last century, however, the gold rushes were the events which transformed the Australian society. The Jewish role in that important phase of Australian history merits more detailed and closer study and examination. At the same time, I have extracted items from the events as they happened in

Gulgong during the period of the historic rush. This information, in part at least, will add some reality to the general outlines of the story which are available in the few publications relating to the subject.

Biographical material has been published in this *Journal* on the subject of David Hailperin, a medical doctor as well as Rabbi who came to Melbourne in 1855 where he commenced to practise, having failed to secure a communal position in any synagogue. Before long his life was to become enveloped in social obscurity. After a fatal road accident, his remains were virtually relegated to a pauper's grave. His very short career in this country reflected Hailperin's eccentric personality, notwithstanding his professional and religious qualifications. Simon Belinfante, about ten years afterwards, seemed to be possessed of medical attainments which were more substantial, and, even his newly acquired legal qualifications gave some promise of greater future success. He had been able to experience greater regard and notoriety than his predecessor until his life was also terminated, untimely, by accident. Hailperin had of course retained his religious identity despite his unconventionality which estranged him from his co-religionists. His brief life in Australia was doomed to failure as but a fleeting memory except for a later attempt, almost in fiction, to memorialize him, and except, also, for the rare library of Rabbinic volumes which survived Hailperin in Melbourne. Belinfante's life, too, seemed to be destined for ultimate obscurity in his pursuit of change and ambition, isolated from family and community. The quirks of fate brought both of these professionals to experience the new and stark realities of life on the Australian goldfield scene. In the case of Simon Belinfante, as has been seen, interesting aspects of his short career have yielded to research, providing a fascinating account of a most unusual character of Jewish antecedents and background, as we trace the contribution of this migrant, beginning to be made by him in a land far removed and so far different from the centres where other Belinfantes had been notable figures in the Jewish and the secular fields of their homelands.

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In 1955 C.D. ("Dud") Mills published a Volume of Verse, *The Stockwhip and the Spur*. In the Introduction, Robert A. Roth, the then Mayor of Mudgee, described the work containing "the memoirs of one of the vanishing race, the old-time bushman." Mills was alconfrere of Jack Moses who in 1890 wrote a poem based on some original lines of Gundagai notoriety, which he entitled, "Dog Sat on the Tucker-Box." Moses himself was of Jewish antecedents and was a friend of Henry Lawson.⁸⁰ Mills, whom some would regard as a minor writer of verse, has been referred to as a "Balladist of the good old days in the bush."⁸¹ Mills, because of his associations with Lawson and with the Mudgee area, seems to have been fascinated by the legend about Belinfante and his last moments at the spot to be later known as Belinfante Bridge, which was the title he gave to his poem. The verse, both as to date and other details, are the product of poetic licence, whether, or not, Mills was in fact aware of the inaccuracies. It may well be the case that these verses by Mills are the cause of the confusion that Lawson had written a poem on this same subject. However, as these lines are not generally known, I would like to include them as an addendum to this Paper.

Belinfante Bridge

It is weathered, sere and riven
 From the stress of passing years,
 And it's carried lots of traffic,
 Big trucks and straining steers.
 There's a rattle in its planking
 From the jarring rush of cars,
 And the corbel bolts have loosened
 At the pier-head holding bars.

There's a rocky ford below it,
 Where an old oak stands alone
 Beside the slaty crossing
 On the road from Cullenbone.
 If you're coming south from Gulgong,
 When you pass Moonamby Ridge
 There's the Cudgegong before you,
 And the Belinfante Bridge.

In the year of 1880,
 From the Eumaralla side,
 A horseman spurred for Mudgee
 In a wild and daring ride.
 "You're wanted Dr Belin,
 At the huts on Guntawang!
 But be careful at the Crossing
 For the current's running strong!"

The sun was gently sinking
 In a wild and clouded West,
 And the river's tide was rising,
 With spume racks on its crest.
 The flotsam from the other floods
 Was floating down mid-stream,
 When Belin stopped his buggy
 To rest his panting team.

A new moon's beam was lighting
 That sea of coloured mud
 When the Doctor turned his horses
 To face the surging flood.
 His brave heart knew the danger
 In that whirling, yellow spate,
 But he recked not for a moment –
 His patient's need was great.

His horses faced the torrent,
 For they seemed to sense the need
 Of the driver in the buggy –
 Brave man, and noble steed.
 But the flood's wrath smashed and threw them
 On the sharp-toothed rocks below.
 And all were quickly smothered
 In the current's frenzied flow.

The Fantes, red with weeping,
 Saw the dawn light turn to flame;
 A lonely vigil keeping
 For the man who never came.
 As the early shafts of sunlight,
 Touched the pine clad mountains side.
 Their souls were called to heaven,
 And the babe and mother died.

The bush-birds sang requiem
 From the river-oaks close by,
 A small breeze stirred the needles
 In a muted soft reply,
 So the woman and the baby
 And the man who never came,
 When coupled all together,
 Gave Belinfante Bridge its name.

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FROM KELME TO MELBOURNE:

From an Interview with *HaRav* Chayyim Dov Ber Silver

by Rabbi Shmuel Gorr

The following is the story of how a number of English and Canadian *Yeshiva Bochurim*, who had been learning in Lithuanian Yeshivas, were evacuated during the second World War to Australia via Siberia.

On *Motzei Shabbos*, 21 June 1940, at about 2 a.m., the cobble-stones of the town Kelme started rumbling. It was a strange noise to hear at that hour, so *HaRav* Chayyim Dov Ber Silver and some of the children rushed out to see what was going on. It was all so sudden - but there in the streets of Kelme, Lithuania, they were witness to Russian tanks rolling through the streets, in the early hours of the morning.

It seemed that the Russians had preceded the Germans in entering Lithuania and that they had taken over the Baltic States, which consisted of Lithuania, Latvia and Estonia. That was the beginning of the Russian occupation and eventually the Baltic States were ceded to Soviet Russia. At the sight of those tanks rolling through the streets, the rabbinical leadership realised that the whole situation in Lithuania had changed completely and that the Communist regime would close down all the Yeshivas and *Botei Knesset* (Synagogues). They felt then that they had no alternative but to accept the situation. They felt confident that the Russians would not start pogroms in the immediate future, as the Germans would have done had they entered first.

A few weeks later, the English and Canadian *Yeshiva Bochurim* received a letter from the British Consulate in Kovno asking them to come down to Kovno for a consultation regarding the future of British citizens resident in Lithuania. It was at that time, following the Russian occupation of Western Poland, which included Mir, Kletsk, Bialystock, Grodno and Kamantz - that all the famous Yeshivas of Poland moved to Lithuania because it was felt that there they might be safer. At the time no one could believe that the Lithuanian Government would have capitulated so easily and let the Russians in. Hence they were spread out over a number of towns in Lithuania.

This movement of *Yeshiva-leit* brought in its wake a number of English and American boys, and one Canadian, to the Talmud Torah of Kelme. They liked Kelme so they decided that they would stay there. A couple of them who went to Telz and remained there for a short while also received letters from the British Con-

sulate, in which they were invited to Kovno for consultations regarding the evacuation of British citizens in the event of such a necessity.

Thus the English and Canadian *Yeshiva Bochurim* travelled to Kovno. The British Vice-Consul was a Jew called Mr Ramm. He referred them to his secretary, who announced that sooner or later the Russians were going to close down all the Consulates, including the British Consulate, in the Baltic States. If they should need some advice they would have to refer to the Embassy in Moscow. At the time the Ambassador in Moscow was Sir Stafford Cripps, an exceptional gentleman. Our heroes were to meet him later as they passed through Moscow. As it happened, the consultations took place in the British Consulate in Kovno. They were told that the British Government had decided to evacuate them to Sweden for the duration of the war, and were asked if they would be prepared to leave Lithuania. After much discussion, everyone agreed that it would be wiser to follow the advice given to them at the Consulate; and then they returned to Kelme.

A few weeks later, a representative of the group was called to Kovno to be told that the plans had been changed, and that they might be evacuated to Canada. He was told to ask the group if they would agree to go to Canada; and he brought back this message. They said, "yes, why not? We'll go to Canada." But, he explained to them, it was not quite certain, because the British Government had a few considerations: first of all there was the question of security - crossing the Atlantic entailed the danger of meeting U-boats; at the time they were rampant. He also told them that the consular people had decided against Sweden because it was too close to the area of war. Another point was the question of currency - the Swedish kronen and English pound. The Canadian dollar would have been better, but there was a question of security. However, they were told that eventually there would be a further consultation with the British Government, and they would finally be informed when the evacuation would take place.

It was exactly after *Tisha B'Av* that the group received another call from the Consulate informing them that they were to be evacuated to Australia. They all agreed, signing that they were willing to be evacuated by the Trans-Siberian Railway from Kovno to Vladivostok, from where they would be sent by ship to Australia.

The truth was they were puzzled and somewhat confused. There was the initial suggestion of Sweden, and then Canada and finally Australia. They were not sure if it was a wise step to leave because the Russians, despite their rampage in emptying the shops, rationing everything, taking over businesses, throwing out the owners and placing Communist sympathisers in these businesses, still were not closing down the Yeshivas. They were very attached to Kelme, and it was hard for them to leave their friends, their colleagues, and particularly Reb Dani'el Movshovitch, the principal of the Kelme Yeshiva.

Reb Chayyim Dov Ber Silver was very close to Reb Dani'el and he revealed to him the whole situation. The *Rosh Yeshiva* (the principal) was exceptionally clever and had great perception. He advised that, given the circumstances, going to Australia would be a good idea. Rabbi Silver then asked him, "But I mean to say, what will we do there?" Reb Silver replied, "Look; you've no need to worry at all. You're a man highly competent in certain areas - in fact, in all areas. You're a *mismach*, you're a *shochet*, you're a good *Rosh Yeshiva*, you are a good *ba'al Koreh*, a good *chazzan*, - what have you to worry about?" Rabbi Silver then asked, "Should I then

take up a Rabbinical position?" The reply was "No." "Should I take up *shechbitab?*" Again, "No." "Then what should I do there?" Reb Chayyim Dov Ber was mystified. "If you want to take my advice", Reb Dani'el answered, "and you'll be successful, become a *melamed*." "A *melamed*? Whom can I teach there? As far as I know, Australia is a very empty place regarding a Jewish Community, or Jewish ideals. I don't know anything about the place." Reb Dani'el started to give his beautiful smile, "If you'll get a group of children together and tell them that they are the children of of *Avrohom*, *Yitzchok*, and *Ya'akov*, and teach them *Aleph Beis* (alphabet), you'll be doing a lot - and you'll have success. But, concerning the whole project, I would advise you to go and confer with Reb Elchonon Wasserman. See what he's got to say about it."

At the time, it was *Rosh Chodesh Ellul* and Reb Elchonon had come to Kelme for the whole month. Rabbi Silver went to Reb Elchonon Wasserman and caught him just as he was coming out of the gate of the *Talmud Torah*. "Would the *Rosh Yesbiva* please excuse me. I want advice on a certain question: a problem that I've got on my mind." He told the whole situation. Reb Elchonon then said, "Where do they want to send you? "To Australia." "Australia?! Where is Australia?" Then before Reb Chayyim Dov Ber could reply, "Australia, oh yes. Yes, yes! I've heard about it." He paused, "Australia, let me see. It's not an easy problem to solve!" He put his forearm over his forehead, took Chayyim Dov Ben by the arm, and started walking backwards and forwards. After several turns, Reb Elchonon said, "If Japan keeps out of the war - it's a good idea - not a bad spot at all. But, if Japan comes into the war then there's a danger. How will you get there? And there's quite a lot of talk about Japan entering the war. Maybe it's not a wise thing to go to Australia. Again: Let's talk it over again. If Japan keeps out of the war, it's quite a safe spot, but if she comes into the war ... then I don't know." All of a sudden, he put his hand up to his head and said, "Don't ask me any more. I can't see anything. Whatever you do, let it be with *hatzlochoh* (success). But, don't forget one thing more - where ever you may be - even in Australia - you'll never be exempt from the pangs and pains of *Moshi'ach*. They'll follow you everywhere."

Rosh Hashonoh passed. Between *Rosh Hashonoh* and *Yom Kippur* they received a telegram from the Deputy who remained in the Consulate in Kovno, saying that the group should be prepared to leave on the Saturday following *Sukkos*, which was *Shabbos B'reishis*. When they heard that, they didn't know what to do. Rabbi Silver ran to Reb Dani'el and told him, "They want us to leave on *Shabbos B'reishis*! In the morning, from Kovno ... on a train!" The other answered simply, "So what! So you leave." Rav Silver started to say, "But, *Shabbos* ...?" "Reb Chayyim Dov, don't ask questions. Get on the train. That's all."

They spent the first days of *Sukkos* in Kelme. It was comparatively joyful, but there was a peculiar feeling lurking in their hearts. On *Chol HaMoed* they left for Kovno, and arrived on *Erev Simchas Torah*. They stayed at the home of Reb Gedalyah Dessler. He put up Rav Silver and others while some members of the group were dispersed amongst friends from the Slobodka Yeshiva. They spent *Simchas Torah* in the *Mussor Shteibel* to Kovno. The rejoicing was absolutely wonderful. Who could have believed that it would be the last time they would see such good friends - such warm friends. Friday morning, Reb Chayyim Dov was very restless and he decided to speak to the other members of the group who were to leave

with him. "I'm very unhappy about the situation. Maybe we can postpone the train journey, at least till Sunday or Monday ... so as not to go on *Shabbos*."

Reb Chayyim Dov decided to ask the Kovno Rav a *Shai'eloh* (a question for his advice). The Kovno Rev, *HaRav* Reb Avrohom Dov Ber Cahana, a venerable person, was told about the whole problem concerning the departure on the next day. "We'll have to get on a train on *Shabbos*." The old Rav rose from the table and gave a stamp with his foot, "*A zu shai'eloh kumst du mir fregen* (you come to me with such a question)? All of you must get on the train tomorrow. Don't you know the situation? Don't you understand what's going on? It's *piku'ach neffesh*." (A matter of extreme personal danger)

If the Kovno Rav said so - there was nothing else to do but accept the situation. The group boarded the train. Their few belongings had been taken down to the station on Friday afternoon. This was carried out by a porter, who put them on the train so that they would avoid as far as possible any *chillul Shabbos* (desecration of Sabbath). At 11 a.m. they boarded the train which would take them to Moscow via Riga in Latvia.

The company consisted of *HoRav* Chayyim Dov Silver and his wife Channah, and their four children. The youngest was Avigdor, who was only six months old. Then there was Avigail, Elisheva, and Haddassah. Also travelling was Rebbeztin Bluma Dessler, the wife of Eliyohu Leizer Dessler, who, together with her daughter Henny, was in Kelme on a visit to her parents, and being British citizens, were obviously in the evacuation group. There was Reb Shmuel Shechter, an ex-pupil of Mirer Yeshiva, and Reb Nosson Wachtvogel. At the time, Reb Nosson was not married. There was also a young Jewish girl named Chavah who originally came from Poland. Her father was a *shochet* in a country town. She happened by chance to be in Kovno, and there was a suggestion that she should marry one of the group fictitiously, to be able to get out of Lithuania. She eventually married Reb Nosson Wachtvogel. Next there was Shmuel Bloch who eventually remained in Melbourne. He married the daughter of Rabbi Super, and, became a *shochet* like his father-in-law. Shelomoh Chinn was another English born member of the group. Shelomoh Davis, who is today *Maggid Shiur* in the Telzer Yeshiva in Cleveland, Ohio, and Menachim (Monty) Moore, were two other English members of the group. Chayyim Gutnick, a Telzer pupil who eventually joined them on the train, did not at first get together with the group; for certain reasons he kept to himself. Thus, started the long journey eastward.

The train had to pass through Riga, Latvia, and after an overnight journey they arrived at the Gorki Station in Moscow at about 9 o'clock the following morning. There on the station to welcome them, and bid them G-d speed, was Sir Stafford Cripps, the Ambassador, himself. He was accompanied by a number of the Embassy staff. Cripps approached and greeted each one, separately and individually, saying, "How lucky you are; I'm glad to have met you all. Then he added "We have arranged everything. You will now be boarding the Trans-Siberian Express, which is on another platform."

They had been told that food would be provided on the Trans-Siberian Express. They had specifically asked to have milk provided for the little one, Avigdor, who could naturally not be denied his food. The Russian agent of Intourist assured them that "everything is fixed up for you", with milk at this station and that station. Noth-

ing to worry about. In fact, the child did not have any milk till they arrived at Vladivostock.

The compartments on the train were luxurious and they were given the "royal treatment". But, when it came to food it was a mockery. They went to the dining-car and ate whatever a Jew could eat from what was available; grapes, watermelon, sardines and tomatoes. At the end of each carriage, there was a little niche with a huge samovar kept continuously on the boil, from which passengers could make tea.

The train passed through the famous towns of Omsk, Tomsk, Novosibirsk, Krasnoiyarsk, Biro-Bidjan and Khabarovsk, until they came to Vladivostock. On the way they witnessed remarkable scenes. It was around the end of October and beginning of November and in certain parts the corn had not been harvested. Thousands upon thousands of acres of corn were just left to rot in the fields.

When they reached Krasnoiyarsk, the train stopped for a while. Naturally, after so many hours of travelling, the group wanted to get out to stretch their legs. In each carriage there was a member of Intourist who was actually a Russian Secret Service Agent. The Agent assigned to watch the group was beautiful young girl who spoke several languages including English, and she kept her eyes on them all the time. Reb Chayyim Dov also got off the train at Krasnoiyarsk to stretch his legs. The town was covered with snow and ice, and it was extremely cold. Reb Chayyim saw, from a distance of about twenty yards, a long queue lining up to get their fill from the hot water tap at the station. From the distance he saw among them a couple of fellow Jews. He wished to talk with them and started to move in that direction when suddenly his sleeve was pulled by the young girl of Intourist. She said, "Sir, would you kindly go back to the train". He replied, "I just wanted to walk over there." "You're not allowed to talk to anybody. Get back into the train, immediately, Sir, or I'll have you arrested." She spoke quickly. Naturally he did as he was told. The journey continued until they reached Vladivostock after nine days of travelling. The carriages were disconnected from the rest of the train. Three guards from the army were assigned to each carriage, one at the entrance, one inside the carriage, and one down below. This was to ensure that none of the group would move until permitted to do so. The group consisted of 17 souls altogether - men, women and children. Besides the Jews, there were also 150 Lithuanian citizens who were of British descent. The group had some trouble with these latter when they were all eventually on the ship. They asked the girl from the Intourist how long they would have to wait. She said, "about an hour or so. Then we'll take you down to the quay and see you all board the ship." That was at 10 o'clock at night. Eleven o'clock came - 12 o'clock - and no sign of anyone; no food, no water. The tea machine - the samovar - had been disconnected, and they just sat there. All of a sudden Menachem (Monty) Moore, became quite sick. Several of the others went up to a Russian soldier. It was Mrs Dessler who spoke Russian who said, "Could you kindly get a doctor? This fellow is ill." The soldier took no notice; poor Menachem (Monty) Moore lay there with a temperature of 40 degrees C. Eventually at 2 a.m., the Russian soldier came to tell them that they could all alight from the train. They were to follow down to the quay and when there, to await further orders.

They walked along the railway tracks until they came to the customs department. The few belongings that they had were searched to ascertain what money, books,

gold or valuables there were. Whatever was found was confiscated. After the customs search, they were told they could move on to the quay and prepare to go aboard. The *Hai Tung*, a Chinese passenger ship, was under commission to the British Government to carry the British evacuees from the Baltic States.

Aboard a huge buffet of fruit, sandwiches, coffee, tea and biscuits had been prepared for them. The Captain attended to them himself. "Have you had enough? Have you got enough? Keep on boys - keep on eating. I know you've been starving for the last five or six hours." At 4 a.m. the ship weighed anchor. But, suddenly, the engine stopped, and the ship dropped anchor in the middle of the harbour.

What had happened? It transpired that they were awaiting, on special orders, the arrival of a Jewish fellow from Rumania. He was also a British evacuee and had not yet arrived in Vladivostock. They waited for two hours or more before the journey finally began. After the group had begun to settle in, a gentleman with a black beard came to them, and spoke. "I'm a Jew, also. My name is Michael Ruder." Rav Silver enquired of him, "What were you doing in Lithuania?" "I was doing some special work there," Ruder answered, "And I'm also one of these evacuees." When they told him they "studied", he turned to Reb Chayyim Dov. "Did you study the bible properly?" Reb Chayyim Dov was taken aback somewhat, but said, "What do you mean? Of course..." "Then", said the other, "Did you ever study the New Testament?" Reb Chayyim Dov was flabbergasted, "The New Testament! We've got nothing to do with the New Testament!" "Ah; my dear friends, then you don't know the truth." Rav Silver could hardly believe his ears. He turned to the group who were standing by, listening. "This blighter is a missionary. If he starts any business, we'll just chuck him overboard and finished." After that Ruder steered clear of the group.

A certain incident that occurred in Lithuania before they left became known only after they were all safe aboard ship and proceeding towards Australia. It concerned Reb Nossan Wachtvogel. He was a smallish person and a very gentle soul. The group could not figure out what was bothering him. He was white as a sheet and extremely quiet. Why was he so pale, and why so silent? His story eventually was connected with the way he had received his exit visa from the Russian N.K.V.D., during the Soviet occupation of Lithuania. When the group wanted to leave Lithuania, each one had to obtain an exit visa from the special N.K.V.D. department in Kovno. Each one was interviewed separately, and one of their interrogators was a round-faced fat Jew.

Reb Chayyim Dov Ber described his interview. His interviewers were both Jews. Besides the fat Jew, there was also another Jew on the bench, both members of the N.K.V.D. When they asked him why he wanted to leave Lithuania, he said, "I was on my way to *Eretz Yisroel*, but because of the outbreak of war, we couldn't get through. So, my aim is to join my parents in *Eretz Yisroel*, later. And, in any case", he added, "I know you're about to close all the *Yeshivos*, so we've nothing to do here."

The interrogator retorted, "Who told you that?" Reb Chayyim Dov replied, "It's a known fact. We've heard about it." "No! We won't close down the *Yeshivos*. If you want to learn, you can learn here. Nobody's going to touch you; nobody's going to harm you. You have no real reason to leave." Rabbi Silver pressed his point, "I've learnt so many years here, and now my parents want me over there. And, I want to be with them." Then, that's a different matter." The interrogator con-

tinued, "But, why go to *Eretz Yisroel*? Why can't you go back to England, where you originally came from?" *HoRav* Silver was adamant, pressing on, regardless, "I've told you before, my parents are there and that's why I want to go, and I feel that the Almighty has given me this opportunity to get there, at last." Then the atmosphere changed rapidly. "Who is the Almighty?" "Don't you know who the Almighty is? Have you ever heard of G-d?" Reb Chayyim Dov boldly asked him. Then Reb Chayyim realised the futility of argument. "Look here; I'm not getting into an ideological discussion with you. There will come a time when you realise and know who G-d is. Even Pharaoh in Egypt conceded that there is a higher power, such as the Almighty and he had to give way to Him." The other Jew started to laugh. "Now, we're going to talk about something very, very serious, and I want you to consider it. When you get to Australia, we would like you to do some work for us there." Rabbi Silver had no doubt what he was asking him to do, but he said, "Look here, do you know what you're asking of me?" Then there was a pause. The little Russian official left no doubt what he had in mind. He pursued the matter, "We'd pay you handsomely. You won't have to worry about a thing. After all, when you get there what are you going to do?" Reb Chayyim Dov answered him, "Listen young man you do not have to worry about my sources of livelihood. I've plenty of things to do there. I'll be a teacher." The official realised it was useless to continue this course. "But, I warn you of one thing. If you ever repeat this discussion to anybody...just remember that we've got the names of all your relations here, and we shall deal with them and eventually get to you."

Reb Nosson Wachvogel's experience was even more frightening and complex. Reb Nosson went to a place to be interviewed and interrogated at 9 a.m. but did not return till after midnight. "Where have you been? We were out of our wits with worry about you. We didn't know what to think had happened to you," he was asked by the group. He replied, softly, "It's alright." "Have you got a visa?" "Yes; but, I can't tell you any more yet." Once on board he told them the whole story, going right back to the time he had emigrated to Canada with his parents as a child. He eventually became a Canadian citizen. The Russian interrogators had learned of this and, now, they wanted to keep him with them. They had also offered him the job of being an agent for them and he consistently refused. He told them that he was only a Talmudical student and had nothing to do with such matters. But they would not hear of it; they decided to keep him incommunicado and put him in jail overnight. But Reb Nosson was strong enough to withstand all these threats, and all the tribulation. Despite their unremitting coaxing and threats, they eventually realised that they could not break him and so they had to let him go with the warning that they would take revenge on his relatives there if he ever dared to speak a word about it.

The first port of call was Hong Kong where the ship called to take on supplies. The ship's captain sent a radio cable to the Jewish community in Hong Kong. He told them that on board he had a group of evacuees who were very orthodox Talmudical students. He requested the Jewish community to do their best to welcome them for the six or seven hours that they were to stay in Hong Kong. He also asked if they could supply the group with any *Kosher* food, as on board they could eat only boiled eggs, sardines and tomatoes. That was their staple diet for the duration of the voyage.

A representative of the Jewish community came down to the ship with a couple of ladies. They took the evacuees by taxi to the Synagogue and its club in Robinson Road. At the *shule* they were given a real welcome. There were even some much needed clothes for the children. They showed the group around Hong Kong and then escorted them back to the ship.

The ship just caught the tail end of a typhoon in which quite a number of people were sick, including Reb Chayyim Dov. Then they arrived in the calm waters of the equator, passing through the Celebes where the sea was like oil. The weather was fairly warm and they all decided to sleep on the deck despite the soot from the funnel of the ship. They arrived at the first point of Australian Territory - Thursday Island. Here they made a stop, primarily to replenish the fresh water supplies. They continued down through the Great Barrier Reef till they reached the Port of Brisbane. This was on a Friday afternoon and they were then told that in Brisbane they would have to disembark. They were told this immediately the ship docked and asked to remove their pitiful amount of luggage.

There were three taxis waiting to take them immediately to the Synagogue in Margaret Street. They arrived there at exactly the time of *Kabbolos Shabbos*. They entered the Synagogue - there was barely a *minyan* there. Rev. Joseph Wolman was standing there with a welcoming smile. "*Shalom Aleichem*", he said, "You are welcome. You will be our guests for the *Shabbos*." Afterwards, Rev. Wolman took them to his home in Alice Street. It was a large house not far from the *shule*. Mrs. Wolman and her two daughters welcomed them and they all sat down at the table. There was fish as they had told Rev. Wolman beforehand that they would not eat any meat. He said, "I respect your wishes. I'll give you fish, vegetable soup and *compot*. You can all rest assured that everything is strictly *kosher* in my house, even though you don't know me yet."

After the first normal *Shabbos* for a long time they set off for a hotel with Rev. Wolman. There they encountered the first signs of Queensland and its heat. When they first saw mosquito nets they were warned by the hotel manager, "If you don't sleep under the mosquito nets you won't have a pleasant night." They took his advice.

The next morning they returned to the *shule*. There was a bigger crowd: approximately two *minyonim*. Each of the group got an *aliyah*. Rev. Wolman made them the central point of his *Shabbos* Sermon, saying that it was a unique event in the history not only of Brisbane Jewry, but of Australian Jewry in general, that a group of Talmudical students had arrived on the shores of Australia and that the community would be well advised to glean what they could from them. They should be given the honour and respect due to them because they would be an asset to the Australian Jewish community in every way. He ended by expressing the wish that they would decide to stay in Brisbane. At the end of the *Shabbos*, there was a special welcome for them in the Community Hall adjacent to the Synagogue where they were introduced to several members of the community. Mr. Ravdell, a Russian Jew, got together with *Rebbetzin* Dessler and they chatted in Russian.

On Monday morning they all went down to the quay to pick up their luggage. Everything was passed through customs without problems. Presently a gentleman came up the quay and approached Rabbi Silver. "May I introduce myself? My name is Rettalick. We have heard that you came from Lithuania which is now occupied

by the Soviets and we have suspicions that there may be a Russian agent on board this ship. Do you know anything about it?" Silver reassured the man as far as his group was concerned. He could not speak for the other passengers but he related the whole story of how they had been offered jobs to be secret agents.

After clearing all their luggage at the docks, the evacuees went to one of the Australian Government offices which took care of them. They were told that a house had already been arranged for them in Abbotsford Road, a huge rambling mansion with about eleven rooms. It was a rather old place, but in good condition and they would all be able to remain as a group, living there together. They would receive their pay as evacuees, provided by the English and Australian governments until they found occupations. A week passed and they started to look around Brisbane. They asked Rev. Wolman if there were any opportunities for them there - if there were jobs available. They enquired if there was a *Talmud Torah* where they could teach. Reluctantly he answered, "Unfortunately, we have only Sunday classes, and I'm the one who teaches there; very few pupils attend. So, I don't think there is very much for you to do here." They asked, "So what do we do?" The Rev. Wolman came up with an idea. "Actually, the real place for you would be Melbourne, or Sydney perhaps; but Melbourne would be still better. We don't know the precise situation there, so we'll have to find out. I'd personally like you to stay here. There are probably lots of things you could help me with in the community."

Then Shmuel Shechter entered the conversation, "I think it's a good idea. Could you get in touch with Melbourne?" The Rev. Wolman agreed. It was arranged that Shmuel Shechter, who was the most articulate, would be spokesman for the group. He decided that as he had no immediate family obligations, having sent his wife and children to America long before-hand, he would go down to investigate the possibilities in Melbourne. He travelled by train. As the days passed, they did not hear a word from him. A week passed... he finally returned. He had been in contact with Hirsch Stone who suggested a Yeshiva be opened up in Melbourne "So, if anyone is interested, that's the place for him." Then Shmuel Shechter continued, "There are still some details to be fixed up there. I've got to go back to finalise matters."

Shechter returned to Melbourne and he was again away a full week. Reb Chayyim greeted him eagerly on his arrival back in Brisbane and he said, "Well, those who want to go to Melbourne will be looked after." "By whom?" from Reb Chayyim Dov. Shmuel responded slowly, "Actually, I don't know." Reb Chayyim Dov asked him further, "Didn't you mention the name 'Hirsch Stone'?" "Yes. But, I don't think he is so interested, now."

Reb Chayyim decided to leave the matter altogether. He noticed Shmuel Shechter speaking in whispers to each of the other members of the group. A day or so later, Shmuel Shechter came up to Reb Chayyim Dov and surprised him with the announcement, "Look, the majority of the group have decided they want to leave Australia and go to the United States." Then, Reb Chayyim Dov went to Chinn and asked him, "Chinn, are you going, too?" He answered, "Yes. I think I'd better go too." "Shmuel Bloch, what about you?" He gave the same answer, "I've decided I'll go to America." Reb Nosson Wachtvogel also decided against staying. Then Reb Chayyim turned to Menachem Moore, and asked, "And what about you?" He replied, "I think so; under the circumstances." Reb Chayyim Dov was amazed.

Menachem Moore explained a little. "According to Shmuel, there won't be any chance of making a Yeshiva in Melbourne." "Oh. I see", said Reb Chayyim Dov, as he went over to Reb Pinchas Berliner. "What about you?" He replied, "No. I intend staying here. I won't go to America. I've got nobody there, and nothing to do in America." Chayyim Gutnick, as far as they knew, had already gone off to Sydney. They did not hear from him at all.

A few days later, a telegram arrived from Shmuel Shechter. It contained the message that tickets had been provided by the Jewish Welfare Board in Melbourne for those who wished to leave for the United States and would they please come to collect them. The tickets were for the ship called *Monterey*, scheduled to leave Sydney about a week later. *Rebbetzin* Dessler started to ask questions, but nothing specific was forthcoming except that there was no chance of a Yeshiva being established. So, five of the group left for America. The others remained in the large house by themselves.

Reb Chayyim Dov spoke to Rev. Wolman about the situation and Rev. Wolman told him, "As far as I can gather from Melbourne, it all started through an incident with Shmuel Shechter which upset the whole thing. I have had a phone conversation with Rabbi Danglow of Melbourne who told me that at a reception for Shmuel Shechter, given by the Jewish Welfare Board." It seemed that Rabbi Danglow's secretary, Miss Frances Barkman, told him that if the evacuees came to Melbourne there would be "serious trouble". "But, why?" asked Reb Chayyim Dov. "Because," continued Rev. Wolman, "she had noticed Shmuel Shechter, at the reception, would not eat the meat at the table, saying when asked, that he doesn't eat meat ANYWHERE." This remark had caused everyone to suspect that it was on the grounds of *Kashruss*. It seemed clear that if this group went down to Melbourne, they might cause trouble in their community because of their very strict Orthodoxy. So they decided that they would offer them tickets to America. Shmuel Shechter immediately grasped this proposition and had been quick to assure his hosts that the majority of the group would accept. Those in Melbourne who were concerned with the matter were satisfied.

Reb Chayyim Dov who was very close to Rev. Wolman, asked him, "Reb Yosef, is all of this TRUE?" "That is what Danglow told me," said Wolman. Reb Chayyim Dov explained all this to the *Rebbetzin* Dessler, and she was furious. Melbourne and Australian Jewry had lost the first opportunity in its history to have a real Yeshiva set up. This would have done a vast amount of good for the community as a whole. The plan did not eventuate because of reasons not caused by the group itself and beyond their control.

Meanwhile, Reb Chayyim Dov was offered a job with the Government Censorship Board. As Reb Chayyim Dov did not want to live on a Government grant if he could avoid it, he immediately accepted the offer. He started work at the Censorship Board, and instead of working on *Shabbos*, he used to work throughout Saturday night. This was acceptable to the management and the postal authorities. Reb Chayyim remembered when two sacks of letters came in. The censorship authorities had found them floating in the water, near Perth. They had been thrown overboard from the ship "*Mauretania*". At the time, it served as a military transport ship, and the A.I.F. (Australian Imperial Forces) were then being despatched to the Middle East, prior to the battle of El Alamein, in North Africa, where it was hoped

that General Montgomery would stop the German invasion, led by Rommel. The soldiers started sending letters back home revealing where they were going which was absolutely forbidden. The letters had found their way to the Brisbane Censorship Office and were handed to *HaRav* Silver to record every item contained in the letters. It was quite a job and he could not do it all.

Before *Rosh HaShonah* Reb Chayyim Dov told the chief of the department that he could not work during the High Holydays. The chief cut him short, "Look here, your job is in jeopardy." Again, he explained, "I'm very sorry but I can't do it." The chief again pressed him, "Well, it's up to you." *Rosh HaShonah*, was on Thursday and Friday that year, and with *Shabbos* following immediately, it meant three days off work. "If you don't show up on Thursday morning, we'll have to dispense with your services." *HaRav* Silver told him that he had no option. And so, after nine months on the Censorship Board in 1941, Silver was out of work. Incidentally Rev. Wolman was also on the Censorship Board. He was doing Hebrew and Yiddish letters, together with Silver. It meant going back to the government grant again but the Government was loathe to accommodate him again, as he had had a job. This was despite the fact that Reb Chayyim Dov explained the reasons behind what had happened.

A few days later a telegram came from Hirsch Stone asking Reb Chayyim Dov to come down for an interview. It had been decided, in view of the situation, to offer him the position of *Rov* of their Congregation. He discussed this with Wolman, who was happy with the idea and advised Silver to go to Melbourne. He also suggested that he stop off at Sydney briefly, to meet Rabbi Dr I. Porush of the Great Synagogue. Silver took his advice and made a brief stop at Sydney. There he met Rabbi Porush who welcomed him, saying, "So you're going to Melbourne; very good. It's a pity we can't have you up here." *HoRav* Silver told him, "We'll see on the way back; maybe I'll drop in again."

HoRav was received by Stone and invited to stay over *Shabbos* when he gave a lecture. The Congregation was so pleased with it that there was an immediate unanimous decision to elect Reb Chayyim Dov their *Rov*. Reb Chayyim Dov, himself was not entirely happy about the situation but decided that it was the best he could do for the present. A gentleman by the name of Michael Newman came up to him and said, "Rabbi, with respect, tell me what are your leanings in the orthodox Jewish world?" *HoRav* Silver, who was puzzled by the query, answered, "I don't understand what you mean?" Newman elaborated, "To which party do you belong?" "I don't belong to any party", said *HoRav* Silver. Newman then asked, "Do you have any sympathy with the *Mizrachi* or *Agudah*?" "I'm quite impartial to politics. If a Jew is *Ben Torah*, and he respects and lives by the Torah, then I'm with him", *HoRav* Silver answered. "What is your attitude on the *Mizrachi*?" "They've got some good points..." "Oh. Have they?" Newman snapped out the words. Reb Chayyim Dov then quipped back, "Yes, I suppose so. Even the *Agudah* has good points." Newman rejoined, "What do you mean, 'even' the *Agudah*? - Only the *Agudah* has got good points!" By this time, Silver was tired of the whole argument and finished it off, saying, "Look; it's a matter of opinion and that's my opinion." "Oh. Oh." said Newman as he moved away. Reb Chayyim Dov immediately felt that Newman was on the *Shule's* Board. The next day he was told that he was "not suitable".

Reb Chayyim Dov was on the move again. On the way back to Brisbane, he stopped off in Sydney again and went to speak with Rabbi Porush. The latter told him, "We may have a job for you on the Board of Education." Silver said, "Very good. *Chinuch* is really my field." Porush then said, "Incidentally, there's a class on, today. Would you like to take it?" Reb Chayyim Dov agreed immediately. Rabbi Porush then introduced Silver to Mr Bloom, president of the Education Board. Together the three men entered the Great Synagogue where the classes were assembling. The class to which Reb Chayyim Dov was assigned comprised about 15 children. He started to talk to the students, putting out feelers to discover what they knew about this and that in *Yiddishkeit*. Then, he started to teach them. He first taught them *Boire p're ha Aritz*, and then he taught them *Ha Moitzi* which they should make over bread, after first washing their hands and making *B'rochob*. Afterwards, they told him that he had given an excellent lesson, but "unfortunately, there is no opening at the moment"

On returning to Brisbane, Reb Chayyim Dov recounted the whole adventure to Wolman, who then asked, "What's next?" Reb Chayyim Dov said, "I don't know. Do you have any ideas?" There was a pause, then, "Say, what about organising a little *Talmud Torah* here?" Reb Yosef answered, after a moment's deliberation, "You're certainly at liberty to do so if you can get the parents to agree to send their children." Reb Chayyim Dov replied that he would like to go along and "canvas" the parents. He spoke with some of the parents, saying, "I'm very interested in teaching children here, and I don't want money for it. I'm willing to do it for nothing as I've got a Government Grant." At that moment, of course, he did not have it, but he hoped. The answers he received were all the same. They all had the same excuse. "The children have to have time to play; they've got homework, too... they do go to Sunday School. We don't think so..." Reb Chayyim Dov kept pushing, "I only meant twice a week; just twice a week." They were adamant. "No. Sunday's quite enough for the children," he was told.

A week later, another telegram came. This one was from Yosef Yoffe, President of the Brunswick *Talmud Torah*. As he had heard that Reb Chayyim was seeking a position, he was inviting him to come to Melbourne to take up the position, as their *Rov* and teacher. Rev. Wolman advised him to accept and he went again to Melbourne. The first thing they commented on was his hat. It was not suitable. As their *Rov*, he would have to exchange his grey hat. "What wear a black hat?" Reb Chayyim Dov resented this but, still, what does a Jew not do for *parnossob* (a livelihood). So, he put on a black hat. Reb Chayyim Dov felt that was the worst thing that could happen to him. He was there over *Shabbos*, so they invited him to give a *d'rosbo* (sermon). It was *Parashass Sh'lach*, and he spoke about the *M'raglim* and about *Eretz Yisroel*. Reb Yosef Yoffe, who sat at his side was almost in tears. He said, afterwards, "We haven't heard a *d'rosbo* like that for years. You're a real Zionist." Reb Chayyim Dov immediately replied, "Thank you very much, but I'm not a Zionist. I'm just an ordinary Jew who loves *Eretz Yisroel* and hopes, eventually, please G-d, to get there." And, there and then, he was unanimously appointed Rabbi of the Brunswick *Talmud Torah* and Congregation.

Reb Chayyim was still uneasy and quickly asserted his intentions. "Look, I'm not interested in the Rabbinical position; I want the *Talmud Torah*. If you've got a *Talmud Torah*..." They told him that they did have a *Talmud Torah* of fifty children,

but they had a Principal by the name of Mr. Kallay. Reb Chayyim Dov said, "Very well, I'd like to meet him." On Sunday morning he went along to the classes. He was introduced to Mr. Kallay and asked if he might examine the children, to get an idea of what they were being taught. He asked them, "What are you learning?" They told him, "We're learning *Ivrit* (Hebrew), and a bit of this and that." So Reb Chayyim Dov asked, further, "Do you know anything about *B'rochoiss* (Ritual blessings)?" They replied in the negative. Reb Chayyim took up the challenge. Don't you teach them anything?" Mr Kallay said, "First of all they've got to know *Ivrit*." Reb Chayyim could not accept this but he felt there was a growing antagonism from the other. This was confirmed when Kallay said, "If Rabbi Silver is to be in the service of the *Talmud Torah*, then I'm leaving immediately. I'll resign!" There also happened to be present a Mr. Weinstock, who was Israeli-born, and who also loved *Ivrit*. He supported Kallay and together they influenced the committee against appointing Reb Chayyim Dov. Their reasoning was that, if Reb Chayyim got the position, there would be dissension and disruptions within the Congregation. Yoffe was very upset at this outcome. He had already rented and furnished a house for Silver in Brunswick Road, East Brunswick. But the committee's decision was final and Reb Chayyim Dov's candidacy was cancelled.

Reb Chayyim brought his family down to Melbourne with *Rebbetzin* Dessler and her daughter who came to live with them. The house was available and so Silver took the opportunity to bring the remainder of the group to Melbourne. One afternoon, after having settled in, Reb Chayyim Dov was strolling down one of the streets of Carlton when he met Mordecai Eizen. They begun talking, Reb Chayyim told him his story and Eizen asked him, "Would you like to join our *Talmud Torah*?" The next morning, Reb Chayyim Dov went along to the *Talmud Torah*, and to his delight, he saw that there was a real opening. He saw that Mordecai Eizen had really put an enormous effort into the education of those children. And, that was how Reb Chayyim Dov Silver started his Melbourne career at the Carlton *Talmud Torah*.

In conclusion, it would not be out of place to record the following points: Reb Chayyim Dov had many pupils in Melbourne, a number of whom later went on to major Yeshivas. He educated many who later became the new generation of continuing Torah-true *Yiddishkeit* in this far-flung corner of the world. Reb Chayyim Dov eventually fulfilled his original desire to live in *Eretz Yisrael*. After many years he went with his whole family to live in *Y'rusholayim* (Jerusalem), where he was, and still is, one of the officials of the *Va'ad HaYeshiva*. One can always find him there, involved in the concerns of the many Yeshiva boys who come for his counsel and guidance.

It was a long journey from Kelme to Melbourne, but the route finally did lead to *Y'rusholayim*.

THE HON. SYDNEY DAVID EINFELD, AO: BUILDER OF AUSTRALIAN JEWRY

Suzanne D. Rutland, MA (Hons), PhD, Dip Ed.

One of the leading figures in Australian Jewry in the twentieth century has been Sydney D. Einfeld. He has been in the forefront of Jewish leadership since World War II and has contributed to a wide spectrum of Jewish communal development in many different fields, before undertaking a distinguished political career as a Labor member of the NSW parliament. He must be seen as the builder of Australian Jewry as, together with Leo Fink of Melbourne, it was his vision and dedication through his work with Australian Jewish Welfare Society which enabled many Holocaust survivors to come to Australia and rebuild their lives here. At the same time as he was dedicating himself to the Welfare Society, he shared the central stage as President of the Executive Council of Australian Jewry, alternating with Maurice Ashkanasy of Melbourne for the crucial years from 1952 until 1968. There has to date been little historical analysis of Einfeld's contribution either within the Jewish or general communities and this article is beginning this process.

Sydney D. Einfeld was born on 17 June 1909, three weeks after his parents, the Rev and Mrs Marcus Einfeld, arrived in Sydney - hence he was given the name Sydney.¹ After completing his schooling at Fort Street Boys' High he felt that he should join the workforce immediately.

Einfeld's early business career was somewhat checkered by the Depression and after working in a variety of jobs he accepted a salesman's position in Brisbane in 1930 with a furniture store owned by a Jewish man. He returned to Sydney in 1933 after meeting his future wife, Billie Appelboom who was holidaying in Brisbane. During the war years he established a metal parts factory in Granville under the auspices of the essential war services department and after the war he was in various commercial enterprises. Each of his business endeavours was a valuable worldly experience until Einfeld found his true vocation which undoubtedly was to serve in the interests of all people as a member of parliament. Before this he devoted his inexhaustible energies to the needs of the general community through the ALP, welfare organisations and also of the Jewish people through active Jewish communal involvement.²

Einfeld first joined the Bondi branch of the ALP in 1938. His attraction to the Labor Party was a natural outcome of his concern for the ordinary person and his desire to work for the 'little people who really needed a champion'.³ He believed deeply that everyone was entitled to a home, sufficient food, a job and the dignity of being a complete human being. As such, he was a socialist, his philosophical approach being similar to Upton Sinclair.

Initially, Einfeld was involved in Party branch organisation. He had absolutely no thought of becoming a member of parliament. He was more interested in promoting the cause than himself. He was campaign manager for Abe Landa from 1940, was president of the Bondi Labor Branch from 1944 to 1955 and for nine of those eleven years he was president of the Wentworth Federal Electorate Council during which time he was also campaign manager for Jessie Street. He was presi-

dent of the Phillip Federal Electorate for fourteen years and was an outspoken and highly respected delegate on Labor principles at several conferences which at that time of radical reform was quite a feat.¹

Responding to pressure from within the Party, he agreed in 1961 to the challenge to stand as the Labor candidate in a difficult, swinging electorate. With his victory he began a distinguished parliamentary career, initially as member for the Federal seat of Phillip in the House of Representatives. The public's disaffection with the Labor Party led to his defeat in the 1963, though having by far the smallest margin. In 1965, after Landa was appointed NSW agent-general to London, Einfeld, because of his fine record in the constituency, was persuaded to stand for the seat of Bondi, a position he held until 1971 when the Bondi seat was changed to Waverley which he represented for the next ten years. During his time in the Legislative Assembly, incidentally as the only Jew, he was deputy leader of the opposition from 1968 to 1973, Shadow Minister for Consumer Affairs, Minister for Consumer Affairs and Co-operative Societies from 14 May 1976, Minister for Housing from 9 October 1978, until he relinquished the ministries for Housing and Co-operative Societies in February 1980, remaining Minister for Consumer Affairs until his retirement in October 1981. His capacity was so outstanding that he won acclaim in every post in which he served.²

In this paper, I would like to concentrate on Sydney Einfeld's career within the Jewish community because his political contributions are outside the area of my in depth research and I would like to give you a taste of Einfeld's endeavours from my own investigations. In order to understand these endeavours, it is necessary to know a little about his family who were the greatest influence on his life. Sydney's father, Rev Marcus Einfeld, was born in Galicia in 1874 and after serving in congregations in Berlin, Budapest and Vienna he moved to the Borough Synagogue, London, and then to the Great Synagogue, Sydney. He served the Great Synagogue as cantor for 28 years from June 1909 until his death in June 1937. He also was a qualified *mohel* and *shochet*, an Hebraist and a strong Zionist supporter with a warm Jewish heart and a beautiful tenor voice. With others he promoted and assisted in the foundation of the Sydney *Chevre Kadisha*.

Rev. Einfeld and his wife Deborah had seven children, six boys and one girl (Solomon, Lilian, Louis, Joseph, Sydney, John and Lawrence), who were brought up in a family noted for its hospitality. Following the Sabbath service the boys would walk home after attending *cheder* classes and anxiously count the number of visitors their father had brought with him, to guess what part of the chicken they would get. Often their mother would go without herself to ensure that all the visitors were served. The Einfeld boys were sensitive to the air of superiority of the Anglo-Australian Jewish establishment who controlled their father's congregation, an attitude also shared by Rabbi Francis Lyon Cohen. Rev Marcus Einfeld was a servant of the establishment and the family always showed them respect and courtesy for the sake of their father whose deep commitment to Judaism was communicated to all his children, each of whom was to play an important role within the Jewish community: Solomon in the Young Men's Hebrew Association, as was Louis until his early death in 1946 at the age of 43; Joseph, an active member of YMHA and youth organisations; John as president of NAJEX, and later of King David School and Moriah College; Lilian, who was the first president of the National Council of Jewish Women Juniors; and Lawrence, who died in 1988, who served as chairman of the Public

Relations Committee of the Board of Deputies through the difficult period of swastika daubing in the early 1960s.

Einfeld's own career within the Jewish community started with the Jewish Social and Sports Club together with his brother Joseph who was president. A little later Sydney was honorary secretary of the Junior Union of Sydney Zionists. He was a keen sportsman and a brilliant debator and after winning a number of trophies for debating in the City of Sydney Eisteddfod in the late 1930s, became an honorary adjudicator from 1947 to 1957. He was attracted to the ideals of the Young Men's Hebrew Association and, as a very young man, he attended its inaugural meeting in Sydney in 1929. In 1933 he was instrumental in the establishment of the Brisbane 'Y' where he worked to organise the projected activities of the new club. On his return to Sydney, he joined his brothers in the 'Y', serving as vice-president under his brother Sol and subsequently as president for three years from 1948 to 1951. During his term, the 'Y' reached its zenith, purchasing and developing a Point Piper property named Dunara.⁶ However, the location of this property proved inaccessible for members and in December 1955 the YMHA decided to sell the property. During the debate on the sale of the property Sydney Einfeld, then past president, summed up the situation when he said 'I say clearly that if the members do not use these facilities here, then retention is not warranted. It is a most mournful resolution, but the facts are that the YMHA no longer has any following'.⁷ With its sale under a new president and with no headquarters, the YMHA disintegrated and the funds which remained later provided part of the basis for the new Communal Centre which was opened in 1965 next to the Jewish War Memorial, again as a result of Einfeld's persistent efforts.

The YMHA also played a central role in migrant reception. The 'Y' had a car pool organised which was ready to assist with meeting any boat, or later, plane, which arrived. Often planes would arrive in the early hours of the morning but there was always a group ready to meet the newcomers at the airport and for those in transit and without relatives, YMHA Volunteer drivers would bring them to the 'Y' rooms or to Council House for breakfast and other meals.⁸

In 1945 Syd Einfeld was a foundation member of the NSW Jewish Board of Deputies, becoming chairman of its Standing Orders Committee. He became involved in the struggle for constitutional reform, argued by Dr Hans Kimmel, and in 1948 was the chairman of the standing orders committee which proposed wider franchise for the Board of Deputies. In August 1949 the constitution was changed so that 25 per cent of deputies were elected by general franchise and the remainder by the member organisations.⁹ This concession was considered inadequate by many critics and in 1954 general franchise was extended to 50 per cent of the deputies.

Einfeld also assisted interstate Boards of Deputies. In South Australia until 1949 all public relations matters were dealt with by the Adelaide Hebrew Congregation. In mid 1949 the JNF, under the leadership of Gus Hines, wrote to the congregation expressing its concern at the lack of a central body and in December of that year Einfeld was invited to visit Adelaide to assist in the formation of such a body. Einfeld agreed and in July 1950 the South Australian Jewish Board of Deputies was created with one representative from each Jewish organisation in Adelaide.¹⁰

Another matter of deep concern to the NSW Board of Deputies and the ECAJ was

that of non-Jewish German migration to Australia in the early 1950s, a matter in which Syd Einfeld was also deeply involved and was described as a 'tower of strength'. In New South Wales, in September 1950, a united protest meeting was held at the Maccabean Hall under the auspices of the New South Wales Jewish Board of Deputies with Maurice Ashkanasy of Melbourne and Sydney Einfeld of Sydney being the keynote speakers.¹¹ A subsequent protest meeting attended by 6,000 people at the Sydney Town Hall in February 1951, was addressed by Dr Evatt, Senator Justin O'Byrne of Tasmania (who himself had suffered at the hands of the Nazis) and L.C. Haylen, Labor MP.¹² In New South Wales the Jewish ex-Service organisation, under the leadership of John Einfeld, spearheaded a campaign, publishing an effective pamphlet opposing German migration. At a further meeting organised by the Sydney Jewish Council to Combat Fascism and Anti-Semitism at Tarbuth in September 1951, attended by 200 people, Einfeld stressed that any Jew who did not join the campaign against German Nazi immigration did not deserve his heritage because of the likelihood of large numbers of Nazis and German people inculcated with Nazi ideology entering the country.

However, the Jewish community's challenge to the Australian government's policy was no easy task because both Harold Holt, the Minister, and Tasman Heyes, Head of the Department of Immigration, were committed to the mass German migration scheme. In August 1950, Einfeld was acutely aware of the difficulties facing the Jewish community and he wrote to Walter Lippmann, at the time Melbourne-based Executive Council of Australian Jewry Councillor:

I am equally convinced that what ever action we take, nothing will alter the Government's determination to proceed with the scheme. I have had private advice that the Government is firmly resolved to proceed with large scale German migration and despite any previous interviews with both Holt and Heyes, I believe that Cabinet has endorsed this decision some time ago.¹³

Einfeld was correct in his assessment. The signing of the agreement with the West German government was delayed, but this was due to the rising unemployment and the general downturn of the economy in Australia in 1951, and perhaps also a little weight from the Jewish community's campaign. In May 1952 a special German migration mission came to Australia to investigate the mass migration proposal and in August of the same year Holt finally signed an agreement in Bonn with the West German government, the agreement lasting five years. In all, a total of 50,000 Germans arrived under government sponsorship in the 1950s.¹⁴ However, the Jewish community's campaign may have contributed to an improvement in Australian security screening procedures which, until 1951 were inadequate.

Yet Einfeld's greatest contribution was in the area of Holocaust survivor immigration to Australia. In 1947 the Migrant Reception Committee (MRC) was formed by the Board of Deputies under the chairmanship of Sydney Einfeld with the responsibilities of meeting ships, planes and trains and organising stopovers at the National Council of Jewish Women (NCJW) rooms and the Isabella Lazarus Home for permanent settlers as well as those in transit to Melbourne.¹⁵ Einfeld's first task was to organise the reception of Jewish immigrants on the ship, the *Johan de Witt*, which had the largest group of newcomers on board. A contemporary account

described the scene:

The organisation, as we said, was excellent. Everywhere there were notices, in all languages, announcements and instructions coming over loud-speakers. The NCJW quickly arranged a buffet on the wharf, served sandwiches, soft drinks and ice cream free of charge. Through all the anxiety and uncertainty, one felt an air of happiness, of spontaneous and heartfelt welcome.¹⁶

David Abzacs, honorary secretary of United Jewish Overseas Relief Fund (UJORF), Melbourne, who was a Yiddish speaker and had come to Sydney to assist the Jewish Welfare Society, wrote congratulating Einfeld for his understanding of the newcomers who informed him at first hand of many of the tragic catastrophes which had happened in Europe. The impact of the tragedy of the Holocaust made Einfeld commit himself with complete dedication to his work in the relief, resettlement and rehabilitation of the newcomers.¹⁷ In 1948 he was co-opted onto the Executive of the AJWS, Sydney, in recognition of his outstanding contribution to the MRC.¹⁸ Four years later he became president of the AJWS after Saul Symonds' untimely death in 1952 and he remained in that position for 25 years. Under his leadership, the AJWS assumed responsibility for reception of immigrants and the Migrant Reception Committee was disbanded.

Tensions between the Sydney and Melbourne Welfare Societies existed until Symonds' death in 1952 but Einfeld's assumption of the presidency led to a new period of co-operation between Sydney and Melbourne on immigration matters. This functioned on both an official level and also on a personal level where a close understanding emerged between Einfeld and Leo Fink, president of the Welfare Society in Melbourne.¹⁹ After 1952, under Einfeld's leadership, the AJWS also learnt from its earlier mistakes, as Einfeld would not tolerate a rigid or superior attitude to newcomers. Unlike Symonds and his predecessor Sir Samuel Cohen, both of whom were perceived by the refugees as distant and unapproachable, Einfeld went to the wharves and the airport in person to meet the refugees and his warm heartedness endeared him to the newcomers. With the new waves of immigrants in the late 1950s, sub-committees representing the different national groups were created to meet the boats and handle all other aspects of reception.

Einfeld was not only involved with migrant reception but he was also closely associated with the running of the hostels, the major one being Chip Chase, later renamed the Komlos hostel. Once a week he visited the hostel, talking with the people, listening to their problems and complaints, and providing whatever assistance he could to overcome their fears. The youngsters were always excited when Einfeld visited because he took with him new two shilling pieces which he had obtained from the bank to present to each child.²⁰ These were the kind-hearted human touches which he introduced to people who had only experienced harshness and cruelty. The newcomers showed him great affection which has continued among those who are still living in Sydney today.²¹

In the late 1950s with a change in government policy in regard to accommodation guarantees and the realisation of the immense cost to the community of running hostels, a different system was introduced to assist the Hungarian escapees with accommodation. The hostels were used to provide short-term temporary accommodation only, and whenever possible the newcomers were assisted to buy

their own homes with mortgages organised through the Welfare Society. In Sydney in 1958 Einfeld, who was always alert to finding new ways of helping the newcomers, met the AJWS's honorary solicitor, Meyer Rosenblum outside a city bank. Rosenblum told Einfeld that he was organising a Building Society at the bank. Immediately, Einfeld approached the bank manager to discuss this matter and the establishment of a Welfare Society Co-operative Building Society was organised with the assistance of Howard Flicke, the Society's accountant, with a capital of £100,000 provided by the Bank of New South Wales.²⁴ The Welfare Co-operative Building Society was created as a separate company from the AJWS. Loans of £3,000 were given to migrants and also local Jews, repayable at five per cent interest.²⁵ The Co-operative operated very efficiently and was much appreciated by the newcomers as it gave them a sense of security, enabling them to purchase their own homes. In all Einfeld set up a total of fourteen Welfare Co-operative Building Societies.

Finance was required to cover the immense cost faced by Jewish Welfare. Until 1954 Australian Jewry was assisted by American Jewry and after 1954 the Claims conferences allocated significant sums as will be discussed later. Other avenues for finance were also sought for Federation cases. In 1953 contact was made by Einfeld with the Jewish Colonisation Association (ICA) in England. In December 1953, Leslie Prince of the ICA Board arrived in Australia to study the situation. After spending a few weeks visiting Sydney, Melbourne and Canberra, Prince returned to London.²⁶ When Einfeld was in London en route to representing Australia at the 1954 First Claims Conference, he met a number of members of the ICA executive to discuss Australian Jewry's needs. Following these discussions when Einfeld established a fine rapport, ICA and JDC, offered £25,000 to help Jewish immigrants who had settled in Australia since 1945, with the monies to be administered jointly by the AJWS, Sydney and the AJW&RS, Melbourne.²⁷ ICA later added the condition that the monies, which were to be used for short term loans up to £A1,000, could be allocated only to migrants who had been in Australia for at least six months and had not arrived earlier than 1 January 1953.²⁸ Einfeld was dissatisfied with this condition which had not been mentioned when he was in England and it was finally agreed that the money could be used for cases who had arrived earlier.²⁹ The monies were divided jointly between Sydney and Melbourne and in 1955 a further allocation of £12,500 for each city was made.³⁰

A key aspect of the Welfare Society's work in the postwar era was the sponsorship of child migrants, orphan survivors of the Holocaust who hoped to create a new life in Australia away from the horrors they had experienced in Europe. In 1944 the government agreed to a quota of 300 orphans and in Sydney a committee was formed called the Children's Scheme Committee to administer the funds collected in 1943 and for a second appeal in 1945.³¹ Although many of the orphans in Europe wished to emigrate to Palestine, there were those who wished to come to Australia and eventually in 1947 the AJWS came to an agreement with Union OSE (a world-wide Jewish Health Society) which selected orphans who were sent out in groups, chaperoned by a migrating couple on the boat. In Sydney the majority of the Jewish children were cared for at the Isabella Lazarus Home which had been built in conjunction with the Montefiore Home in the 1930s. In 1948 Sydney Einfeld was placed in charge of the boys and girls and the Einfelds established a close rela-

tionship with many of the youths. Employment was found as quickly as possible for the youths and many were helped to train for a trade at technical college. The limitations of finance meant that the committee could not assist those who wished to study at tertiary level.

Another vital area of Welfare Society activity in which Syd Einfeld was directly involved was the Sheltered Workshop. The most intractable group to assist with employment and social rehabilitation were the elderly. With the family reunion programme, elderly parents were often sponsored by their children but then were faced with the problem that both husband and wife had to work to establish themselves in Australia and so had no time to give to their elderly parents. Added to this was the problem that the elderly were not entitled to social security benefits in the 1950s. The concept of a sheltered workshop was very new in postwar Australia, with only one in existence in New South Wales before 1954, run by the Royal Blind Society.⁴⁰ When Einfeld went overseas for the Claims conference in January 1954 he personally investigated the running of Sheltered Workshops in the United States and in Israel. The issue was then raised at a board meeting in April 1954 when Hans Vidor described systems followed in the United States, but no immediate action was taken.⁴¹ Negotiations continued and in February 1955 Einfeld established the sheltered workshop with the help of Dr Wolf Matsdorf who was a social worker employed by the Society and it operated on a daily basis. A supervisor was appointed and simple assembly work was obtained.⁴² Those who joined the workshop were paid to the limit of the amount allowed under the social service legislation. All administrative expenses, as well as the cost of the fares, were to be born by the Welfare Society and the workshop was housed in an allocated area of the Maccabean Hall.⁴³

Initially introduced as a three months' experiment, the Sheltered Workshop proved to be socially and humanely a most successful venture. It was open to any elderly members of the New South Wales Jewish community over the age of sixty and for many it began almost a new life which continues to the present day. One member, an Egyptian born Jew aged 68, said:

I used to sit in the park, because I did not know what to do with myself. It was so bad I almost lost the use of my speech. It was very depressing.

Since I joined the workshop, I've made friends, we have had useful activity and we have all been very happy.⁴⁴

In 1958 Melbourne Jewry decided to establish a sheltered workshop along Sydney lines.⁴⁵

By the mid to late 1950s the major medical problem facing the Welfare Societies was that of mental illness. In 1955 it was estimated that in New South Wales there were 93 Jewish inmates in the various mental institutions. Einfeld expressed concern in regard to the mentally ill patients and a sub-committee of the Board of Deputies was established to co-ordinate hospital visitation with the clergy. In the late 1950s the sheltered workshop also became involved in the rehabilitation of discharged mentally ill patients. For some, however, their Holocaust experiences continued to torment them and these problem cases became dependent on the Welfare Societies for their survival.

Jewish leaders were involved in the migrant experience within the broader community through the annual Citizenship Convention held throughout the 1950s and

ly Melbourne, unfortunately has not been taken into account in Rubinstein's article.

Another unbelievable experience was his visit to Cuba. Syd and Billie Einfeld were in London on their way home after a Claims Conference, when HIAS urgently requested Sydney Einfeld to go to Cuba while Billie remained in New York. This was shortly after Castro's assumption of power when US citizens were *persona non grata* in Cuba. Einfeld was asked to obtain a visa in London and then return to New York as quickly as possible for a briefing. The aim of the mission was to arrange for as many Jewish children to get to the US, either legally or illegally, because Castro was sending the more able children to Communist indoctrination camps and Jewish parents, as all others, were frantic.

Even though martial law was operating, Einfeld managed to get 600 youngsters to safety in Curacao and Miami but it was a cloak and dagger operation. To escape from Cuba American dollars were needed to pay for the airline ticket but possession of foreign currency was illegal in Cuba so that many Cubans, even with American passports, had no way out. Einfeld arrived with US dollars secreted in large quantities on his person, around his waist in a money belt and elsewhere. With the use of a secret airfield, night transport was clandestinely arranged and both Jewish and Catholic children were flown to Miami via Curacao. Billie Einfeld remained in New York and Einfeld communicated with her in a pre-arranged code from Havana. She was then able to pass on information to HIAS.¹¹

An amusing sideline was that Syd Einfeld was able to eat meals at a Jewish restaurant in Havana which was named *Moisha Pippik*. After two days the Jewish proprietor asked Einfeld not to come again because the proprietor realised that he was being followed. Einfeld found that there were two orthodox Jewish communities in Havana but there was tension between them. Yet they shared a common concern over the need for a supply of *matzot* which they were not permitted to bake themselves. Syd Einfeld promised to look into the issue and he was able to arrange for *matzot* to be sent from Canada. These two episodes in Einfeld's career indicate that fact is often stranger than fiction and the stories he could tell of his visits to Morocco, Roumania, Hungary, Poland and Cuba on behalf of Jewish immigration would defy the imagination of a good novelist.

The Jewish Welfare Societies in the various states played an active role in the absorption of the postwar Jewish refugee immigrants. This entailed an enormous amount of effort but, on the whole, they did succeed in their aims. Emery Komlos, an Executive Director of the Refugee Economic Committee (REFRECOM), who visited Australia in 1949 at the request of the American Joint Distribution Committee and was killed in a plane crash on his return flight New York, commented:

The heart of the matter, though, is that the 4,000 Jews who come to Australia this year are finding exactly what they seek and what we want them to have: a welcome, a job, a home and a future.¹²

In this way the AJW&RS in Melbourne and the AJWS in Sydney became the pivotal organisations in the development of postwar Australian Jewry and can truly be described as the 'architect of postwar Australian Jewry'. The initial inadequacies of reliance on voluntary workers who were often heavy handed in their approach and the lack of professionalism were gradually overcome and in the second half of the 1950s the FAJWS, together with its state branches, diversified to embrace professional staff in an ever-expanding social welfare programme.¹³ These developments



Left to right: Walter Brand, Hetty Gordon and Emery Komlos outside the Chip Chase Hostel, September 1949. Komlos was killed in an air crash on his return flight to America and the Hostel was renamed in his honour.

occurred while Syd Einfeld was at the helm both at the state and the national level and owe much to his dedication, drive, selflessness and integrity, to say nothing of the support he received from his life partner Billie.

Einfeld's complete dedication to Jewish communal work made his election to the ECAJ presidency in 1952, at the age of 43, a foregone conclusion. Ironically, his first trip overseas was in 1954 as ECAJ representative to the first Claims Conference and in 1956/7 he spent eleven weeks overseas, visiting Morocco with Walter Brand on behalf of the Jewish community there, Vienna to assist the Hungarian escapees, New York for the Claims Conference, then returning to Europe and London. In all he served four two-year terms as president of the EACJ, with four alternating terms as senior vice president, spanning the years 1952 to 1968.

A major issue facing the ECAJ at the time of Einfeld's election to the presidency was of whether Australian Jewry should participate in German reparations.⁴⁷ This sparked a great debate within Australian Jewry. Some favoured the acceptance of reparations as it was only right that the victims of Nazism should be assisted by their former persecutors; others considered reparations as 'blood money' and believed that there should not be any relationship with Germany. In an emotive sermon at the Great Synagogue in August 1950, Rabbi L.A. Falk strongly criticised those claiming compensation which he referred to as 'blood money' and he argued that Jews should maintain their dignity.⁴⁸

These differences of opinion were reflected in the opposing positions taken by New South Wales and Victoria. The New South Wales Board voted in support of Israel's position to demand reparations whereas in Victoria, under Ashkanasy's presidency, the ECAJ voted against the negotiations with West Germany. Further debate and discussion, with Sydney Einfeld strongly supporting reparations, led to a complete reversal of the Victorian position and in July 1952 the ECAJ decided that the Australian Jewish community should participate in German reparations through the

ECAJ, with Sydney Einfeld as a director of the Conference On Jewish Material Claims Against Germany.

Another area of debate was the question of which was the appropriate body to represent the claims of the Jewish victims of Nazism. In Sydney, the Association of New Citizens (ANC) led by Dr Max Joseph believed that the Association should be the representative body in regard to reparations. Dr Joseph argued that the Association represented the victims of Nazism and as such it was entitled to the funds. He claimed that the ANC had been concerned with reparations since 1945 and that at the signing of the 1952 agreement with West Germany the ANC had been represented through the Council for German Jews, UK.⁴⁹

This view was opposed by Einfeld who believed that only the ECAJ as the roof body of Australian Jewry could represent the claimants. In September 1953 Einfeld wrote to Saul Kagan, secretary of COJMCAG, that the Association of New Citizens was not a Jewish organisation, as its membership comprised both Jews and non-Jews.⁵⁰ The ANC sought to negotiate with Einfeld over the issue of representation and following a fiery meeting when a motion of Dr Hans Kimmel was not voted on, Dr Joseph met with Einfeld on 13 November 1953 and argued that the ANC should have at least a consultative voice in the decisions relating to the distribution of funds.⁵¹

After further correspondence, Joseph announced to the Executive Council in February 1954 that the ECAJ did not wish to co-operate and that the ANC could not continue as its Secretary, Dr S.W. Krieger was resigning in April 1954 and subsequently the ANC was wound up. At its last meeting, Dr Joseph spoke bitterly about the local Jewish community and claimed in regard to indemnification that:

There is not the slightest doubt in my mind that the community of refugees is the only community entitled, legally and morally, to the indemnification money which is to be distributed by the Conference on Jewish Material Claims. The refusal of the Conference to entrust us with the administration of monies destined for us is based on the reasoning that our organisation is not Jewish...

[W]e have made our hardest efforts to co-operate with the local Jewish Organisations. We have never met with any friendly attitude and, particularly in the most recent past, it became obvious that there is not the slightest inclination on the other side to work out a workable compromise between the naturally different attitudes.⁵²

However, Einfeld did not agree with Joseph as he believed that only the elected representatives had the right to speak on behalf of Australian Jewry.

The first Claims Conference to distribute funds from the West German government was held in 1954. This aid was to prove invaluable in the programme for assisting migrants, since Australian Jewry could only provide 25 per cent of the money required for establishing and maintaining hostels and for relief, resettlement and housing. An office was set up under the auspices of the ECAJ to process the applications from various Jewish organisations in Australia and to communicate with the Claims Conference in regard to these requests. The ECAJ presidents (alternatively Ashkanasy and Einfeld) regularly travelled overseas to represent Australia's interests at the Claims Conference meetings.⁵³ Sydney Einfeld, as a Director of COJMCAG and being ECAJ president, was invited to attend the first Claims Confer-

ence held in New York in March 1954 when Australia was allocated £40,000 for the relief, rehabilitation and resettlement of Jewish refugees. In addition £2,000 was granted by the Department of Cultural and Educational Reconstruction in the form of stipends for two students studying at the Lubavitch Yeshiva in Melbourne. It is interesting to note the historic significance of Einfeld's representation at the first Claims Conference. It was his totally Australian breath of vision, not favouring New South Wales but rather taking into consideration the requirements of the whole country, which set the pattern for future allocations.

Both Ashkanasy and Einfeld faced many difficulties when they represented Australian Jewry. After the 1957 conference, Ashkanasy wrote to Einfeld congratulating him on his excellent results and noted:

This is, no doubt, partly the result of the strong genuine case that we had, partly the result of the way Mr Katzki was handled when here and, I have no doubt, also because of the force and ability which you displayed.

I note from press reports that your return will be delayed apparently until the beginning of April and I have no doubt that this is because of the important developments overseas. I can only say that some people, including myself, but not enough of our people, realise the personal sacrifices which you are making and feel a deep sense of gratitude to you.⁵³

In 1958 Einfeld experienced great difficulties in achieving recognition for the Australian claims for cultural and educational reconstruction, but after strong representation, a precedent was set with £5,000 being granted to Moriah College, Sydney, £1,000 to the St Kilda and Elwood Talmud Torahs, and £4,500 for the Yeshiva, Melbourne. In response to this achievement, David Feiglin, president of Yeshiva College, Melbourne, congratulated Einfeld on his efforts and wrote '[It] is abundantly clear from reports leaking through that it was your personal zeal and drive which brought your advocacy to a successful conclusion. That truly Jewish heart again found full expression overseas, as in Australia, in your fine achievements'.⁵⁴

In order to establish procedures in the analysis of applications and to help assess the various applications COJMCAG decided to send 'rapporteurs' to Australia. This was because requests for assistance from the various Jewish communities were much greater than the available funds. In 1956, Herbert Katzki, who was Assistant Director-General of AJDC, Paris, and had been associated with AJDC since 1936, working in many European countries, was sent to Australia to act in such a capacity. Katzki spent three weeks in Australia (9 August to 31 August 1956) during which time he visited Sydney, Melbourne, Adelaide and Brisbane and he became a close personal friend of the Einfelds. This was seen in their correspondence when, after Einfeld had visited the Katzkis in Paris, Katzki wrote to him that his daughter was missing 'the Mr Sydney from Sydney' who told her such lovely stories. The same beautiful young girl was later tragically killed in a skiing accident at the age of fourteen. The Katzkis and the Einfelds have remained very close friends to the present day.⁵⁵

Conflicts also arose over the allocations of funds through the ECAJ. In 1955, for example, Ashkanasy obtained the allocation of £36,000 over a three year period to Mount Scopus College, in Melbourne. Ashkanasy considered the allocation of this grant a great achievement because it broke a conference rule and paved the way for further educational and cultural grants. The Sydney community was very bitter at

the size of the Scopus grant, especially as Moriah College did not receive any financial help from the Claims Conference for some years although it was argued that 90 per cent of the school's enrolment were children of Holocaust survivors. Criticism of the allocation was expressed by John Shaiak, editor of the *Australian Jewish Times*. In an editorial of 13 May 1955 and in a further article of 27 May 1955 he again expressed the hope that the 1956 allocation would be made 'on a more fair and just basis'⁵⁸ but Einfeld was critical of Shaiak's editorial which he called 'irresponsible' because he was concerned that it threatened Australian Jewish unity.⁵⁹

In addition to the claims monies from the Federal Republic of Germany which were distributed through COJMCAG, the 1952 agreement also allowed for individual restitution for the victims of Nazism. The United Restitution Office (URO) was created to help administer individual claims for restitution and in 1953 Sydney Einfeld, then president of the ECAJ, was appointed to the URO governing board through the efforts of Dr Nehemiah Robinson of the WJC. This appointment provided official recognition of the ECAJ in its work on behalf of Jewish refugees from Europe.⁶⁰ A United Restitution Office was set up in Australia with branches in Sydney, Melbourne, Brisbane, Adelaide and Perth to assist individual Jews in their reparation claims. Dr Kurt Honigbaum was appointed the Australian Director by Einfeld and as he was a former German lawyer, he succeeded in obtaining many large sums of money by way of restitution for individual claimants.

In 1957 there were still thousands of individual claims still outstanding from Australia. In March 1957, during the visit of Dr von Brentano, Foreign Minister of the West German government to Australia, Einfeld together with David J. Benjamin, then honorary secretary of the ECAJ, met with Brentano and Dr Walter Hess, German ambassador to Australia, to discuss the problem of the serious delays in settling the individual claims for restitution. Although this interview did not lead to any specific changes in the system of processing claims, Dr Brentano promised to act on any special ECAJ representations and Einfeld was confident that the meeting would assist in speeding up the process.⁶¹

As the restitution money began to flow into Australia, it was discovered that the money was assessable for income tax. In October 1957 Einfeld, assisted by Dr Max Joseph, submitted a memorandum to the government which would not agree for fear that it would set a precedence for widows' pensions being tax free. Einfeld wrote repeatedly to Canberra requesting a personal interview with Sir Arthur Fadden but was informed that the treasurer could not spare the time for a personal interview. In mid 1958 the ECAJ headquarters moved to Melbourne, Ashkanasy continued to pursue the matter and Holt who had been appointed federal treasurer in his budget speech of August 1959 announced that restitution payments from Germany would be exempt from taxation from 1 July 1959, although it was decided that the exemption would not be retrospective. It is interesting to note that Dr Joseph, who had previously been opposed to the ECAJ representing the claimants for restitution wrote to Einfeld following Holt's announcement, congratulating him on the decision and expressing his thanks and admiration for 'the splendid work which you are doing for the community'.⁶²

Overall, the monies allocated by the Claims Conferences to the Jewish community in Australia, as well as those received by individuals through restitution, were important in the growth of Australian Jewry in the post-war years. The ECAJ leader-

ship played a vital role in the allocation of this financial assistance, especially through the effective overseas representations by Ashkanasy and Einfeld. As such, these developments were important in the growing maturity of approach of the local communities.

Einfeld was also involved in many other activities as ECAJ president. Just one example related to the visit of Moshe Sharett, foreign minister of Israel and later prime minister, who visited Australia in 1957 as a UIA emissary. Einfeld conceived the idea of arranging a special luncheon in Canberra with Sharett as the guest of honour. The guest list comprised the members of parliament of both houses and almost every member came to the Hotel Canberra for this function, an unprecedented event. One of the interesting aspects of the occasion was the number of cabinet ministers who asked to be allowed to speak. R.G. Casey, foreign minister, later Lord Casey, had met Sharett at the United Nations and spoke about him warmly. The luncheon had to be organised in such a way that it ended in time for members to return to parliament by 2.30 for question time, but Einfeld as chairman succeeded in achieving this. The luncheon proved to be a most successful, and indeed unique, public relations exercise.⁶²

The achievements of the ECAJ in the Claims Conferences and other aspects of its endeavours were largely due to the strength of its leadership but lack of communication and the proverbial jealousy between Sydney and Melbourne did, at times, plague the relationship between the two states. In 1950 there was tension when ECAJ president, Victorian Ben Green, visited Holt without inviting or informing Einfeld, then Senior Vice-President. Einfeld claimed that since Leo Fink, the immigration liaison officer, was overseas he should have been contacted. Green endeavoured to placate the situation, explaining that 'there is a tremendous amount of work to be done and too few to do it' and that he 'had counted with confidence on your invaluable support in carrying out the burden'.⁶³ In 1957 there was a similar type of incident when a dinner was organised by the ECAJ and the VJBD to welcome home Trevor Rapke who had been appointed as ECAJ representative at a WJC Conference. Einfeld, then ECAJ president, learned of the planned function from the pages of the *Australian Jewish Herald*. Ashkanasy immediately wrote an apology, explaining that an invitation had not been sent to Einfeld because the Vice-president, Abraham Leibler, was ill; and the Treasurer, Joseph Feiglin's father had just died and he ended the letter saying 'if you desire, my head will be made available to you for decapitation next weekend'.⁶⁴

Other internal conflicts arose over the relationship between Orthodox and Liberal Judaism. The ECAJ leadership believed that every effort should be made to avoid conflict between the Orthodox and Liberal sections of the community. These difficulties were highlighted in the question of official religious representation of the community. During his visit to Australia in 1953, Rabbi Israel Brodie, Chief Rabbi of the British Commonwealth, confirmed the decision of his predecessor that Rabbi Porush should act as the Chief Rabbi's deputy and that he was also recognised as the religious representative of the community.⁶⁵ The president of the Central Synagogue, Felix Freeman, believed that the Central was not being given its fair share of representation and wrote to Einfeld who replied that this was a matter for the Chief Rabbi. In June 1954 Brodie reconfirmed that 'Rabbi Dr Porush, in view of his ecclesiastical position and standing, must be regarded as the religious spokesman of

NSW Jewry⁶⁶ but he requested Rabbi Porush to ensure that his colleagues were offered a turn to represent the community.

This decision excluded the Liberals from religious representation. In December 1955, the question of religious representation at the Citizenship Convention was raised and ECAJ President Ashkanasy wrote to the commonwealth government pointing out that there was no hierarchy amongst the Jewish clergy. He proposed that the ECAJ should nominate official religious representatives since there were substantial differences between the Orthodox and the Liberals.⁶⁷ The government rejected this proposal because the ECAJ was not concerned with matters of religious or clerical concern and Rabbi Porush was president of the Association of Jewish Ministers.⁶⁸ In response to this rejection the ECAJ conference in 1956 passed the following resolution:

[T]o draw the attention of the Commonwealth Government to the existence within the Australian Jewish community of a large religious group affiliated with the Australian Union for Progressive Judaism, and to suggest to the Government that when issuing invitations to members of the clergy to State functions the rights of the said religious group be considered.⁶⁹

Rabbi Porush responded angrily to this resolution and criticised it from the pulpit during his Rosh Hashanah sermon as evidence of the growing secularisation of the community and as an attempt to split the community and in November 1956 the Ministers' Conference passed a resolution expressing exception to the above resolution.⁷⁰ Einfeld sought to find a compromise by proposing to send the government a copy of the ECAJ resolution with a covering letter which would place special emphasis 'on the fact that there is no desire by the Committee of Management to upset the present arrangements in regard to representation of Jewish clergy at official functions'.⁷¹ This approach was strongly criticised by Ashkanasy who, in a letter which Einfeld found offensive, claimed that the decision demonstrated the degree to which the NSW councillors had succumbed to pressure from Rabbi Porush and as such was an 'unconstitutional manifestation of moral weakness'. Einfeld replied that this correspondence constituted 'obviously intentionally offensive letters'.⁷² Despite these irritations, there was an obvious sense of mutual respect between Einfeld and Ashkanasy which enabled the ECAJ to function efficiently during the 1950s and 1960s.

Einfeld was an ardent Zionist supporter. In his role as President of the ECAJ he worked to improve Israel's public image in Australia and was always active in defending the policies followed by Israel and in representing Israel at times of crisis such as the 1956 Suez Canal crisis. He visited Israel on every overseas trip he made. In 1954 after his first visit to Israel, he commented on how important it was for Australian Jews to see the country for themselves in order to understand its importance. He enjoyed a very close relationship with Israeli Minister to Australia, Max Nurock, who served in Australia for seven years (1952-1958) during which time Nurock did much to enhance the prestige of Israel both within the Jewish and general communities. When Nurock retired in 1958 Einfeld wrote to him that he had been 'the best of guides, philosophers and friends'.⁷³ Einfeld also enjoyed a close friendship with Sydney Lord Mayor, Alderman H.F. Jensen, who visited Israel in 1958. Jensen became an active supporter of Israel and the local Jewish community following this visit.

Maurice Ashkanasy and Sydney Einfeld had much in common. Both men came from immigrant families of East European origins and so could relate to the newcomers who arrived in the 1930s and 1940s. They were both socialists who were actively involved in the Australian Labor Party at a time, especially in the immediate postwar period, when the Jewish community was strongly pro-Labor. Both began their careers in Jewish sport, Ashkanasy with the Judean League and Einfeld with the Jewish Social and Sports Club and the YMHA and then became involved in a wide spectrum of communal activity. There were, however, significant differences in the personalities of the two men. Ashkanasy was a brilliant intellectual and legal giant, but was perceived as being arrogant and aloof, while Einfeld, who was not an academic, was seen more as intelligent but modest and self-effacing. In many key issues within the community, Ashkanasy was confrontationalist while Einfeld was more a peace maker, seeking consensus. When Einfeld did criticise, it was always on the basis of principle, not on a personal level, so that his criticism was usually accepted without personal aggravation. At times the two men did conflict, for example over the question of religious representation of Australian Jewry, but despite periodic tensions the two retained a mutual respect and liking at the personal level. Given Einfeld's four terms in office and Ashkanasy's five there were some who criticised their stranglehold over the ECAJ presidency. Under Arnold Bloch's sponsorship, constitutional reforms were proposed to limit the period of office, but these moves failed as the fact was that these two men were the giants of Australian Jewry and had proved most effective leaders.

At the most formative time in the history of Australian Jewry when the community not only absorbed 25,000 to 30,000 Jewish refugees, doubling its size, but also experienced a transformation in every aspect of communal endeavour, it was fortunate to have at its helm a leader of the calibre of the honorable Sydney D. Einfeld. In a public speech when he was welcomed to the judiciary his son, the Hon. Justice Marcus Einfeld, summed up the essence of his father with the following words:

But this widely respected Australian has earned his special recognition in public life because he has always believed with a single-minded passion that the public as a whole deserves from its leaders and society, and is entitled to receive, a courageous, even daring, assault on injustice and inequality of access to a fair chance. His was an ethos that there underlay much democratic protest and dissent, an unsolved and often unaddressed cause which demonstrated not the liberalism of the society which permitted the objection, but its failures and inequities in making the resistance necessary. He instilled in me, and all those with whom he worked and dealt, the ideal that people are entitled as a birthright to a serene and just society, to a decent opportunity to make their way in life in happiness and safety, to honesty in government at all levels, and to a ceaseless striving to even up the imbalances that exist in an increasingly complex world made frightening by the tyranny of size and the cynical use of money and power.

If in the roles I am now to undertake, I can but mirror this example, and his success at achieving it in his quite remarkable public career, I will be content. If Australia can aspire to, even reach, some of these goals, it will have provided for all of us an even richer haven than it provides today.⁷⁴

From the late 1930s until the mid 1960s Sydney D. Einfeld dedicated this 'assault

on injustice and inequality' to those who had suffered the most from such an assault — the victims of Nazi racism and the few survivors of the infernos of the Holocaust, working day and night, often at great cost to his family, to enable as many as possible to have a chance for a new and fair life in Australia. Once he had achieved his goals within the Jewish community, he broadened his endeavours in public life to encompass the whole Australian community through his political career in the NSW Labor Party, but that is a subject for another paper. From the Jewish perspective, it was Einfeld's vision and dedication which made the postwar revitalisation of Australian Jewry possible, building Australian Jewry while at the same time giving many Holocaust survivors not only a new life but also a new faith that there are people, such as Sydney D. Einfeld, who believe in justice.

NOTES

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- 6 *YMHA News*, vol 19, no 21, 28 October 1948.
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- 8 Interview with S.D. Einfeld.
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- 10 Interview with S.D. Einfeld and Minutes of the Adelaide Hebrew Congregation, 1950.
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- 19 Interviews with B. Einfeld, Sydney 1988, and Mina Fink, Melbourne, October 1984.
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- 28 AJW&RS Minutes, Melbourne, 29 September 1955.
- 29 Minutes, Children's Scheme Committee, 16 August 1944. On 28 August 1944 the name was changed to AJWS Child Migrants' Committee. See also Suzanne D. Rutland, 'The History of Australian Jewry, 1945-1960', PhD Thesis, University of Sydney, 1990, pp.133-141.
- 30 Ibid., p.148 and Andgel, op. cit., pp.138-139.
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- 33 *SJN*, 18 March 1955.
- 34 Ibid., 8 July 1955.
- 35 AJW&RS Minutes, 18 September 1958.

- 36 NC, 15 September 1949.
- 37 YMHA News, February 1950.
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- 64 Ibid., Einfeld to Ashkanasy, 4 June 1957 and Ashkanasy to Einfeld, 7 June 1957, Box E41.
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- 69 Ibid., Porush to Einfeld, 29 November 1956, Box E42.
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SEPHARDIM AND SEPHARDI IDENTITY IN SYDNEY

By Naomi Gale, BA, PhD

INTRODUCTION

The aim of this paper is to study the Sephardi Jewish community in Sydney, their history, their experiences as new immigrants in the host society and to examine the changes their community has undergone. The paper also illustrates the double rejection experienced by the Sephardim: by Australians who perceive them as Asians; and by the larger Jewish community (Ashkenazim) who treat them as lower class Jews.

The socio-religious centre of the Sephardi community is situated in Bondi Junction in the heart of the Eastern Suburbs. There is only one Sephardi synagogue in New South Wales. The vast majority of its members reside in the adjacent communities of Bondi, North Bondi and Rose Bay (see Map I). There are also a few pockets of Sephardim living on Sydney's North Shore. Although the area does not have any Sephardi communal institutions some of these Sephardim are members of either the NSW Association of Sephardim or the Eastern Jewish Association (EJA), while others are affiliated with the Jewish Ashkenazi congregations within their vicinity.

The history and traditional lifestyle of Sephardim in their countries of origin undoubtedly has influenced their degree of adjustment and adaptation to Australian society. This study, while attempting to shed light on their social and religious institutions in Sydney, and the family structure and experiences of the members of the community in Australia since immigration, proposes that the adaptation of Sephardi Jews to Australian society has been rather slow. This is due mainly to their slow acculturation and unsuccessful assimilation to Australian society, which is a crucial factor in creating a poor image of their ethnic identity and in developing their feelings of marginality.

The manifestation of marginality and feelings of unworthiness among Sephardim in Sydney is not the result only of their relationship with Australian society, but is also the outcome of their relationship with their co-religionists, the Ashkenazim. Generally, ethnic communities in Australia, particularly those which are visibly ethnic, suffer from alienation. That is the case of the majority of the first-generation Australians, who do not share their parents' experiences of the old countries and thus want to be counted as Australians, but who are pushed into the same category as their parents. Their marginality is, in part, the result of being visibly different from others and as a consequence they are singled out by the majority.

The usual format when studying ethnic groups is to examine the position of the groups in their relation to members of the host society. The influence of this interaction is crucial in the redefinition and formation of their identity in the new host society. What makes the Sephardi group sociologically so interesting is that they constitute an immigrant community whose members simultaneously share some cultural features yet differ in many others. Hence, despite these common cultural features, this study sees the Sephardim of Sydney as a social group rather than an ethnic group. This study does not imply that there is a conflict between 'ethnic' and 'social' (by sociological definition all ethnic groups are social groups, but not all social

MAP 1

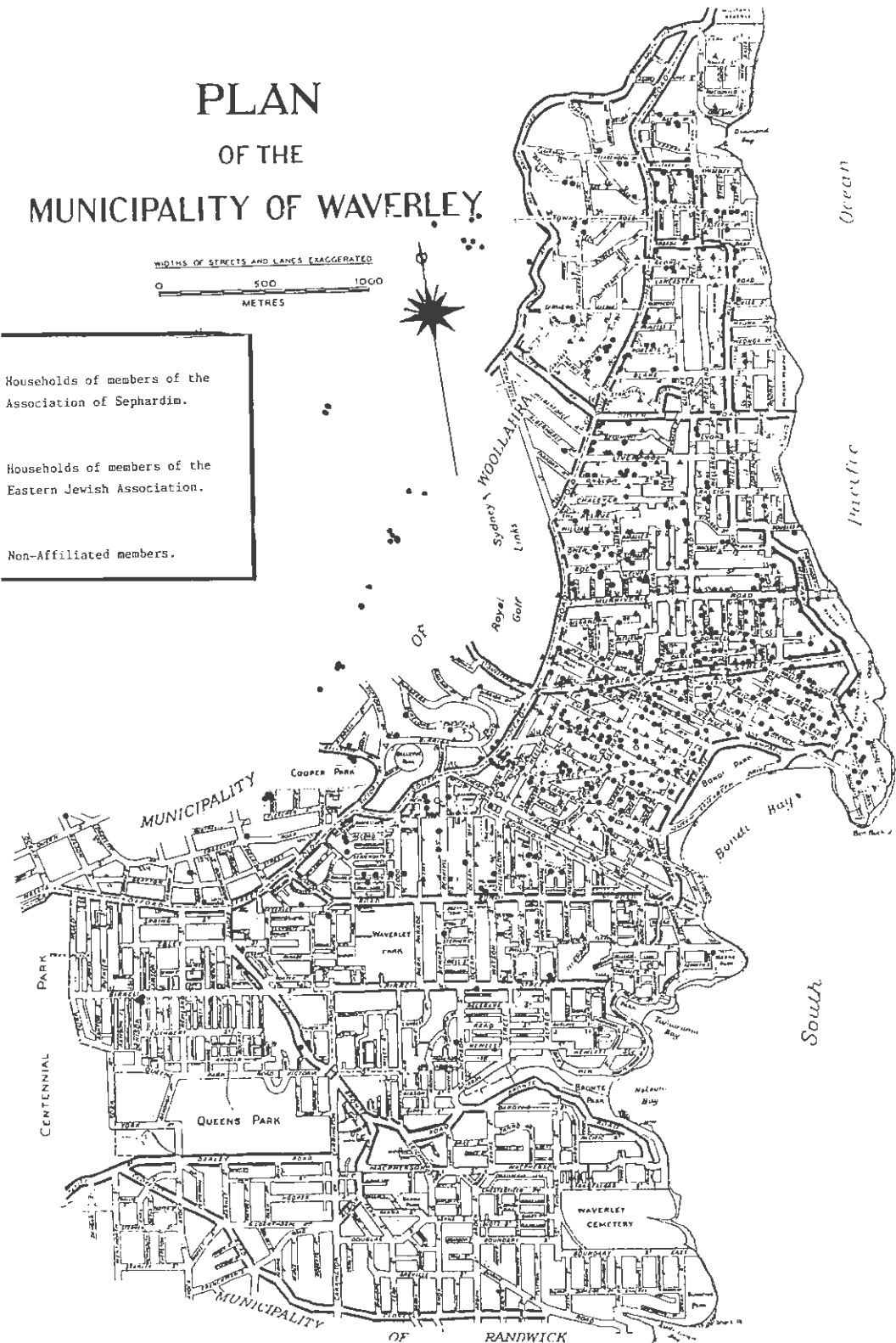
PLAN OF THE MUNICIPALITY OF WAVERLEY.

WIDTHS OF STREETS AND LANES EXAGGERATED
0 500 1000
METRES

Households of members of the
Association of Sephardim.

Households of members of the
Eastern Jewish Association.

Non-Affiliated members.



groups are ethnic groups). It emphasises the cultural heterogeneity of the Sephardi group in Sydney whose members share some diacritical cultural features, primarily religion.

The study of this group is different from studies of other ethnic groups in that the Sephardim are a minority within a minority: they are a small group of Oriental Jews within a larger pool of European Jews (Ashkenazim). This study examines the changes in their social and religious institutions in the new social order after their immigration to Australia. The socio-religious changes are seen through the relationship of Sephardim to the larger minority group, the Ashkenazim, and to Australian society. When I refer in this study to Australian society, I am referring mostly to the Anglo-Saxon segment which is the second reference group for the Sephardim. The pattern of acculturation of Sephardim is that the direction of acculturation is largely towards the Ashkenazi community, but when Sephardim are rejected by this reference group they attempt to be accepted by the general Australian society. In terms of degree of acculturation or assimilation, the Ashkenazim can also be seen as the buffer zone between the Sephardim and Australian society.

The main theme demonstrated throughout this study is rejection, marginality and negative ethnic identity. The internal rejection can be seen as a repudiation and denial of their cultures and traditions, which contributes to the development of negative identity. This is seen as a psychological state of mind for each individual, resulting in negative implications for the group as a whole. Then the study delineates a double rejection, that is, social rejection of the group by both the Ashkenazim and the Australians (by whom Sephardim are treated as Asians because of their physical ethnic visibility). This double rejection also contributes to their sense of marginality, worthlessness and negative identity. Of course both types of rejection, the internal and external, cannot be separated; a member of the group cannot develop a positive or negative sense about himself without the combination of the two: his sense of worthiness (his evaluation of himself) combined with the evaluation of him by his environment as is perceived by him.

It seems that most of the problems of identity derive from the fact that there is little agreement and commonality within the group. This factor alone makes it very difficult for the group to present itself to outsiders as one united group. Furthermore, it cannot manipulate its norms, customs and traditions to gain acceptance by the Ashkenazi group, because even on matters of customs and traditions there is very little consensus. While focusing on the changes in their ethnic identity, this study evaluates - from the data collected - the conceptualisation of their identity in both traditional and modern societies.

It is important to examine the conditions under which an ethnic group can acculturate and assimilate successfully in the host society. The fact is that despite the desires of most members of the Sephardi community to acculturate and be counted as Australians, the success rate, to say the least, is rather poor, particularly for those of Asian appearance. This issue was evidently occupying much time and space in the media in 1988, particularly after comments by the then leader of the Federal Opposition, Mr John Howard, apparently favouring restriction of Asian immigration.

I will proceed to give a brief introduction of the Sephardi community in Sydney and discusses the history of the community in the hundred years before immigration to Australia within a differently structured society, namely a traditional society

with an autocratic regime. It highlights the socio-religious structure of the community in the past, its minority status and the relationship of its members with the indigenous people.

After having to escape from their countries of origin, the Sephardim had to struggle to gain entry into Australia. This struggle is reflected through their relationships to the Ashkenazi community and Australian society of the late 1940s and early 1950s. One of the most important consequences of the immigration from traditional societies to modern democratic social structures, was the fundamental change in the family institution. When comparing the old familial patterns with the new, it is of utmost importance to highlight the change in the position of women and their consequent acquisition of more rights in the Australian situation. The absolute authority of the husband/father of the traditional society has been lessened in modern society and the consequences of this decreasing authority on familial and marital relationships was at the time detrimental to the emotional and psychological well being of the members of the family. The most severely affected was the position of the father.

Furthermore, in Sydney, there is positive or direct correlation in the relationship between upwardly residential movement and the weakening of Sephardi identity. The more upwardly mobile a person is, the weaker his Sephardi identity. However, it must be emphasized that the Jewish identity was still very strong among members of the Sephardi community. This could be attributed firstly to the short period of time in Australia on the one hand, and on the other, as Asians - as they are perceived in the eyes of Australians - their acculturation and assimilation, to say the least, is not encouraged either by members of the Australian society nor by members of the Ashkenazi community. In one chapter of my PhD. thesis I illustrated that the socio-economic division within many families had influenced fundamentally the social relationships between members of the same families; for example, it is not unheard of that various degrees of economic success altered the social relationships even among siblings and childhood friends.

When one examines the religiosity of the members of the group, once again one must compare it to the degree of orthodoxy in the country of origin. Among members of the Sephardi community, particularly those elders who still remember their way of life in the countries of origin, there is a continuous power struggle for religious supremacy which takes place on many levels: between old and young, among Orthodox, traditionalists and non-religious, and among different ethnic groups within the community. The leaders of the different ethnic groups such as the Iraqis and the Indians endeavor to use religious supremacy to gain social superiority.

AN HISTORICAL BACKGROUND

Of the approximately 3000 Sephardim who live in Sydney, 740 are members of either the NSW Association of Sephardim (which has a membership of 540) or the Eastern Jewish Association with a membership of 200.¹ The Jewish religious community of Sydney comprises eighteen Orthodox and two Liberal congregations. Both groups, the NSW Association of Sephardim and EJA, are registered as Orthodox groups. Both Sephardi organizations are affiliated to the Beth-Din for ecclesiastical jurisdiction and to the NSW Jewish Board of Deputies for social activities.

The NSW Association of Sephardim has a board of between thirteen and eigh-

teen members, five of whom are members of the inner executive (because of the Orthodox nature of the organization, all the members of the inner executive are men): the president, two vice-presidents, the treasurer and the secretary. The number of other members varies according to the number of individuals willing to be nominated. There are also a social chairman, a building chairman, a head of the religious committee and a head of the rabbi's committee. Usually, there are five to seven councillors on the board. In 1980, some 20 to 25 per cent of the board members were from Egypt while the rest came from India and Iraq. However, towards the end of my fieldwork in 1984, all the members of the executive were of Indian or Iraqi origin.

At the beginning of my study there were two women's organizations: the Ladies Auxiliary and the Young Ladies Guild. The former had a membership of about sixty elderly ladies, of whom the majority were not active in the working of the organization. The actual work was done mainly by a group of five to eight middle-aged women, who met on a monthly basis to plan functions. In 1980 two members in this working group were of Egyptian origin, but by the end of this study there were none. Toward the end of my study, monthly social functions organized for the elderly by the working group ceased. Afterwards, the number of active women who met monthly shrunk to four or five.

The Young Ladies Guild functions and activities were directed towards young families, and activities were organized for children particularly on the Jewish holidays. All the members of this group were born in India and were in their early and late twenties; during the years of my research, no 'young ladies' from Egypt participated. The members of the organization met on a monthly basis but the response was so poor that in 1980 the group disbanded.

At the beginning of my research, the Sunday school was functioning on a weekly basis, but it was closed within the year. There were many later attempts to organize an effective Sunday school, but all failed. With the arrival of the new rabbi in 1984, the school was reopened with forty children enrolled, but by the end of that year their number dropped to nine and the school was closed again. There was also an attempt to establish a youth group, but, as with previous attempts, it was unsuccessful.

The Eastern Jewish Association has no socio-religious centre. During the time of my research, the organization was mostly in the hands of two brothers and their families from Calcutta. Four people in these two families were actively involved: the two brothers and the son and the wife of one of them (another son is not involved). The son has been the rabbi of the organization for some time; his most important religious function is his contribution during the three days of the high holidays. During the rest of the year he concentrates on his medical practice. Many of the EJA members are affiliated members of the NSW Association of Sephardim. The major function of this small organization is to organize a prayer hall for its members twice a year during the Jewish high holidays, which usually takes place in the Hillel kindergarten in Old South Head Road. The hall is hired for three days - two days during Rosh Hashana, the Jewish New Year, and the day of Yom Kippur, the Day of Atonement. The membership fee during the years of my research was \$5 per year and was used to cover the hire of the hall and other incidental expenses.

During the final year of my research (1984), there were several attempts by both

organizations to amalgamate as one Sephardi group. There has been little animosity between the two groups, and the members of both groups have met on several occasions. However, members of the EJA felt that they were not yet ready to amalgamate with the NSW Association of Sephardim.

In Sydney, the first Sephardi religious service for the high holidays was held in 1947 in a room of the Jewish War Memorial. In 1948, a similar service was held in the small hall of the old Central Synagogue. In 1950, there was an attempt to organize Sydney Sephardim - numbering about 300 at that time - into a group. The first meeting took place on 21 May 1951 and resulted in the formation of the NSW Hebrew Association. In December 1953, the Sephardim joined the State Zionist Council and sent representatives to the conference. In 1954, the organization changed its name from the NSW Hebrew Association to the NSW Association of Sephardim. In religious matters, both organizations are under the direction of the Sephardi Chief Rabbi of the British Commonwealth.

The initial split of the Sephardi community of Sydney occurred in 1960 over the trusteeship of a block of land in the suburb of Woollahra in the Eastern suburbs of Sydney. The land was donated by Mr Jacob Aaron, uncle of the founder and first president of the NSW Association of Sephardim, Aaron Aaron, for the purpose of establishing a synagogue. According to family members of the donor, there was some misunderstanding regarding the office of trustee of the donated land. The member who donated it was advised that the representation on the trusteeship board should be two members of the executive and two members nominated by the donor, with the president of the NSW Board of Deputies as arbitrator.

During the Annual General Meeting in December 1959 a bitter argument took place which eventually divided the community.² The majority on the board sided with the decision that the donor should be able to nominate two people for the office of trustee to guarantee the purpose for which the land was donated. The members opposing this suggestion, (from Calcutta, India) feared that the donor's family - which was already influential - would take over the synagogue and dominate the community. The differences could not be bridged, and at the monthly meeting of January 1960 the secretary of the Association of Sephardim was informed that forty-nine members had resigned from the Association. Due to this split, the donor of the land withdrew his offer and, subsequently, sold the land without consulting his nephew, Mr Aaron Aaron, who was still negotiating with members of the executive. This resulted in a further split within the Aaron family which was resolved later when Mr Jacob Aaron donated 3000 pounds sterling towards buying land for the synagogue.

In 1961, the Association of Sephardim was accepted by the Federation of Orthodox Synagogues of New South Wales as one of its affiliates on the understanding that the Association recognize one ecclesiastical authority, namely, the office of the Hakham in London, who is the head of Sephardim within the Commonwealth countries.³ In mid-1961, attempts were made by the Association of Sephardim as well as by the president of the NSW Jewish Board of Deputies to reconcile the two groups, but these attempts failed. In December 1961, the Eastern Jewish Association - the 'breakaway' group - headed by Mr Musleah as the president and Hugh Rassaly as vice-president, was also accepted as an affiliated member of the NSW Jewish Board of Deputies.

In November 1962, a property was found by the four trustees of the NSW Association of Sephardim, and several social functions took place during which money was raised in order to pay for the purchase of the property and build a synagogue. During one of these functions at the Great Synagogue, held in honour of the visiting Chief Rabbi of the Commonwealth, Dr Israel Brodie, a sum of over 4000 pounds sterling was donated (3000 by Jacob Aaron). At this function, Rabbi I. Porush of the Great Synagogue remarked that since there was already a problem with Jewish people who were lost to the Jewish Community in Australia, it was necessary to help the Sephardim while they were in the formation stage, and before they were lost altogether to the Jewish community.

The foundation stone of the Sephardi synagogue was laid on the 15th of July 1962, (on the thirteenth of the Hebrew month of Tammuz, year 5722), by Mr Jacob Aaron and the first Sephardi synagogue in Australasia was opened on 24 September 1962.⁴ In September 1963, the first rabbi of the congregation, Rabbi Simon Silas, arrived in Sydney from London to take up the post as the religious leader of the congregation. Rabbi Silas was born in Calcutta and had worked in London for a few years before taking the Sydney post, which he occupied for seventeen years before returning to London. Rabbi Silas was also invited to join the Sydney Beth-Din as the Sephardi Dayan.

THE SOCIO-ETHNIC STRUCTURE OF THE SYDNEY SEPHARDI COMMUNITY

In the context of Australian society, the majority of Sephardim would be considered lower middle class, although a few Sephardim practise such upper middle class professions as medicine and law. The most common occupations for males are accountant and salesman; only a few of those who practise such occupations could be considered to hold executive positions. The majority of women spend the first few years after marriage as housewives. At some stage, after their children enter school, they return to the work force. The majority find part-time positions, although a few go back to work full time. Most of these women are either sales assistants in shops or clerks in offices, although several members of the younger generation are teachers.⁵

Most members of the Sydney Sephardi community are of either Indian-Iraqi or Egyptian origin. There are small pockets who migrated from Singapore, Burma, Indonesia and China, of Iraqi ancestry. Most Sephardi members of the Association of Sephardim and the Eastern Jewish Association came from India, but their ancestors had arrived in India from Iraq several generations earlier. Many of the ancestors of those who immigrated from Egypt originated in Spain, Turkey or Italy. Of the immigrants who came from Egypt some resided in Singapore before arriving in Sydney. The third and smallest group arrived directly from Iraq, or went to Israel for several years before coming to Sydney. Members of the Egyptian group invariably regard themselves as superior to the Iraqi and the Indian-born members. They see their group as more modern and more advanced than the other groups in the congregation; they form their own distinct clique and socialize little with members of the other groups. They see themselves as originating in Spain and, so, are the original or 'pure Sephardim'. Even in Egypt, they had only limited contact with Muslim locals. They were highly Europeanised, and although born and brought up in Egypt, tended to be more fluent in French, Italian or English than in Arabic.

Members of the Iraqi group who came directly from Iraq also considered themselves superior to the Indian-Iraqi whom they regarded as a lower class of Jew. In contrast to the Egyptian Jews, Iraqi Jews adhered strictly to their religion, although they were almost an accepted part of Iraqi society. Within the Indian-Iraqi group there are two distinct divisions: the Calcutta and the Bombay Iraqis. Although the majority of the members of both groups originated in Iraq, the founder, religious leader and first president of the Calcutta Jewish community, Moses Duek Cohen, came to India from Aleppo (Haleb), Syria. Both groups differ slightly from each other in liturgy since the members of the Bombay group adhered to the Iraqi liturgy, and the Calcutta Jews adhered to that brought by Cohen from Syria.

Fewer than one-third of Sydney Sephardim are members of either the NSW Association of Sephardim or the Eastern Jewish Association. The question is, what has happened to the remaining Sephardim?

Due to their incorporation into Australian society (or, at least, away from Sephardi society), the majority of Iraqi or 'pure Iraqi' are not affiliated with any congregation. Also, many Iraqi families are affiliated with Ashkenazi synagogues, as they consider the Sephardi synagogue in Sydney too low class for them. As one Indian Jew explained, it is 'below their dignity to become members of our organization'. Many of the Egyptian families are also members of Ashkenazi synagogues, as they had already been 'Europeanised' prior to immigration. They considered themselves foreigners in Egypt and were already accustomed to a European way of life.

Another reason for the majority of Sephardim in Sydney not participating in a congregation is that the Sephardim were not accustomed to the synagogue membership system. Usually synagogues were built and maintained by rich families, and Jews went to pray in them without having to pay any fee. As a result, many of the Sephardi Jews resist this 'new' idea of membership payment. As one explained: 'It is absolutely disgraceful that in order to be able to come and pray in a house of God I have to pay money'. In Australia, most of the funds for the upkeep of the synagogue and the salary of the rabbi are generated from membership fees and donations. One member of the executive described his feeling concerning the low membership in both congregations in the following words:

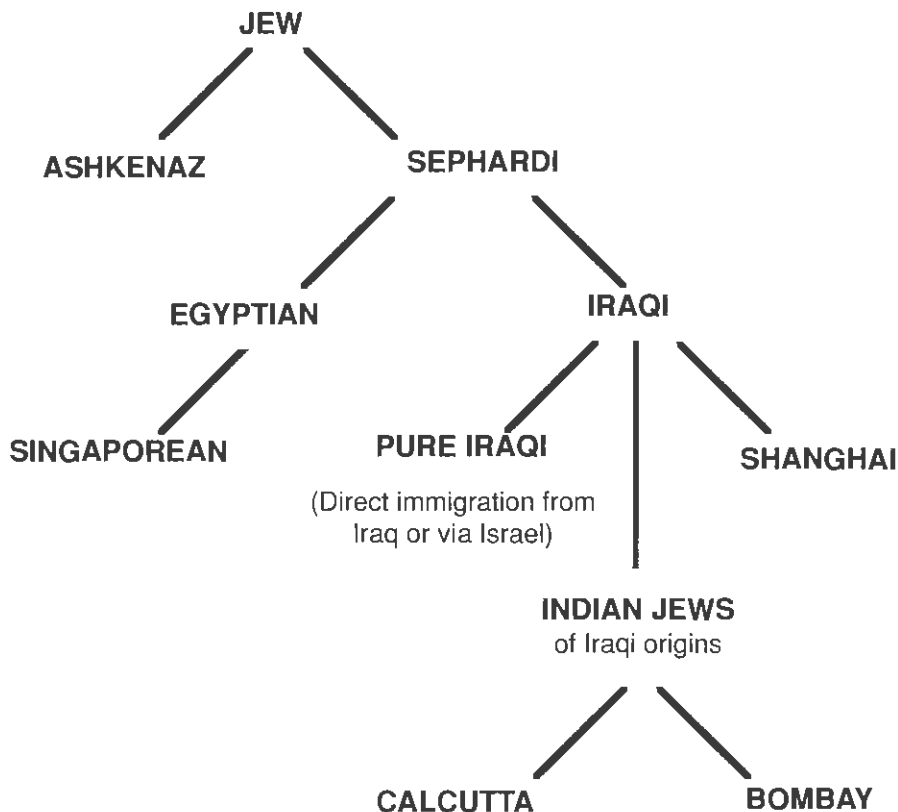
We never know how many Sephardim are in Sydney. We meet them just when they come to us to bury their dead. They do not want to know us and acknowledge our existence in their joyful events such as birth, bar-mitzvah and marriage, but they know their place very well in the loss of a member of the family. In this respect, we might just as well become Chevra Kadisha.

THE SEPHARDI COMMUNITIES OF THE MIDDLE EAST AND ASIA

The majority of Sephardim in Sydney immigrated due to social and political changes that restricted their freedom and livelihood in their homeland.⁶ This section gives an historical account of the two major groups of the Oriental Jewish community in Sydney, those from Egypt and Iraq. It portrays the political changes, demographic evolution, social and economic changes, and changes in the educational system within these Jewish communities during the last hundred years. Although the majority of the community is of Indian origin, their ancestors came from Iraq two or three generations earlier; therefore, this chapter links the institutions and changes within the Indian community to those in Iraq.

An overview of the community reveals the following ethnic divisions within the Sephardi community of Sydney.

CHART ONE : ETHNIC DIVISION



To examine the recent history of these Jews, we need to understand the socio-political systems in which the Jewish communities lived and operated, throughout most of their long diaspora under Islam. They lived within the Ottoman Empire from its inception in 1231 until its demise in 1924. As Hunt and Walker stated, under the Ottoman Empire:

The minority religious groups were organized into communities of their own or millets. Each millet regulated its life according to the terms of its own religious law under the authority of its supreme religious leaders, a patriarch in the case of Christian groups or a Grand Rabbi for the Jews. Thus the Islamic viewpoint dictated not only the essential nature of sovereignty but also the type of adjustment which the minority religious

groups made.⁷

Under this system religious minorities were tolerated by Muslims in return for their acknowledgement of their subordinate position to the Muslims. This relationship persisted for some 700 years. Perhaps the worst period for minorities living within the Ottoman Empire was from the end of the eighteenth to the second half of the nineteenth century. During this period the attitude of Muslims toward all minorities, and particularly toward the Jews, was that of contempt or an attitude of a 'master toward his slaves'.⁸

During the period of the Ottoman Empire, the Islamic state enabled people of distinct identities to live together in a 'relatively peaceful atmosphere'.⁹ This is not to say that its subjects were content with Ottoman rule, as it was by no means a period of complete peace and tranquility. As Hunt and Walker reported: 'The maintenance of order was marred by massacres, and even in peaceful years the minorities experienced discrimination'.¹⁰

One of the consequences of Islamic rule was the reinforcing of the identification between religion and ethnicity, as religion was a matter of ancestry rather than personal choice. This is not to say that ethnicity was wholly submerged within religion, only that religion was the fundamental criterion for the development of the millets and their social organizations.

The millet system functioned to reduce and mediate conflict as well as to promote co-operation among the different groups. There was explicit separation between the Muslim groups and the millets, and dominance by the Muslims was acknowledged by the millets. Further separation was implemented among the millets as well as among the Muslim minority groups, and the Ottoman ruling class. This separation was perpetuated by high levels of marital endogamy, differential rights as citizens, and differences of religious beliefs.¹¹

Most peasants and military and political officers were Muslims, whereas the Jews and Christians were more active in commerce and in the professions. Although the Ottoman Empire required the minorities to pay higher taxation than was expected of the dominant group, Jews and Christians were compensated in part by exemption from military service.

As long as the Turks were in full power, there was relatively little pressure against non-believers.¹² This relationship between the Muslims and the minorities was established, according to the Koran, by Mohammad before his death in 632 A.D. Although he excluded them from communal life, he permitted Jews and Christians to remain in their faith, provided they recognised the supremacy of Islam by payment of a poll tax (*jizyah*). This capitation tax was imposed later by the Ottoman Empire. From 1453, the tax was imposed only on males; after the Treaty of Paris (1856) it was abolished.¹³

After 1835, when direct Ottoman administration replaced the local regimes in the Arab lands, the Ottoman authorities did their best to protect the Jews under their regimes from hostility of the indigenous population.¹⁴ With the rise of nationalism during the final turbulent period of the Ottoman Empire, however, there were many incidents of minority repression.¹⁵

Turkey's defeat in World War I, which ended the Ottoman Caliphate even inside Turkey, led to a brief period of Western colonial rule.¹⁶ After independence, the Arab countries stressed nationalism and national loyalty rather than religious unifor-

mity as such, although nationalism was generally seen to coincide with Islam. Thus, members of the millets or the minorities in the new social order were deprived of the protection of their special community status, and were ruled by governments committed to the welfare of their Muslim population. As a result, the religious communities lost political sanction for their existence and their leaders' authority was no longer reinforced by the state. Although these states sometimes attempted to eliminate traditional discrimination against minorities, they exhibited very little of the pluralistic tolerance that had prevailed during the Ottoman Empire.

The growing tension in Palestine, the development of Zionism toward the end of the Ottoman Empire, and the establishment of the state of Israel, led to a decline in the position of Jews in Arab lands and to a new Exodus in which over 600,000 Jews left Arab lands where they and their ancestors had lived for centuries. In some cases Jews were expelled, but in most they fled, fearing renewed discrimination and more oppressive burdens. Jewish and Arab nationalism had brought to an end a type of coexistence which had lasted for hundreds of years.¹⁷

The Ottoman pattern of ethnic relations, and its survival through the centuries, testifies to the fact that a system can be devised under which different groups dwell in the same national territory. It may be that the millet idea is an historical reminder of the need for respect of ethnic identities within a larger national framework.¹⁸

In conclusion, the three groups examined lived in different types of societies and their participation in the socio-economic systems, political structures and cultural spheres of these host societies varied greatly from one another. The Iraqi and Egyptian Jews were dissimilar in the development of their communities, although both lived under Muslim social systems. Iraq was isolated socially and geographically from Europe and remained a traditional society within an autocratic polity. Egypt, in contrast, was heavily exposed to the influence of the West. These influences were evident especially in the different degrees of religious observance of these communities.

Additionally, although the Iraqi Jewish community preserved an ancient tradition of Hebrew religious learning, culturally and linguistically it was integrated quite profoundly into Iraqi society. Some of its members played an important part in Iraqi literary, music and artistic life. Thus, although Iraqi Jewry was tradition bound and strictly religious, it was also highly acculturated to the Iraqi social system.

The Jews of Egypt followed an entirely different pattern. Religion, for example, played a minor part in the lives of most of its middle and upper class members. And while the lower class Jews spoke Arabic and were Egyptian in sentiment, middle and upper class Jews (like many Christians and even some Muslims) were mostly alien in culture and nationality. They considered themselves superior to the indigenous population and preferred Italian or French to Arabic. They educated their children in foreign-language schools, and often obtained citizenship of a European country. Generally speaking, this group was the most secularised of all Middle Eastern Jewish communities.¹⁹

The ancestors of most members of the Indian-Iraqi Jewish group migrated from Iraq several generations earlier. In religious matters, they looked to Iraqi Rabbinical authorities; socially they viewed the Jewish community in Iraq as their reference group. With the passing of generations, the two communities took different paths due to the different social systems under which they lived: the Iraqi Jews acculturated-

ed to, and assimilated somewhat into, Iraqi society, whereas Indian Jewry acculturated to a far lesser degree to Indian society, and were limited in their assimilation by the Indian caste system. Religiously, the latter were not as strictly observant as members of the community in Iraq, although they followed the Iraqi community and maintained religious links until the majority of the members of both communities immigrated to other parts of the world in the late 1940s and early 1950s.

However, during the brief period of Anglo-French dominance of the Arab countries, Jews received a greater degree of civil and political security. But their involvement with the Western powers contributed greatly to their downfall when the foreign powers left. As Lewis stated, the hostility to the Jews, although rooted deeply in the history of relations between Arabs and Jews, at this stage began to assume a new 'radically different character'.²⁰ Further decline in the position of the Jews in Arab lands occurred with the development of Zionism and the establishment of Israel; this despite the fact that Jews in Arab countries were mostly indifferent or even hostile to Zionism.

The Jews benefited both socially and economically from British rule of India. Their participation and involvement with the British was extensive. Many Jews were employed by the British, a factor that improved their social standing and led to greater Westernisation. With Independence, many Jews felt that Indian dominance would lead to diminution of their status; thus, many chose to migrate to Western countries.

The majority of Jews in the Arab lands followed occupations despised by, or forbidden to, Muslims, and were hawkers, ragmen, tinkers, bootblacks, silversmiths or money lenders. Most of the early Iraqi settlers in India were traders. Those who were successful provided work to the less fortunate and acted as their patrons. In all three societies, rich Jews established and maintained the social and religious institutions of the community, such as synagogues, schools, hospitals and orphanages.

Socially, the Iraqi-Indian Jews were isolated and considered themselves superior to the indigenous population. When, with independence of India in 1947, they were given the opportunity to choose between staying in India and assuming Indian nationality or emigrating, the majority of Jews chose to emigrate to the West or to Israel. Thus, the Sephardi community of Sydney is composed of a mixture of ethnic groups, each with its own historical experience. I have discussed the socio-religious institutions of the Sephardi source communities at some length, both to provide a comparison between past and present degrees of communality and religiosity and to illustrate that the Sephardim do not share a common language, culture or history. It would appear that immigration to Western countries brought about immense changes and a high degree of secularisation and acculturation. On the other hand, it is clear that the processes of acculturation and modernisation were already underway in varying degrees in the homelands. Many elders within the Sephardi community of Sydney believe that Westernisation, modernisation and 'Ashkenization' are to blame for the high degree of acculturation of their youth. However, according to data collected from literature and information from members of the Sydney Sephardi community, it seems that acculturation had already resulted in a diminished religious knowledge of many elders before emigration. Thus, diversity of perspective within the Sephardi community, and imperfect knowledge of local, traditional Sephardi religious culture, compounded the difficulty of transmitting an alien tradi-

tion to children raised in an open society such as Australia.

THE FORMATION OF SOCIAL AND ETHNIC IDENTITY AND THE PROBLEMS OF IDENTITY CRISIS

In any inter-ethnic contact such as Sephardi-Ashkenazi or Sephardi-Australian, both groups suffer a certain level of 'cultural erosion'.²¹ But in a situation in which a small, relatively poor group (such as the Sephardim of Sydney) confronts a larger, more prosperous one, such as the Ashkenazim, 'cultural erosion' is likely to be for the most part one way. According to Epstein, when this has happened the group may adopt, or develop, new social identities.²² The adaptation of minority groups such as the Sephardim involves both fundamental primordial²³ and cultural ties²⁴ that bind members to the ethnic group.

The situation for Sephardim in Sydney is considerably different from that in Israel. In Israel, they have always been regarded as Oriental or Asian Jews. In Sydney, however, their physical appearance often leads to their identification as Arabs or Indians. In this situation, many Indian Jews immediately identify themselves as Jews who were brought up in India but originated in Iraq. In this case, Indian Jews see Sephardi identity as advantageous. Similarly, many Iraqi Jews can be confused with Arabs and they respond to this by highlighting their Jewish identity. When my family first arrived in Sydney we lived in a part of the Eastern Suburbs widely identified as a Jewish neighbourhood. Since I am of dark complexion and can easily be mistaken for an Arab, I was advised by a member of the Ashkenazi community to wear a necklace with the Star of David. The woman explained to me that people in the area did not like Arabs and if I did not provide immediate evidence that I was Jewish (or at least, not Arab) I would be courting unpleasant experiences.

The example of 'Alex' who worked as a psychologist with the Lebanese community for a number of years illustrates that the Jewish side of Sephardi identity can also sometimes be a disadvantage. In the eyes of the Lebanese people with whom he dealt, he was identified as being Muslim, particularly because of his oriental look and his surname which sounded Arabic. Alex developed a relationship of trust with the people from the beginning and was accepted by them. They often told him, 'you are one of us, you understand us'. Because of the fear that his Jewish identity might jeopardise his chance of working with them, and particularly because he began his work at the time of the Six Day War in 1967, Alex avoided disclosing his identity. In this respect, he used his Sephardi appearance and Arabic sounding name to his advantage. Several years later when his identity was disclosed to the people by a medical officer, the news spread rapidly and soon all the Lebanese in the area knew he was Jewish. He recalled that when he was confronted shortly thereafter by several members of the Lebanese community there was a deadly silence for a few minutes and then one of them said: 'You are still one of us - after all we are cousins. We have the same culture but not the same religion'.

In their relationships with Ashkenazi Jews many Sephardim downplay their Sephardi identity and highlight their Jewishness by adopting the stance that, 'we are all Jews, but we come from different parts of the world'. Here, Sephardi identity is viewed by Sephardim as an obstacle to acceptance by European Jews, particularly for those who seek desperately to enter into Ashkenazi social circles.

When individuals engage in economic or other social activity, they may use their ethnic identity in situations where they see it as an asset, they may minimise it, or

they may attempt to hide it altogether in a situation where they see it as a liability.²⁵ Sephardim minimise their ethnic background in Sydney in situations they consider might be disadvantageous to them, and maximise it in situations where they think it will help them. Both Deshen (1972a:278-302), in his study of the ethnic factor in a local election campaign,²⁶ and Percy Cohen (1968:303-10), in his study of ethnic group differences in Israel,²⁷ demonstrated that North African Jewish politicians involved in political campaigns emphasise their ethnic identity as Moroccans or Algerians to gain political power. However, in situations such as marriages between Oriental Jews and European Jews, the former almost always try to minimise their ethnic identity because they view it as disadvantageous. Most European Jews regard Oriental Jews as more 'primitive' and less educated.²⁸

As distinct from 'basic group identity' which refers to the individuals own self-identification,²⁹ ethnic identity as defined by Weber is a combination of self-identification and identification by others. It is flexible and can be manipulated by the individual to his own advantage. While self-identification refers to common descent and cultural traditions, identification by others is based mostly on physical and behavioural characteristics which are different from those of the identifier.³⁰ Weber has also argued that identity is an ongoing process which is influenced by historical events, by a person's past and by his present interaction with others.³¹

DeVos made a distinction between three types of ethnic identity: past-oriented, present-oriented and future-oriented.³² He has described ethnic identity as 'like any other form of social identity, as essentially subjective, a sense of social belonging and ultimate loyalty'.³³ But although subjective factors in ethnic identity may be sufficient to define the nature and boundaries of ethnicity for the members of the group, it may not be sufficient for outsiders. He explained that '[e]thnic identity, like any form of identity, is not only a question of knowing who one is subjectively, but also of how one is seen from the outside'.³⁴ Similarly, Devereux and Herberg viewed ethnic identity as a form of role attribution both internal and external, which usually reflect, sustain, and illuminate each other.³⁵

Both Cooley and Mead emphasised the importance of primary groups in the development of individual personality. Cooley (1902) suggested that personality development is the product of interaction with others, terming this the 'looking-glass self'; as he said: 'Each to each a looking-glass reflects the other that doth pass'.³⁶ Similarly, Mead developed the idea of self along the same lines as Cooley in that the person's identity is the result of his own subjective views of himself and how others see him.³⁷

Goffman in *The Presentation of Self in Everyday Life*, followed Cooley and Mead in their interpretation of the 'self' and 'other' in his assumption that the construction of an identity of the individual is based on a combination of his self-perception and the way his society or group sees him.³⁸ Erikson viewed individual identity as encompassing both 'person' and 'self': 'person' is reflected in the actions of others and 'self' is reflected in the actions of the individual. The reflection of the individual in the eyes of the society or the group, and his own conscious ideas about himself, together shape his own identity.³⁹

Similarly, as mentioned earlier, in Epstein's assessment, 'ethnic identity is the product of the interaction of external and internal perceptions and pressures',⁴⁰ 'external' perceptions being sociocultural forces which are external to the group or

to the individual and 'internal' perceptions those derived from an individual's life experience. For Skinner and Hendricks, the definition of ethnic identity '...is not completely determined by the people's choice, but is influenced by what categories have meaning in the larger society'.¹¹

Although sociologists, psychologists and anthropologists studied 'ethnic identity' long before it came 'into fashion',¹² there is obviously a considerable amount of disagreement about its nature. However, despite lack of exact correspondence between the concepts and vantage points of different scholars, it seems that ethnic identity is concerned with two key ingredients in every individual's personality and life experience: '... his sense of belongingness and the quality of his self esteem'.¹³ The importance of these two factors can vary in different cases, but in some degree or another they shape much of the behaviour, life experiences and identity of the members of any group. Furthermore, all these scholars each may have emphasized different aspects but all agree that there are external and internal factors in the construction of the individual as well as the group ethnic identity.

On immigration to Australia, the Sephardim were identified by others as Asian, Oriental, three quarter, half or quarter-caste Jews. These definitions were accepted by Ashkenazi organizations and, eventually to some degree by the Sephardim themselves, although the latter generally recognised such perceptions as conducive to formation of a marginal self-identity. But among the Australian-born generation, there was little reason to continue to be united as a defensive mechanism to cope with an alien society. Instead, the chief concern of this younger generation of Sephardim has been to gain acceptance by their two dominant reference groups: the Anglo-Saxon component of Australian society and the Ashkenazim. A Sephardi individual in Sydney has four extra-familial audiences: his own ethnic group (Iraqi, Indian, Egyptian or other), the Sephardim as a whole, the Ashkenazim, and Australian society; one's behaviour differs considerably depending on the audience for which one is 'performing'.

The members of the Sephardi group have to operate within the context of two 'majority' groups, one within Judaism (e.g. the Ashkenazim) and the other within the wider Australian society (Anglo-Australians). At times, they feel constrained to highlight the values and ideas of these groups at the expense of their own values and ideas in order to gain acceptance. What makes this task even more difficult is - as mentioned earlier - the internal cultural differences between the various ethnic groups within the Sephardi community.

Within the Sephardi community one finds a small group whose members operate within a strongly experienced Sephardi ethnic identity. Their behaviour is 'oriental' and clashes at many points of religious observance and traditional behaviour with Ashkenazi notions of what a Jew should be. Several members of this group tend to be seen as 'militant' by Ashkenazim, and even by many Sephardim. They are accused regularly of jeopardising the position of the Sephardim in Sydney by creating bad feelings between Sephardim and Ashkenazim. However, their integrity does, at times, appear to generate some respect from both Sephardi and Ashkenazi audiences.

Another small group of individuals direct most of their 'performances' to the Ashkenazi audiences and have internalised Ashkenazi norms and values. These individuals may meet Ashkenazi expectations (especially as Jews), but they are not

necessarily accepted as Ashkenazim.

However, the emphasis of this paper is on a much larger group which comprises Sephardi individuals who have learned to satisfy Ashkenazi audiences but who have not internalised Ashkenazi values. This group is the most problematic, since its members have to specialise in two different performances and must take care to avoid giving divergent performances.⁴¹ This is the group whose members tend most to develop an identity crisis; it represents the largest segment within the community.

After discussing the history of the Sephardi community in Sydney followed by discussion of the definition of social and ethnic group, one must attempt to answer the question: are the Sephardim of Sydney a social or an ethnic group? Unlike members of cultural groups, the members of a social group do not have to have a common language, history, culture or territory. Although a social group has to have a cause or aim to bring individuals together, it does not have to have an ethnic, cultural or traditional base as a prerequisite for its formation. As time passes, other groups in the society come to accept the social group and it becomes an independent entity, which its members refer to as a reference group and outsiders come to identify by its cause. As Benson defined the terms group and social group to mean different things.

Etymologically, social refers to the quality of relationships among individuals grouped together. The members of any social group, identified by a specified attribute or set of attributes, have some significant degree of association, or alliance, or sociability, or communality.⁴²

On the other hand, '...cultural groups are based on one or more of four related kinds of attributes: (1) ethnic ("race" is treated as an inclusive form of ethnicity - so inclusive as to have limited utility), (2) linguistic, (3) religious, and (4) territorial'. Here one can see a very clear distinction between social and cultural groups. Social groups which have some of these attributes can be defined as cultural groups. Benson suggested that '[a]t the least, members of a cultural group share some significant degree of consciousness of kind based upon the previous existence of a distinctive cultural system'.⁴³

In other words, social groups are created by human beings whose behaviour is anticipatory and judgmental, unlike ethnic groups into which one is born. Similarly, Breton and Pinard stated that: 'A person does not belong to an ethnic group category by choice. He is born into it and becomes related to it through emotional and symbolic ties'.⁴⁴

'Historical reality' is a crucial aspect of an ethnic group's 'self' definition. As van den Berghe argued: 'Ethnicity can be manipulated but not manufactured. Unless ethnicity is rooted in generations of shared historical experience, it cannot be created *ex nihilo*'.⁴⁵

The Sephardim of Sydney formed a social group whose members had very broad similarities in their ethnic and cultural backgrounds. However, the cultural and sub-ethnic groups within the Sephardi community differed fundamentally from one another. Each ethnic subgroup tended to subsume a social network reflected in the close-knit and tight relationships within each subgroup. As yet, however, all subgroups have not fully come to terms with the fact that to other ('European') Jews they are a group, namely the Sephardim, and as a result there are problems in defin-

ing their identity. One problem is that in a very real sense the Sephardim of Sydney are a social category and not an ethnic group, but given their religion - and its all-encompassing manifestation in the Middle East - their elders, at least, feel they should have the kind of solidarity we generally associate with ethnic groups.

In this respect, the Sephardi community in Sydney is a special one. In classic studies of ethnic groups, each group, generally speaking, had a common origin, common language and common culture (although its culture and language may disappear through acculturation). On immigration to Australia, however, the Sephardim of Sydney did not have a common language (although many spoke English), did not have a common origin and did not have a common culture (although their cultures had broad similarities). Yet, they have gradually formed a group. Some of its members characterise it as an ethnic group, but this 'ethnic' group encompasses cultures derived from - or influenced by - Iraq, India, Singapore, Egypt and Spain. These various Sephardi subgroups are indeed very different from one another. Many of these communities in the countries of origin had developed different patterns of community leadership and social organization; even religious practices and rituals differed considerably from one community to another.

The question that one may pose here is, why have the members of different Sephardi groups come to form a 'group' in Sydney? These Jews were thrown together due to political circumstances and world events beyond their control, such as the rise of Zionism, the outbreak of World War II, the establishment of the state of Israel, and the war between Israel and its Arab neighbours. More specifically, the Sephardim of Australia formed a group as a result of double rejection: they were rejected by Ashkenazim who did not know (or refused to accept) that there were Jews who were culturally and physically dissimilar to them, and they were rejected by the wider Australian society which demonstrated little tolerance towards Asians.

In this thesis, the Sephardi community of Sydney is viewed as a social group comprised of individuals from different ethnic groups. Since its establishment, there has been persistent conflict among the various Sephardi ethnic groups for political power and religious supremacy within the 'community'; this has been the case particularly for those who differ most markedly in their cultures - the Iraqis and the Egyptians. This struggle has resulted in the emergence of an identity crisis at both individual and communal levels, and a concomitant cultural 'erosion' among all Sephardi ethnic groups in Sydney. The Sephardim as a whole do not have a common past. Instead, they have a 'brokered history', a corporate history based on the necessity of being outsiders vis-a-vis the Ashkenazim. They came together as a group with a non-specific history and unclear goals. And, particularly for the younger generation, their future as a group holds little promise.

In conclusion, the immigration process, which was forced on the Sephardim by international political situation which was beyond their control, brought about serious crisis to the Sephardi identity. Whereas Sephardim in India, Egypt and Iraq felt superordinate to the local community, in Sydney they came to occupy a subordinate position vis-a-vis the dominant Ashkenazim. When Sephardim began to arrive to Australia, the Ashkenazim may have felt uneasy at being associated with them as they were looked upon by the Australians as Asians. Given Australian Immigration policy (the White Australian Policy) and the mood within Australia, the Ashkenazim undoubtedly felt that their own status would suffer if they mingled too much with

the Sephardim. Australia was, for the most part, a homogeneous society composed of British and European Christians. Anti-semitism had led Ashkenazim to downplay their Jewish identity. Since they, themselves, could pass easily as Europeans, they did not wish to be associated with Sephardim who were treated together with other Asian minorities with contempt by those Australians who wanted Australia to stay white and British. The result was the establishment of superordinate-subordinate relationship between the two groups, namely the Ashkenazim who are largely white and European assumed the superordinate position whereas Sephardim who are of Asian features occupied the subordinate position in the relationship. This Sephardi identity is experienced as one of cultural and social marginality. It is particularly manifested among the youth who avoid Sephardi youth activities. Additionally, given the fact they many of them attend Jewish schools, they do not participate in Sephardi religious services which are seen by them as 'strange' 'noisy' and 'primitive'. Instead, at best, they adopt the Ashkenazi version of Jewish ritual.

The attitudes of the Sephardim towards their culture and ethnic background, coupled with the negative attitudes - they perceive - the Ashkenazi group holding towards them, have led to varying degrees of rejection of their own culture. This feeling which was internalized by many parents, was transmitted to their children. Currently, it seems that most Sephardi children are undergoing a process of socialization into Ashkenazi culture through the Jewish school system and have, at best, very limited familiarity with their ancestral heritage. Many of them - even among those who hold membership in Sephardi organization desire to be identified socially and culturally with Ashkenazi culture - in other words to become "Ashkenized".

It appears that the Sephardim hold ambivalent attitudes towards the Ashkenazim: on the one hand they wish to be like them and on the other they resent them for the very reason that they cannot become truly one of them. The result is that when among Sephardim, many convey their sense of "Sephardiness" and exclusiveness as a community; in the presence of Ashkenazim many downplay their Sephardi identity.

The problem of the Sephardim lies largely in the unsuccessful amalgamation of their ethnic groups into one ethnic culture. Socially their members do not demonstrate unity among themselves. However, one must not blame only external factors for these feelings of marginality. There are the internal factors which do not help the situation: There are many differences that divide the community in a way that retards growth of positive identity. These divisions include ethnic, generational, class divisions and old migrants vis-a-vis newcomers. The community is further divided along varying degrees of religious orthodoxy. However in my view, the most important source of negative ethnic identity is rooted in their relationship with each other and in the way they see themselves as a community. One is not surprised to find that even in their religion, Sephardim have been moving rapidly away from the Sephardi components of their religion, apart from the fact that the majority of Sephardim do not grant religion the same prominence in their lives that it had in the past. It seems that the most crucial rejection is one that comes from within Sephardi individuals themselves - their rejection of Sephardi identity and culture in their own eyes. In the case of many Sephardim, Sephardi identity is perpetuated largely for negative reasons because of the double exclusions by the Australian society and the Ashkenazi community.

To conclude, Jewish religion and Sephardi concepts are, to a certain extent crucial components in the preservation of Sephardi identity. In effect, if the Sephardim in Sydney wish to salvage their Sephardi identity, the members would have to become more positive and increase their communal involvement. Most importantly, the Sephardim should learn to respect themselves, accept their identity with pride and have a positive attitude. One cannot expect others to view one positively or respect one, when projecting a negative sense of identity to outsiders.

NOTES

- 1 The census of 1981 suggests that well over 2500 Jews residing in New South Wales were born in Asia or Africa. (See Chapter Five)
- 2 Australian Archive of Judaica, File No 4 of Sephardim, Newspaper cuttings from 1959 to 1965; Interviews with members of the community; Aaron 1979:67).
- 3 Aaron, A. *The Sephardim of Australia and New Zealand* Sydney, Australia: Published by Aaron Aaron, 1979, p.69.
- 4 This event was reported in the *Sydney Morning Herald*, the *Sydney Jewish News* and in the *Australian Jewish Times*. See also Sephardi File No 4 in the Australian Archive of Judaica, Fisher Library, University of Sydney.
- 5 See Table 17 in Appendix in my PhD thesis, p441.
- 6 Roumani, M.M. *The Case of the Jews from Arab Countries: A Neglected Issue* Tel-Aviv, Israel: World Organization of Jews From Arab Countries (WOJAC), 1983, p.1.
- 7 Hunt C.L. and Walker L. *Ethnic Dynamics: Patterns of intergroup relations in various countries* Illinois: The Dorsey Press, 1974, p.241 and Sitton, D. *The Sephardi Jewish Communities in Contemporary World* The Council of the Sephardi Community, Jerusalem: Ahva Cooperative Press (in Hebrew), 1974, pp.65-87.
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INTERNATIONAL BIBLE CONTEST AND AUSTRALIA

by Rabbi Israel Porush, OBE, PhD

One of the effects of the creation of the State of Israel was a marked revival of interest in the Bible, not only in religious circles but also throughout the educated community in Israel. Study circles in *Tenach* were widely organised and lectures, articles and radio talks on Biblical subjects were common in Israel. Ben Gurion, a life-long student of the Bible, set the pace in promoting the study of the Bible among Israelis and Jews throughout the world.

One of the agencies used in the popularisation of the *Tenach* was the introduction of an International Bible Contest (IBC) in 1958. This was to be a regular, global contest open to all faiths and all peoples, a truly ecumenical effort, to be held in the holy city of Jerusalem. Some of the greatest scholars and leaders, including the President of Israel at that time, Zalman Shazar, himself a notable Biblical scholar, and members of the Israeli parliament, the Knesset, became involved in the Bible Contests. The IBC were held in the biggest hall in Jerusalem, the *Binyanei Ha'umab* (the 'National Buildings') with the enthusiastic participation of the public

and the widest publicity in the media. It was stated that 'the aim of the Contest is to be to promote among members of every faith an interest in the Bible, encourage as many individuals as possible to study the Bible, make the world aware of the Truths contained therein, and promote a fraternal spirit among lovers of the Bible'.

The concept also caught the imagination of many Jews in the diaspora. Invitations were sent out by the Israeli Contest Committee to all major Jewish communities, asking them to form broad-based inter-denominational committees to implement the local efforts designed to find candidates to represent their countries.

The first IBC was held in 1958, but Australia participated for the first time only in the third contest which took place in 1964. In Australia the Consul General of Israel at that time, S.Z. Laor, took the initiative to enlist the co-operation of Australian Jewry in this project. He invited me to take a leading role in the organisation of the contest, especially in regard to the involvement of the Churches, since it was clear that the religious institutions would be the best recruiting ground for participants. The most challenging aspect of this novel idea was to find suitable candidates from Australia.

Late in 1963 I sent out 1800 invitations to ministers of all denominations throughout the Commonwealth asking them to announce the contest in their churches and publications and to try and organise study circles in the 'Old Testament', and to recruit contestants who had to be over 18 years of age. This invitation met with a good response as 82 people from every Australian state sent in their entry forms and 76 actually participated in contests in Australia. To our disappointment, there was a response from only two Jews, one of these being Rev Harkaway of the Parramatta Synagogue, Sydney.

Prestigious committees were formed in each state, usually at the initiative of the local Jewish ministers. In Sydney we also formed a federal committee of which Lord De L'Isle, Governor-General of Australia, was patron. In NSW Sir John Northcott, former Governor of the State, was president and among the vice-presidents there were two archbishops and leaders of other denominations as well as rabbis and public personalities. Chairman of the federal committee was Horace B. Newman and of the NSW state committee, myself.

The committee was very active in publicising the contest and in enlisting the interest of the general public. The major newspapers and other media were contacted and the response was rather encouraging. Articles appeared in the press, references were made on the radio and sermons were preached in many churches. The result was that 76 contestants actually participated in the preliminary contests designed to select the representative of Australia at the IBC in Jerusalem.

The preliminary contests consisted of three stages. A written set of questions was submitted first to every candidate with the local minister acting as supervisor. The weakest were eliminated and the others were invited to their respective capitals for the second phase. An oral contest was then held to select the finalists for each state. The six state finalists were then invited to Sydney on 29 March 1964 for the National Final Contest. The winner would be the Australian representative in Jerusalem.

The NSW state finals were held at the Great Synagogue, the judges being Professor J. Bowman, Dr A.D. Crown and Pere Peter Ziadeh. Of the six finalists (four women and two men), four were Seventh Day Adventists, one a Jehovah's Witness and one a Catholic but there were no Jewish finalists. The Deputy Lord Mayor of

Sydney gave a civic reception to the finalists in the Town Hall.

The National Finals were held on 31 May 1964 at Anzac House, Sydney, in the presence of the Governor of NSW, Sir Eric Woodward and Lady Woodward, and the Ambassador of Israel, David Tesher. The judges were Rabbi Dr H. Freedman, Rev.



Mr Graham Mitchell

R.A.D. Pretty and Rev. H.M. Saunders. The winner was Graham Mitchell, an accountant from Normanhurst, NSW, and a member of the Seventh Day Adventist Church. Mitchell became the representative of Australia at the IBC in Jerusalem. Tesher presented the champion with tickets to Israel where he was to be the guest of the government. All finalists received certificates and Mitchell received in addition a set of the *Great Books of the Western World* from Encyclopaedia Britannica. The cost of these contests, which amounted to less than \$7000, was covered by donations from firms and individuals, while Ansett ANA through the good offices of its chairman, Sir Peter Abeles, made a handsome donation, reducing by 75% the cost of the air tickets for the participants in the state and national

finals.

Mitchell was a modest and sincere man who had studied the Bible daily from his early youth. It was noted that he 'won the hearts of the large audience by reason of his modesty, lucidity and sportsmanship'. He proceeded to Jerusalem where the IBC was held on 24 September 1964. Some 20 countries participated. The quiz master was Dr Joseph Burg, Member of the Knesset and Minister in the Israeli government. Burg was a gifted linguist who presented the questions to the candidates in their own language.

The Australian organising committee was surprised and thrilled to hear — an Israeli audience must have been equally surprised — that Mitchell, a non-Jew who had to compete with erudite Jewish scholars, won the contest with 451/2 points out of 50, thus becoming the World Bible Champion. He received a gold medal from the President of Israel and on his return to Australia he was honoured in the daily press and other media as well as by the Jewish community of Sydney at a reception.

Because of the difficult situation in Israel, there were long delays in the organisation of further contests. Australia participated again in the fifth contest in 1981. In the meantime, my wife, Bertha, and I had moved to Melbourne and accordingly Melbourne became the headquarters of the Australian contest. The procedure was the same as in 1964. Invitations were sent out by me to the churches, state committees were created as well as a federal committee to conduct the three local contests. We received 82 entries and 72 contestants actually participated. Patron-in-chief was the Governor-General, Sir Zelman Cowan; patrons were the leaders of the major churches, Rabbis R. Lubofsky and J. Levi, Isi Leibler, Dr A. Silver and Sir Talbot Duckmanton of the ABC; while the president was myself. The judges were Professor T. Muraoka of Middle Eastern Studies at Melbourne University, Professor B. Mond and Dr J. Fraser. Professor L. Waller was chairman of the committee and the quiz master at the finals and Dr Eliezer Paltiel selected the questions to be submitted. The final contest was held at the B'nai Brith Home and written answers had to

be given on video projectors.

The winner this time was a lady, Linda Curson of Aitkinville, Queensland, who then became the Australian representative at the Fifth International Contest which was held on 7 July 1981. She competed with champions from 20 different countries, including Ethiopia, Nigeria, Guatemala and Finland. Linda Curson proceeded to Jerusalem at the expense of the government of Israel, but she reached only thirteenth place among the 20 contestant, just outside the 12 contestants who qualified for the second round.

The expense of organising the Australians contests was again covered by donations. The committee was very economical and there was a surplus of \$1320. The committee decided to return \$1000 to the Australian Zionist Federation which had donated a similar amount at the commencement of the project. The balance was distributed to a number of Jewish and non-Jewish organisations. The committee was dissolved at the end of July 1981.

A major issue in the organisation of the Australian contests in 1964 and again in 1981 was the fact that so few Jews applied to compete. It was not clear if there was a lack of interest in *Tenach* or a lack of knowledge. Candidates had to be over 18 years of age. Australian *balebatim* are, as a rule, not learned or studious enough because they do not allocate time to the study of the Scriptures, or for that matter to any religious studies, while young Jewish students mainly tend to be pre-occupied with their secular studies. And so we are left with a small group of young religious people, especially students of the *Yeshivot* who continue to learn beyond school age. The majority of these interested people confine themselves to books on Judaica and Jewish history and they seldom indulge in the study of Hebrew literature, including the *Tenach*. On the other hand, the *Yeshivah* students concentrate on the study of the *Talmud* and the like at the expense of the *Tenach*. Some of these, of course, may have opposed the whole idea of a Bible contest. For these various reasons Jewish involvement in the Australian contest of the IBC has been minimal.



Standing: Mr Ben-Dov, Consul General of Israel, Mrs Ben-Dov; Mrs Marjorie Harry (Victoria); Mr U.E. Hopkins (NSW); Mr C. Hough (SA); Mr J. Prestinger (WA); Pastor E. Peterson (Tas); Mrs Linda Curson (Qld) – the winner.

Sitting: Prof B. Mond, Prof T. Muraoka (Chairman of Judges), Prof G. Waller, Rabbi Israel Porush

BOOK REVIEWS

HEBREW, ISRAELITE, JEW:

A HISTORY OF THE JEWS IN WESTERN AUSTRALIA

by David Mossenson (assisted by Louise Hoffman) *Nedlands: University of Western Australia Press, 1990. 295pp. illus. Hardback. \$29.95.*

When the Dutch navigator, Willem de Vlamingh, sailed to the coast of Western Australia in 1696-97 (1669 according to a printing error in the book under review) he brought with him at least one Jewish crewman, who was perhaps the first Jew to set foot in Western Australia. But Jews may have been aboard Dutch exploratory vessels which entered Western Australian coastal waters earlier in the seventeenth century: a pewter spoon bearing a *Magen David* was recovered from a ship wrecked in 1656.

The first Jews who arrived in the Swan River Colony were the English merchant brothers, Lionel and William Samson, who landed in 1829 as the precursors of a Jewish community which is reputedly the most isolated in the Diaspora. In this handsomely produced and lavishly illustrated book, the product of extensive research by distinguished Perth educationalist, Dr David Mossenson, assisted (particularly in the gathering of oral testimony and bibliographical material) by Louise Hoffman, we have a history worthy of its subject. The book is a timely and worthy addition to the burgeoning field of Australian Jewish historiography, which has tended to concentrate on the eastern states.

Owing to their pioneer status and their isolation from other Jews, the Samson brothers cannot be considered the founders of the organised Jewish community in Western Australia. Indeed, William Samson married out of his religion, and settled permanently in Adelaide. Lionel Samson married his cousin, whom he brought back from England, but none of his six children married a Jew, and although one of them assisted the fledgling Fremantle Hebrew Congregation, the Samson family's connection with Judaism ceased with the third generation.

Lionel Samson is remembered particularly as the first Jew nominated to membership of an Australian legislature (before Jews were permitted to sit at Westminster). Thus began a Jewish success story of mercantile and public life in Western Australia which has been repeated countless times since, as recorded in this book. Elias Solomon, Matthew Louis Moss, Sir Charles Nathan and Joseph Berinson are just some of the people we encounter as the saga unfolds. Solomon Levey (the emancipist merchant who never actually set foot in the colony but who as the business partner of Thomas Peel played a significant part in the affairs of the Swan River settlement) is the first of many Jewish businesspeople chronicled here: others include the important timber merchant, Maurice Coleman Davies, the colourful Broome pearl merchants Abraham de Vahl Davis and Mark Rubin, the wealthy pastoralists Isidore and Sydney Emanuel, and the redoubtable Fanny Breckler, who built up one of the best known shoe retail chains in Australia.

The transportation system operated in Western Australia between 1850 and 1868. It was responsible for the arrival of 'at least twenty-seven' Jews, more than half of whom subsequently left the colony. Among those who remained were a coterie of

emancipists who pioneered Jewish communal life, an effort which necessarily occurred several decades later than the parallel trend in the eastern colonies. Such men were among those who, between 1887 and 1896, helped to found congregations at Fremantle, Perth, Coolgardie and Kalgoorlie. They were joined by a number of free immigrants, some of whom had journeyed to the west from the eastern states (often in the wake of the gold discoveries), and some of whom had migrated from Russia and Palestine. Among the latter were the founders of families still prominent in the Jewish communal life of Western Australia — the Brecklers, Masels and Silberts, for instance, to name but a few. The arrivals from Palestine, notably from Safed, were to be consolidated over the years by *chalutzim* who left the Jewish homeland owing to harsh economic conditions. It was an immigration wave which invigorated Western Australian Jewry, particularly in the realms of Zionism and Yiddish culture.

When the Fremantle congregation, and the goldfield congregations closed, Jewish religious life revolved around the Perth Hebrew Congregation, founded in 1892. In its formative years it relied upon the advice of Adelaide's minister — indeed, there was a discernible presence of ex-South Australians in the colony — but with the arrival of Rev. (later Rabbi) D.I. Freedman, this dependence ceased. Freedman, who led the congregation until his death in 1939, was an influential figure both within and without the Jewish community. His career is well described in this book, and the fascinating but little known story of a rival congregation, the Perth Jewish Association (founded by Eastern European newcomers) makes valuable reading. The book shows how, little by little, Freedman managed to weld the 'Anglos' and the Yiddishers' into a cohesive whole, despite the continuing presence of the rival congregation. For this important episode in Perth Jewry's history the book is an unrivalled source.

By the postwar years, the rival congregation had lost its effective viability, but a new challenge to the Perth Hebrew Congregation's hegemony arose in the form of Progressive Judaism, pioneered in Western Australia by architect Harold Boas. It culminated in the establishment of what became known as the Temple David Congregation in 1952.

When reading this book, it is impossible not to be struck by the similarities between the history of Western Australian Jewry and that of the Jewries in the other states. The book's title is a reflection of the evolving identity of the colony's Jews from practitioners of the 'Mosaic persuasion' to members of a religio-ethnic community; it is also a reflection of the changing terminology on federal census forms. All trends in the history of the Western Australian Jewish community, including demographic and socio-economic ones, are described and analysed in this book. If I have any criticism, it is that efforts in Western Australia on behalf of the Kimberley Scheme have been inadequately covered, but this is a minor criticism in relation to the book's overall achievement. It is a well-written and intelligent work which deserves a place on every Jewish bookshelf.

Hilary Rubinstein.

AFTER FORTY YEARS OF SILENCE

by Alex Colman, Jewish Holocaust Centre, Melbourne, 1990.

This slim volume is an attempt by Simon Sigmund Zollman, now known as Alex Colman, to break forty years of silence in order to alert today's generation to the danger signs of Nazi anti-semitism. It is based on his own terrible experiences in Poland from 1938 to 1946 and is told vividly in the first person of Alexander Kolakowski, his alias for fifteen years.

The book was published originally in German in 1985 - the forty-year anniversary of the end of World War II - and translated for this edition. Unfortunately many poems in the original German have not been translated and I feel this detracts from the impact of the story. Also not all the illustrations have explanations, which is especially frustrating if there is Polish writing in the photograph.

The narrative has an easy, flowing style, with short chapters mainly devoted to single episodes. There is good historical perspective to give events the right background. It does jump around occasionally chronologically, but is always interesting with just enough hints of future events to whet the appetite to continue. There is not a constant feeling of horror or terror, but events are recalled in considerable detail more in the style of an observer bearing witness. It does become grippingly realistic after his escape from the ghetto.

What becomes evident is the number of Jewish and non-Jewish friends prepared to risk danger and help escapees. There is no actual preaching - the story speaks for itself. Alex Colman does link his survival in one way to a fortune teller and a number of incredible coincidences, especially finding his real identity papers in a corner of a room years later. However, his story is another example of a Jew who did not march meekly to his death, but through quick thinking, bravado and a tremendous number of lucky instincts preserved both his sanity and his life in a very dangerous period.

The book is available from the Jewish Holocaust Centre, 13 Selwyn Street, Elsternwick, 3185.

Helen Bersten

A LINK IN THE CHAIN

biographical notes, by Gert Lippman. published privately, Sydney, 1990. 511pp. illus. Hardback. \$20 donation to the Sir Moses Montefiore Home.

This large biography covers a wide sweep of places, events and subjects. It is primarily written for Lippman's six grandchildren and should be read as such. It is full of homely references and advice, yet it is also a vivid picture of German Jewish life before, during and after World war II.

Lippman says the book is written in "a speaking style". Mostly it is, with quite a bit of colloquial language. However, some chapters have an entirely different level of language which makes the general style of the book uneven. Basically the chapters are short and very readable. It is very much a straightforward story, not dramatised, however dramatic events are related well and attention to detail is an important part of the story.

This book is self-published and self-designed. While attempting a chronological

order, there is some jumping in time and quite a lot of repetition as if some chapters were meant to be read independently of the rest of the story.

The poignant introductory poem, "The Bridge Builder", explains clearly the purpose of the book - to provide a bridge for the young and inexperienced in order to avoid pitfalls which the older and wiser have already discovered.

Documents and letters in German and French have clear captions to identify them and are referred to in the text close to the illustration so that readers unfamiliar with the languages may still understand them. One important letter from Uncle Heinrich is fully translated. There is a chilling list of the German laws against Jews from January 1933 to July 1943 which should be read by all who would deny the Holocaust. There is also a chapter and large appendix devoted to achievements of German Jews in all fields of endeavour.

Lippman sets out to tell his story to his grandchildren. However, the book can be read on several levels - as a simple biography, as a history of German Jewry, as a social history. As with Colman's story there is a prophecy made to Gert Lippman in his youth which seems to come true in his later life and he also amazingly retrieves his real identity papers years later from a hiding place.

There are a few small typesetting errors but the general quality of the book, particularly the photographic reproductions, compensates for this.

The book is available from the author at 20/30 Helen Street, Lane Cove 2066.

Helen Bersten

THE COUSINS — DESCENDENTS OF SOLOMON AND CAROLINE PHILLIPS

*by A.S. Ellis, published privately, 1990. 96pp.
\$30 + postage within Australia \$8.40, overseas \$9.40*

Since its inception in August 1938, the Australian Jewish Historical Society has been responsible for prolific research, recording, publishing of Australian Jewish history, and for the preservation of the community's contributions to the development of this part of the world, the stimulation of intense interest and the burgeoning pride in the Jewish ancestry of those whose original Judaism was formerly in danger of becoming lost. Whether the contributions were made by convicts, free settlers, or by whole families of talented professionals, skilled craftsmen, gifted artists, or successful merchants and businessmen did not seem to matter. During the past 53 years, we have witnessed the emergence of a phenomenal amount of recorded history which indicates the parts played in almost every field by Jews or by the direct descendents of Jews. The interest has become world wide.

One family — although there have been many such — has produced outstanding personalities generation after generation. The family is the one which began in 1782 when Moses and Deborah Levey married in England, although, we might easily go back two further generations prior to that when the marriage took place of Moses Levey's grandparents, Moses and Elizabeth Levy, in the mid-seventeenth century (when the name was spelt without the extra 'e').

The book presently under review, though, *The Cousins — Descendents of Solomon and Caroline Phillips*, by Archie S. Ellis of Western Australia, concerns itself mainly with the nineteenth and twentieth centuries' descendents of Solomon

and Caroline (nee Solomon) Phillips, and their children. The genealogical linkup was when Elias Ellis married Rebecca Levey (born 1804), a sister of Solomon and Barnett Levey. These two men, the first of their family to do so, came to Australia respectively in 1815 (as a convict who lived to become a wealthy merchant and a generous benefactor to education in Australia), and in 1821 (as Australia's first free male Jew and 'Father' of theatre in Australia). Two of Elias and Rebecca Ellis's sons, Angel and Louis, married two daughters of Solomon and Caroline Phillips, Hannah and Lydia. There followed many other instances of Levey and Phillips intermarriage but it was Louis and Lydia Ellis who were the direct ancestors of the author of *The Cousins*. The work deals broadly with all seven children of Solomon and Caroline Phillips, and with the four unmarried sons. (It might be noted that their twin sons, Ephraim and Daniel, born at Parramatta in January 1838, died the following May and their memorial stones were found at the Botany Cemetery in 1968, having been moved there from the Devonshire Street Cemetery in 1901. The book indicates, page 31, that the stones were removed to Bondi.)

The book follows the lives closely and in detail of Elias and Rebecca Ellis. This is the fourth full-scale work by members of this Society who were also direct descendants of the Phillips family and which deals with branches of the family all originating from the children of Moses and Deborah Levey. In the 1970s Hilda Reid, a descendent of Frances Levey, wrote *A Pot-Purri*; in 1981 Meg Chapman wrote *The Humanist Jew: The Family of Elias and Rebecca Ellis*; and in 1983 Len Fox wrote *E. Phillips Fox and his Family*. These are all interrelated works dealing with the descendants of the same family. There have also been a number of feature articles, essays and monographs, including Archie Ellis's 1975 article 'Elias and Rebecca Ellis and the Phillips Connections'; and Len Fox's 1969 booklet, *E. Phillips Fox: Notes and Recollections*. There is a pleasing continuity about all these works, a firm inner consistency. Each generation has thrown up someone (sometimes more than one) who was catapulted into a passionate love affair with the various divisions of the branches. Meg Chapman found appellations such as the 'Foxian' branch and the 'Ellisian' branch. In his preface, the author of *The Cousins* explains that this present work is intended to be complementary to Meg Chapman's *The Humanist Jew*. It may well be this fact which gives the book much of its strength.

To bring the work, *The Cousins*, into sharper perspective, it might be worth looking first at the story of Solomon and Caroline Phillips since their arrival in Australia in the early 1830s. Solomon Phillips, by trade an ironmonger with considerable knowledge and scholarship of Judaism, became a part-time lay Reader of the Bridge Street Synagogue. Later the family moved to Parramatta but when the Macquarie Street Synagogue opened in 1859 Solomon became its first minister, an office he held until his retirement in 1874. He was also closely associated with the York Street Synagogue. He was a *mobel* as well as a Reader. The Phillips had a second set of twins, of which only one survived, Samuel Asher, born in Melbourne in 1852.

The photograph of Solomon Levey on page x of 'Beginnings', the preamble to *The Cousins*, although re-produced from an early (1939) picture in the *Australian Jewish Historical Society Journal*, originated from a photograph held by the Society which is believed to have been taken about 1862. It is one of the earliest extant photographs of this form in Australia; the explanation being that Solomon Phillips' son-in-law, Louis Ellis's family, was closely associated with George Goodman who

brought the technique to Australia in 1842. Although Goodman, himself, left Australia before 1862 (he died in Paris in 1851), his business and photographic studio in Hunter Street, Sydney, continued under his name for many years.

The Cousins is a valuable, well-crafted document, with a significant contribution to make to the genealogical research of an extraordinary family. The author's kinsman, Len Fox, observes in the Foreword, that it is about a family 'which has had first a considerable impact on social and cultural life, not only in Australia, but also in other countries, and secondly because it reminds us that the Jewish tradition is not only a religious one but also one of devotion to scholarship and literature, to the arts and sciences, to law, to social service, and to internationalism'. The various branches of this remarkable family — or, rather, the linkage of families — have certainly given Australia a generous supply of 'star quality' personalities. There is probably no original, pioneer Australian Jewish family which touches on so many other genealogies over so many generations as this one does. Even the multi-branched family of Samuel and David Cohen and Lewis Wolfe Levy (cousins) has early connections with the subjects treated in this work. In the pocket at the back of the book are two separate, very clear descendent charts which lay out in detail the comprehensive genealogies of the Phillips, Fox, Ellis, Jacobs (of Adelaide), Crawcour, Myers and Asher families, right up to 1990. Here are the families living in harmony with themselves and their environment throughout the entire continent of Australia.

The book itself is quite a remarkable format, with the charts and reproductions of photographs, admirably balanced narrative, and documentation, and seventeen chapter headings, appendices, presenting an interesting concept. The narrative and anecdotes are little short of captivating. The entire work is an inspiration to others contemplating a genealogical/biographical compilation. The author expresses the hope that the younger generations, those born during the sixties, seventies and eighties of this century, will be motivated to carry on the family story.

The Cousins is unreservedly recommended for its scholarship, research, and unbiased recording. There will also be many of this Society's members, and potential members, who will find relevance to their own family background in this book: families which may also have been touched by the muses.

Copies may be purchased from the author, Dr A.S. Ellis, 3/11 Wingfield Avenue, Crawley, Western Australia 6009.

Louise Rosenberg

SURVIVING TREBLINKA

Samuel Willenberg, edited by Wladislaw T. Bartoszewski, translated by Naftali Greenwood. Oxford: Basil Blackwell in association with the Institute for Polish-Jewish Studies, 1989.

Treblinka was one of a handful of Nazi extermination camps which were even worse than Auschwitz because their one and only purpose was to serve as killing places for Jews. Together with Chelmo, Belzec and Sobibor, Treblinka was set up uniquely to facilitate the 'technology of industrial death'¹ by gassing, when the *Ein-satzgruppen* method of sending specially trained shooting squads in the rear of the

German armies had proved too slow and too public. Their establishment was known under the codename of 'Operation Reinhardt' to totally rid Eastern Europe of its Jewish inhabitants.

Gas chambers were also set up in other camps in Poland, in Auschwitz I and II, Maidanek and Stutthof, but in the camps set up for Operation Reinhardt, the aim was to bring the Jews for gassing on the day of arrival. The only inmates who could expect to survive for a short period after arrival in Treblinka were those selected from time to time to sort and prepare the personal effects of the victims for re-use or re-cycling to the German Reich. The sorters, too, were meant to be gassed within a few months.

Therefore few people survived Treblinka, and far less is known about its *modus operandi* than about that of a camp like Auschwitz through which thousands of people passed to be processed for labour camps, out of which a few thousand survived.

There is disagreement among historiographers about the number of people killed at Treblinka. Estimates vary between 700,000 and 900,000, but they were all Jews. Only between forty and seventy survived Treblinka and the number is probably closer to the former. Not all the survivors of the camp survived the war.

There are, therefore, few eyewitness accounts of the operation of Treblinka. *A Year in Treblinka*, an eyewitness account by Yankel Wiernik, was published in New York in 1945 in both Yiddish and English. In 1967 two books appeared, one by Miriam Nowitch, a Holocaust historian, and another by Jean-Francois Steiner, *Treblinka — the Extraordinary Story of Jewish Resistance in the Notorious Nazi Death Camp*. Steiner's book is a fictionalised account of the Treblinka revolt written from a leftist Marxist viewpoint. Then there is the book by Gitta Sereny *Into That Darkness: From Mercy Killing to Mass Murder* which encompasses both Treblinka and Sobibor in her examination of how Franz Stangl, commandant successively of Sobibor and Treblinka, and a good communicant Catholic all the while, could square his conscience.

Willenberg first wrote an account in Polish called *Treblinka in Fire* which was published in Warsaw in 1950. His first Hebrew language account of Treblinka was published in 1966 in the periodical *Yalkut Moreshet*. This was later expanded into a book published in Hebrew in 1986 and in English in 1989. This is likely to be the definitive book by anyone who has personally experienced Treblinka and its documentary importance cannot be overestimated.

Treblinka II, the death camp, was the last of the death camps opened, and therefore 'benefited' from previously opened camps. From the viewpoint of the SS, it became the operationally 'most efficient' camp. It opened for gassing on 23 July 1942 with the first transport of Jews from the Warsaw Ghetto and it operated for thirteen months.

Samuel Willenberg arrived in Treblinka with a transport from Opatow Ghetto and, unaccountably, was the only one from his transport selected not to be gassed immediately. On the day of his arrival he met one of his former high school history teachers who enjoined him to try and survive since he looked Aryan and spoke Polish without a Jewish accent.² He also met another friend, Alfred Boehm, a German-born Jew who had been expelled to Poland with his Polish-born parents in October 1938 and whom Samuel had befriended. Boehm told him of the reality of Treblinka.

ka.

The first shock Willenberg had was that food in Treblinka was better than food in the ghetto. Those who had arrived and been killed immediately had prepared food for themselves for their journey to 'resettlement in the East' and this food was eaten by the selected survivors. One of the supreme ironies of the Nazi system was that those not selected to be gassed immediately depended for their survival on the continued arrival of transports of people destined for the gas chambers for continued supply of food, clean clothes and work. All the possessions of the murdered Jews had to be sorted into categories of garments, by types of cloth, all names removed as well as the yellow stars. All garments had to be examined for hidden diamonds, gold coins or paper money. This was the work to which Willenberg was first assigned.

On his first day he learnt the depth of depravity and cruelty of the treatment of the Jews by SS and Ukrainian guards alike, the existence of the *Goldjuden* (gold Jews) who were responsible for the collection and sorting of all the valuables brought by the transports for the benefit of the Third Reich and of the SS who corruptly pocketed booty due to their state institutions.

The Ukrainians who guarded the Jews were men who had served in the Soviet Red Army and had surrendered to the Germans. 'These monsters were entrusted with the responsibility of guarding and murdering us and they fulfilled these duties with expertise and limitless strength'. Although they worked in a different area of the camp from the *Todeslager* (the death camp) on some occasions the sorters met with the Jewish prisoners who dealt with the corpses and were told of the terrible Ivan, the Ukrainian guard, who drove people into the gas-chamber with a horse-whip and hacked to bits those who resisted entering. The same man also started up the motor producing the lethal gas.

Willenberg gives details of some of the transports and some of the incidents which accompanied their arrival. His style is matter-of-fact, devoid of adjectives. The narrative is cool and the impact is all the stronger for the refusal to whip up and embellish emotions.

Willenberg escaped Treblinka during the revolt of prisoners which took place in August 1943. Out of the 850 Jews in the camp at the time, half were killed during the revolt and most of the rest perished in the following days in the huge manhunt organised by the Nazis. After his escape Willenberg eventually made his way back to Warsaw, joined the Polish underground under a false identity as a Christian Pole and participated in the Warsaw insurrection of August 1944. His eyewitness observations on Jewish participation in that revolt and the fate meted out to Jews during the August insurrection against a common foe by some so-called Polish patriots, is itself instructive. Willenberg continued to fight after the surrender of the insurrectionists as the leader of a group of partisans and fought his way back to Berlin.

This is an important book, not only for what it tells us of Treblinka, the camp which consumed Warsaw Jewry, but also for its revelation of Jewish heroism and persistence within and beyond the death camps.

Sophie Caplan

1 This phase was first coined by Theo Klein, then president of the Representative Council of French Jewry (CRIF) in a letter addressed to the Apostolic Nuncio in France, Monsignor Angelso Felici, on 13 March 1986 on the subject of a Carmelite convent in Auschwitz.

- 2 In Poland most Jews apparently spoke with an accent differing from that of the average Pole.

FACING THE PAST: LOOKING BACK AT REFUGEE CHILDHOOD IN NEW ZEALAND, 1940S - 1960S

Ann Beaglehole Wellington: Allen and Unwin, 1990.

This is Dr Beaglehole's second book and it should be said at the outset, it is a worthy successor to her earlier *A Small Price to Pay: Refugees from Hitler in New Zealand, 1936-1946* (Allen and Unwin, 1988). This book picks up where the earlier one left off, at least chronologically, in that it looks at the (mainly Jewish) refugee experience in New Zealand in the post-Second World War period rather than at the time of the Holocaust.

The subjects of this study are not, however, the refugees themselves, but their children: a group whom Dr Beaglehole refers to as 'second generation refugees', or as 'child survivors', depending on when and how they came to New Zealand. Some arrived with their parents in the 1930s and 1940s; others were born there, the children of refugee parents. As Dr Beaglehole's object is to examine the experience of growing up in New Zealand as children of central and eastern European migrants at a particular time in New Zealand's history, I see no dilemma or methodological problems with taking this apparently diverse population as a discrete group. Indeed, as Dr Beaglehole shows throughout her book, the similarities and commonalities of the experiences of these young people far outweighed any individual differences in upbringing or personal circumstances. Moreover, the experience of growing up as a 'second generation' refugee child had much in common with that of other ethnic groups in New Zealand, suggesting as much about the nature of New Zealanders' tolerance of foreigners as it does about the assimilability of the children themselves.

Dr Beaglehole's approach stemmed from three basic questions, as quoted in the book's Introduction (p.viii): 'How did these children fare in New Zealand? What were their lives like? What kind of New Zealanders did they become?' The simplest questions are always the hardest to answer. In the 183 pages which follow these questions, all manner of concepts are explored in an attempt to find satisfactory answers. These range from the refugee children at school, the problem of learning a foreign language (that is English), religion (being Jewish in an essentially Christian country), poverty, growing up with 'foreign' parents, the traumatic impact of the Holocaust, New Zealand nativism and rejection of non-British 'foreigners', and many others. The two themes which brought me a smile were Dr Beaglehole's investigation of clothing and school lunches, as the former children recalled wearing *lederhosen* and *dirmels* to the amusement and consternation of their rough-and-tumble Kiwi contemporaries, stopping at lunchtime to consume 'great, big door-stops' of home-baked rye-bread sandwiches filled with salami and wurst, while their classmates ate 'skinny things' made of white bread and filled with peanut butter and Marmite. Australian children growing up in the same period often have similar memories of new arrivals from Europe, myself included. This is, no doubt, why discussion of these sections struck such a chord with me.

The whole issue of acculturation and acclimatisation is of course a complex one

and a wide variety of approaches can be taken in investigating it. Such investigations are important in helping educators, welfare services and others with an interest in childhood development to ascertain both the needs and the progress of children facing problems which are in many ways quite different to those faced by adults. In an age where the concept of ethnic pluralism has increased in countries such as Australia, New Zealand and Canada (and even the United States, for long the world's major exponent of the 'melting-pot' theory), the ways in which young people interact with each other and the social environment around them provide instruction for those involved in determining the future texture of that environment. With this in mind, a study such as Dr Beaglehole's acts in such a way as to remind us, in the words of the song from *To Sir With Love*, that 'children grow up to be people one day'. The kind of people they become depends on the kind of children they are. And in the case of the refugee children from Nazism, much can be told and learned.

It is hard to divorce oneself from the immediate feeling one gets on picking it up for the first time that this is a 'Jewish book'. It is not, though children of Jews and Jewish children form the majority of those included in it. Indeed, Dr Beaglehole sees the obvious necessity of addressing the issues of Jewishness and Judaism, issues which at one time or another placed most into a quandary or at least a search for understanding. Being Jewish, for those who were, presented additional problems to those of being 'foreign', speaking a strange language (or English with a funny accent) or even being in a new school system or at a new school. Dr Beaglehole is of necessity hesitant to draw firm conclusions about the resolution of these problems for the children, especially given the small population with which she was working and the diffuse nature of the children's experiences. For some, their sense of Jewishness was enhanced by their feelings of isolation or difference; for others, the opposite was true. Saddest, for me, are those cases of children with Jewish fathers and non-Jewish mothers who, by the arbitrariness of their parental background, had some affinity with Judaism but felt isolated from *Am Yisrael*, a concept of which they were probably unaware but to which they nonetheless would have liked to subscribe. As Dr Beaglehole shows, in several cases this had led to a condition, if not of hostility, then at least of frustration.

For all that, as I said, care must be taken against seeing this exclusively as a 'Jewish book'. Refugees from Nazism were not all Jewish, nor were those who made it to New Zealand and began to raise families. In that sense, then, this book could better be placed as a study of the immigration experience, albeit of a very special group of immigrants. Given the enormous growth in both interest and serious academic work in Australia on the Jewish refugee experience, however, there can be little doubt that *Facing the Past* certainly has a legitimate place on the bookshelves of those interested in Jewish history alone. Nevertheless, this should by no means be the book's sole readership.

Ann Beaglehole has been at pains to demonstrate both the confusions and the reinforcements which underlay these children's lives. She has demonstrated to us that the Holocaust continued to have an effect on the existence of human beings long after the defeat of Nazism, and that the dilemmas of growing up in New Zealand between the 1940s and the 1960s were heightened beyond measure by the burdens of the past and commitments to the future. Many who read this book will

empathise with those who are featured in it and may even agree 'that's how it was with me'. It is often difficult facing up to our past and the conditions which have influenced it: as Dr Beaglehole shows, while our memories of the 'good old days' are usually instinctively positive, when we actually sit down and think about it a mixture of both positive and negative determines who we are and how we got to be that way. This is even more true for the children of refugees and survivors, and it holds lessons for us of the 1990s as much as it did for those of the earlier generation who lived through the experience.

Paul Bartrop

NOT STRICTLY KOSHER: PIONEER JEWS IN NEW ZEALAND

by Odeda Rosenthal

with "more than a hundred historic illustrations", New York: Starchand Press, 1988,
Box 468, Wainscott, N.Y., 11975. \$US 25.

IDENTIFY AND INVOLVEMENT - AUCKLAND JEWRY, PAST AND PRESENT

by Ann Gluckman, editor

Palmerstone North, New Zealand: Dunmore Press, 1990.
Au\$30 including postage.

In the past few years three major books on New Zealand Jewry have been published, after decades of absolute drought following Rabbi L.M. Goldman's *The History of the Jews in New Zealand*, published in 1957. The first of the new crop, Laurence D. Nathan's *As Old As Auckland*, was reviewed in this journal in a recent issue. Two new books, completely contrasted in format, approach and underlying philosophy, have appeared in the last two years.

Odeda Rosenthal is an American, born in Jerusalem, which makes her fluent at deciphering *ketubot*, synagogue registers of birth, and even badly weathered tombstones. But her attitudes are Americocentric as regards Great Britain, references to the USA, and a certain carelessness in spelling antipodean place-names. It is also quite clear from the preface written by Dr Abraham Peck of the American Jewish Archives, and from subtle internal evidence, that the book was written for the American Jewish market, not for New Zealand Jewry.

It is a book written in lively style, lavishly illustrated, and buttressed by research in many New Zealand libraries and archives, as well as being supplemented by privately held family and personal papers. However some of the author's judgements are shallow, lacking in the wider perspectives which a basic grounding in Australian and New Zealand history would have given. The illustrations, though excellent in themselves are poorly reproduced, seemingly mostly by photocopying. The best illustrations are probably the author's own pen and ink sketches, sometimes copied from old photographs. Some of the written and printed documents reproduced are barely legible. With more care in research and a more lavish format, this book could have bid fair to be the New Zealand equivalent of *Australian Genesis*, but it

has the physical appeal of a student study guide.

Nevertheless Odeda Rosenthal records the little known story of Joel Samuel Polack, possibly the first Jew to settle in New Zealand, younger brother of our own Abraham Polack. But this section was written apparently without Rosenthal having taken the trouble of reading John Levi and George Bergman's *Australian Genesis*. She also records in detail the early story of the Keesing family, the Hort, Asher, Levien families, and many others, including Jewish murderer Philip Levy of Nelson, Samuel Shrimski, once mayor of Oamaru, et al.

Rosenthal records the existence of past and now demolished synagogues built for Jewish communities which have disappeared, and also the events marking their consecrations. This alone would make it worthwhile for Jewish libraries and learned societies to acquire this book. The Keesing family's antecedents in New Zealand, as well as the Levien's are recorded in several places. This is not a book of any depth of judgement, but it is full of fascinating details about the industries started by pioneer Jews in New Zealand, and intriguing ones about Maori half - Jews who identify with Israel.

There are some irritating spelling mistakes, like *Weitangi* for *Waitangi* and *Montifiore* for *Montefiore*, as well as numerous mistakes obviously due to slipshod proof-reading and notable discontinuities of text from one page to the next. The very numerous illustrations and maps are among the most valuable parts of the book.

Identify and Involvement is a compilation of essays by separate authors, some specialists in the field in which they contribute. As Ann Gluckman, the editor, states: "The last fifteen years have seen a remarkable change in the attitudes of New Zealanders towards difference." She means the change from extreme Anglo-Celtic chauvinism to a relative toleration of ethnically different groups, including Maoris, Jews and a few other groups.

As Gluckman points out, no definitive work on New Zealand Jewry has been written as yet, but this collection of essays "is written from the inside" by New Zealand Jews, not by a visiting English or American author. It has no illustrations, the proof-reading in English has been meticulous, though there are odd spellings for the occasional Yiddish or Hebrew words. Where Rosenthal delights in highlighting curious details, this book endeavors to generalise and to draw philosophical and sociological conclusions. Contributors vary from the learned Dr Laurie Gluckman, husband of the editor, to upper form schoolgirl Juliet Moses who writes creditably of the "Background of Jewish Migration to Auckland", and the American wife of Auckland's current reform Rabbi, Mindy Rosenthal, who wrote the forty-four year history of Temple Beth Shalom, and to Rabbi Edward Rosenthal himself, who wrote a fascinating account of a Jewish funeral in Hamilton where the surviving family of the deceased were all Maoris. Such contributions tell us far more about the realities of being a Jew in Aetearoa, the land all the long white cloud, than the scrappy curiosities dredged up by Odeda Rosenthal.

But some curious facts also emerge in this book. A refugee doctor, ministering freely to Maoris, had a race horse named in her honour, so that the headline "Dr Monk wins again" sometimes adorned an Auckland newspaper. Or the fact that during World War II a New Zealand Jewish serviceman of British birth was approached by a superior officer at the New Zealand Divisional Headquarters in

Cairo and asked to pretend to desert from the New Zealand forces and go to Palestine where he had already spent convalescent leave at *Moshav Nabalal* after being wounded in the Western Desert. The assignment was to spy on Jews and Arabs acquiring arms for the coming independence struggle and also on the Australian soldiers suspected of selling arms to them. The Jewish serviceman declined the assignment.

Two overwhelming impressions are subsumed in the text: first, the opportunities for personal development and for prosperity as the result of hard work afforded to Jews in New Zealand; and second, the Anglo-centric conformity of New Zealand society, its paranoia about foreigners in general and Jews in particular, and the discrimination and harassment to which Jewish refugees were submitted during the war, even to having to sell farms on which they had succeeded in settling. There were also proposals to divest refugees of businesses they had founded in favour of returning servicemen. It makes Australian attitudes to pre-war refugees seem generous and open-hearted by comparison.

Neither book has an index, an item which would have been a most welcome addition to each. Between them these two books give us a broad and occasionally humorous view of New Zealand Jewry.

Sophie Caplan

A GLOBAL ANTHOLOGY OF JEWISH WOMEN WRITERS

by Roberta & Robert Kalechofsky, ed.

Marble Head, Mass: Publication by Micah Publications 1990; 426pgs

"A global anthology of Jewish women writers? What next: an integralactic anthology?" quipped a Jewish male colleague. The quip illustrates the fact that collections such as these serve a dual purpose: to bring together Jewish women's responses to modernity and to legitimise their views.

Editor Roberta Kalechofsky's ambitious project to record the writings of Jewish women from four continents succeeds precisely because it is through women's eyes that the struggles for acceptance, emancipation and equality are recorded. While some write on Jewish themes, all write as Jews, in languages which themselves bear witness to the history of the peoples of the Diaspora.

The dominant theme echoing through the stories is the experience of being "other" as both female and Jew in societies coming to terms with the female and minority presence, nowhere more powerfully than in the compelling piece by Bat Ye'pr on the *Dhimmi*. Indigenous non-Arabs who came under Muslim domination throughout the centuries, they included Jews, Christians and Zorcastrians (Persians). Ye'or chronicles the myriad forms of their oppression: the obligation to live apart in houses lower than those of their "protectors"; to practise their religion in secret; to bury their dead in haste; to wear clothes of assigned form and cut, the better to set them apart from others, lest one of the ruling class unknowingly associate with them in courteous or respectful fashion. *The Dhimmi* places the disputes surrounding the creation of the State of Israel in stark, cross-cultural relief.

The theme of outsider is further explored in Anazia Yezerska's *Bread Rivers*, the

now familiar journey of a young immigrant woman from the lower East Side of New York to a college town where she finds the "real Americans", clean and beautiful in their "creaseless clothes", polite in their rejection of her intrusion into their world. This writer's unwillingness to glamorise a painful reality is a welcome relief from the popular novels in the same genre, extending as far as scenes in which the gaucho Sara, wearing her only dress and smelling of the herrings that are her staple diet, bursts into a lecturer's office demanding a refund, because "I pay to learn, not to fail." The reader cringes, at the same time moving in the hands of a skilled writer through and beyond the stereotype prayed.

In *Blood Plague* South African born Shirley Eskapa explores via a tender love story the breach of two laws: one, unwritten, that Jew should love/marry Jew; the other, outrageous, that lovers cross racial boundaries are "lawless." violators of a social imperative to maintain race purity. The reviewer wanted to read on ...

The anthology is, however, strangely and uncomfortably constructed, perhaps its greatest failing. Information about contributors is scattered; the contents are divided into five subtitled sections, although the reason for including certain pieces under one of the other is often unclear. Strangely out of place in the anthology are the two offerings Australian readers are most likely to turn to, that of the editor herself and of Nancy Keesing, any one of whose short stories from *Shalom* would have sat more appropriately in this collection than the odd selection of her otherwise excellent linguistic observations from *Lily on a Dustbin*.

An unexpected pleasure – even a strange kind of comfort – emerges from the works of women writing about the Holocaust and Soviet gulags, the kind of elation experienced by those who love the poetry of Ginzberg. It is the dawning of a reluctant sense among the survivors that theirs is the light unto the world, the responsibility to shout from the rooftops that life holds joy and is infinitely precious, that hate has no place and the spirit a life of its own.

Shirley Eskapa must have the last word, however. In a luminous passage from *Blood Fugue*, Indra, Ceza's Indian lover, presents her with a sari, to enable her to go undetected in his neighbourhood. "And she felt her walk change – touched by the skin-silk her legs seemed to take on the flexibility of arms..."

To wrap oneself in the other's "skin-silk" is the dangerous, yet essential alternative to maintaining instincts like those of Ceza's family, "shaped by a thorough understanding of the value of ignorance."

Contributors to this anthology have rejected the temptation to retreat into a state of "not knowing" and instead confront the dilemmas of being a Jew in the modern world in all its ambivalence.

Joanna Kalowski

PRESIDENT'S REPORT

Since assuming the mantle of the presidency of the Society in December, 1989 my committee and I have been proud to watch the Society expand. In conjunction with the Society's Annual General Meeting on 6 December 1989, the Society presented an exhibition styled "Jewish Worship - Australian Style - Some unusual Synagogues" in the A.M. Rosenblum Jewish Museum within the Great Syna-

gogue Sydney. The exhibition was opened by the Hon. Sir Asher Joel, K.B.E., A.O.

During the course of 1990 membership has increased. We had a number of public meetings which included addresses by Mr Jack Epstein in respect of Jewish Veterans in World Wars 1 and II, by his Worship Alderman Syd Friedlander, the Mayor of Lane Cove, highlighting the role of Jewish service in local government. Dr Naomi Gale spoke to our members in September on the Sephardi Jewish community; her paper is included in this journal. Our immediate past president, Rabbi Raymond Apple, A.M. addressed the Annual General Meeting on the 30 November 1990 on "Monash and Isaacs, the Jewish Connection".

During 1990 the Society created Morris Forbes as the first Fellow of the Australian Jewish Historical Society Inc. Morris Forbes was the President of the Society and editor of this *Journal*. Over many years he provided devoted service for and on behalf of the Society. Also, on behalf of the Society I would like to take this opportunity to thank our past president Rabbi Raymond Apple for his guidance to the Society and his dedication to Australian Jewish history. Of course when speaking of dedication to Australian Jewish history one cannot go past the work of our previous Honorary Secretary Mrs Louise Rosenberg. Her service to the Society and to research of Australian Jewish history is exemplary. Louise as the Society's Honorary Historian is providing invaluable work for the Society and attending to specific research requests.

I would also like to take this opportunity to bring to the attention of our members two events relating to current Committee members. Congratulations to our Vice President and Editor of this *Journal* Dr. Suzanne Rutland on graduating Doctor of Philosophy from the University of Sydney. Congratulations are also to be bestowed upon our Honorary Treasurer Miriam Solomon and her husband David on the ordination to the Rabbinate of their son Mark at Jews College, London in March, 1991.

My committee is devoted to the task of maintaining the Society's role in the furtherance of Australian Jewish History. I commend to you this Edition of the *Journal*.

Dennis Bluth
President, May 1991

OBITUARY

DUDLEY DAVID DAVIS

The life and background of Dudley David Davis, who died on 12 August 1990, has all the elements that go to the making of an enduring legend. This, from a family which abounds in colourful incidents from the time his ancestor, Hyam 'Footman' Nathan, brought his family from Holland to England in the mid-eighteenth century. Hyam started a business in London which made and sold theatrical costumes. One day, in 1790, as Hyam stood outside his premises, King George III drove past in his royal carriage. Something made the horses shy and they bolted. Hyam dashed forward and caught the horses, bringing them to a halt outside his shop. The shaken King asked him to name his reward for this act of bravery. After some thought, Hyam asked that he might supply the costumes and

livery for the Royal Household. His request was granted, and very soon the business bore the name 'The House of Nathan — By Royal Appointment'. Hyam became known as Hyam 'Footman' Nathan. Shortly after this, Hyam's kinsman, Joseph Joseph, who was married to Amelia ('Minkey') Nathan, also came to England from Holland. It was Joseph and 'Minkey' Joseph's son, Moses Joseph, who played a prominent part in Australian Jewish history. He came to Australia in 1826 as a convict and soon after receiving his ticket-of-leave, he sent for his cousin, Rosetta Nathan, to join him. She arrived in January 1832 and they were married on 1 February 1832 by P.J. Cohen. From then on, Moses Joseph prospered. It was said of him that he 'collected land as another would collect stamps'. He was a jeweller and a gold buyer, and later opened a tobacconist shop. He saved enough money to buy property in Sydney, Auckland, Wellington and Melbourne. Within 20 years he owned 108,256 acres of country property at Bombala in Southern New South Wales, together with his father, Joseph Joseph, who had come to Australia as a free settler after he learned of the way his son was prospering. Moses Joseph also had large holdings at Maharatta, where he and his family made their home base. Moses and Rosetta Joseph's children were Caroline (born 1833), Charlotte (1836), Marianne (1843), Arthur Israel (1845), Jerrald and Sarah, all of whom were born in Australia. After Moses and Rosetta Joseph returned to England to live in 1849, there were three more children born to them. The youngest was David. But it was through their second son, Arthur Israel, that Dudley, and his two brothers, Arthur and Winston, were descended.

Dudley David Davis was born on 20 May 1908 in Palmerston North, New Zealand, the second son of Reginald and Rosetta (nee Joseph) Davis. It was through his mother, Rosetta, that Dudley was descended from Moses and Rosetta Joseph. There was also a blood line through his mother's side. Dudley was educated first at private schools and later at a public school, and then at Palmerston North Boys' High School. His mother died when he was fifteen years old and his father re-married when he was seventeen.

Dudley left school to become a bank clerk, then he went into the insurance business. He was unsettled and unhappy and left New Zealand to live in Melbourne. He loved music and had a fine voice, and he studied singing in Melbourne. During the Second World War, he joined the Royal Australian Air Force. After the war, he resumed his musical studies and re-joined the A.M.P. Society. In 1950 he was sent to Birmingham in England to open a branch there. And it was in England that he met Margaret Robertson, also originally from Melbourne. They were married in Birmingham in 1953, returning soon afterwards to Melbourne where they opened a small jewellery and gift shop in Elsternwick.

Soon after their return to Australia, Dudley became aware of the work of the Australian Jewish Historical Society and he took out membership about 1965. He was beginning to learn that it is through history that we determine who we are — that is if we are interested in self-identity.

Dudley Davis realised the process which was taking place within his thinking and he spoke of it often, writing to members of his family about his thinking and his emotions. He found his lifestyle changing. It began to gain momentum. Whilst he was researching and discovering his roots, and the place his ancestors had played in the history of the Jewish communities of both Australia and New Zealand during

their pioneering periods, he learned something which was to greatly influence the rest of his life. When a young Jew somehow comes to lose — or mislay — his identity, and then in middle age, find himself gradually coming to the realisation of what he has lost, he will often over-compensate, trying to regain his place in the family history. Dudley began meticulously researching his family tree. If the above appears to be overly emphasising the genealogical background of Dudley Davis, it is necessary to understand that it was much of this which contributed to his own life; it helped make him what he was.

In the 1960s, a firm of London solicitors contacted the Australian Jewish Historical Society with a request that they assist in locating the descendents of Moses and Rosetta Joseph, as they would be beneficiaries of 'a significant amount of money being held in Chancery for over 70 years'. It was possible, then, to locate ten direct descendents, among whom were four members of this Society, Dudley and Winston Davis (their older brother, Arthur Israel had died several years previously), Lawrence Nathan of Auckland, and Howard Nathan of Melbourne.

In 1974 Dudley and Margaret Davis decided to go to New Zealand to live. Upon their arrival, Dudley said 'I never thought I'd come back here to live — where my roots are!' In Auckland he and Lawrence Nathan worked together on their family history and both men became valued New Zealand representatives of the Australian Jewish Historical Society. Nothing was ever too much for either of them; they always gave the impression that they welcomed the opportunity to serve the Society and its members, frequently turning up more than was asked of them, thus starting new strands of research. Both men worked on their own family research, co-operating with each other as they recorded different aspects of the family branches.

Dudley Davis spent most of his time researching and writing up the stories of the various families which touched on this main 'stem' until he developed health problems which set him back considerably. In August 1975 he underwent three major operations in the Auckland hospital which resulted in his losing a leg above the knee. He explained later that he wished to live to be able to complete the three books that he was working on. When he was leaving hospital, the surgeon and one of the nurses told his wife they had not expected to see him leave there alive. One of them observed that 'he must have a tremendous will to live'.

At that time he had been working simultaneously on *The Joseph Label*, *The Davis Story* and *The Other Side of the Record*. The last included genealogical and biographical data, and numerous photographs relating to the Nathan, Joseph, Moses, Cohen, Beddington and Benjamin families, and countless other lines. In 1978 he completed the three works, referring to *The Other Side of the Record* as his magnum opus because it tied in the genealogical lines of over ten generations on three continents and throughout a period of 400 years. He gave copies of these works to the Australian Jewish Historical Society Library. The author's comments to *The Davis Story* notes that 'some 3,000 names are involved... It is hoped that this explanation sets the complete picture in its true form and will thus enable readers to sort out the facts and consolidate their own niche in this truly extraordinary family maize of cross-marriages and intermingled relationships'. Many copies were given away, mostly to kinsfolk; others were sold at \$20 each to defray some of the massive costs of printing and publishing.

All of this work — the three books and many family trees — gave substance to

Dudley's life for the next 15 years. All his writings and research were an attempt to assure himself that he had never lost affinity with his roots. After his death his wife, Margaret, wrote to friends "I am sure that the enormous task of Dudley's genealogical research was his special mission for his life". A few days before his death, he told a close friend that in his absorption with tracing the family generations back so far he felt 'as though I was immersed in the gathering of all the Jewish peoples of all the tribes right back to their beginning'.

The Foreword to one of his books notes that 'It is an individual instinct of the Jew... to make a personal contribution towards the preservation of Israel and the retention of its identity; this is what is known as Jewish Unity.' The way in which Dudley Davis elects to do this is in the field of historical research in general and in particular the research and documentation of his own family. He has a profound conviction of a special function which lies at the root of the will of any people which must retain its separate survival... 'It is work such as this which, with serious intent, advances the cause of Australian Jewish History'.

To conclude: what kind of a man was Dudley Davis in himself? He was of a sensitive, loving, artistic nature, always wanting to make people happy. He was musical, with a fine baritone voice, but sometimes found himself inhibited and self-conscious about performing in public. He was unfailingly dapper in appearance and courteous of manner. His last years were spent in an electric wheel-chair, but he never once lost his morale nor his optimism that his Jewish God had meant him to make a special contribution to his own people. Undoubtedly, he gave a touch of class to everything he did or said. He visited Sydney two or three times during the last 25 years. Once he insisted on visiting the grave of his ancestor, Joseph Joseph, at Rookwood and other members of his family who had lived and died in Sydney.

After his death, Dudley Davis's widow, Margaret, in accordance with his wishes, sent the last Will and Testament and the many Codicils of Moses Joseph to the Australian Jewish Historical Society for its records. This is a valuable document for many reasons, not the least being that it includes details of the vast Australian properties owned by Moses Joseph at the time of his death in England in 1889. So this is the story of one, Dudley David Davis, and such are the things from which legends are made.

As a postscript to the story, it is worth recording that shortly after Dudley Davis's death a young girl named Tracey West visited Sydney from England. She was a kinswoman of his and she brought with her details of how the portraits of Moses and Rosetta Joseph came into the possession of the Great Synagogue. It is all part of an amazing story about a family which has had connections with Australia for almost 170 years. The youngest child of Moses and Rosetta, David Joseph, had an only son named Maitland Joseph, who never married. In 1956 he was visiting an art gallery in London where he saw the two portraits of his grandparents, Moses and Rosetta Joseph. He arranged to purchase them and to have them sent to Sydney to the Great Synagogue where they remain today as part of the Synagogue's collection of priceless treasures. They represent part of this community's history, as Moses Joseph, who came here as a convict aged 23 years, became the first president of the York Street Synagogue when it opened in March 1844.

Louise Rosenberg

CORRESPONDENCE

Letter from Emeritus Professor Ron Taft, Ph.D.,
formerly Professor of Social Psychology, Monash University.

Dear Mr Forbes,

The article (Vol X Part 8) by Dr Anna Frenkel on Soviet Jewry and your editorial addendum call for some comment in view of the reference in it to my family. I do not wish to challenge Frenkel's central thesis that Soviet immigrants have a problem arising from the ambiguity of their position as 'Russian Jews', a problem that has roots which go back to the position of the Jews in Tsarist times. I would, however, join you in questioning, as you do in your editor's note, whether the experience of nineteenth century Russian-oriented Jewish-identified *Maskilim* such as Frenkel's ancestors — and my own — can be taken as a paradigm for the retention of Jewish identity by the mass of Jews during the 70 years of Soviet Communism.

Frenkel illustrates her arguments about Soviet immigrants by contrasting their Jewish identity with that of two Australian families, the Silberts in Perth and my own family in Melbourne. She states that the Taft family 'showed little or no concern for the Jewish education of their children' and that they passed on an 'intimate culture' through the 'unconscious transmission' of Jewish ethnicity to their children. I find it difficult to reconcile that description with the facts of my home life as I remember them. The transmission of Judaism was quite conscious on the part of my parents and it was effected in the traditional way through practices at home, tuition at the St Kilda Hebrew School, attendance at religious services and formal tutoring for the Intermediate Hebrew examination. We were even taken regularly on a tour of our friends' *succoth* even though we never had one of our own. Albeit there was no pressure at home for the observance of Orthodox discipline but the instruction in the traditional requirements was purposeful. We were also encouraged to be 'a Jew' as well as 'a man' outside of the home. My impression, for whatever the value of such subjectivity may be, is that other Jewish families that I know among these pre-1914 immigrants from Russia held similar attitudes to our own. This does suggest that Frenkel is correct in her assumption that there was something characteristic about the outlook of the Jews who immigrated from Russia to Australia before the Revolution, but I have difficulty with her description of how they transmitted a Jewish consciousness to their children.

Since your publication is a source of historical record, I should also take this opportunity to correct a few minor errors in the account of the Tafts. First, the family came to Melbourne from the beginning and have not had a connection with Sydney (p.724). My mother's family name was Mushatsky (not Mushatovsky). My estimates of the numbers in Australia of Russian Jews in 1906, which were based on Price's figures, referred to 100 Jews from the Ukraine, not the whole of Russia, and the figure of 300 Russians referred only to those who arrived in Australia in a five year period (p. 726). 'Chain migration' from Russia to Australia was not originated by my father but by far pre-dated him, e.g. the Slutzkin family.

Despite the reservations that I have expressed here, Frenkel's thesis is a most interesting one raising, as it does, the intriguing topic of the differences between the

Russian *Maskil* families who stayed in the Soviet Union for three generations versus those who spent that period in Australia.

Letter from Mr Eric Silbert, A.M., D.F.C., J.P., M.C. (Poland),
to the Editor, AJHS Journal

Dear Sir,

I wish to make a strong protest to the number of incorrect comments and assumptions made by Anna Frenkel L.L.B., Ph. D., in her article 'Problems of Integration of Soviet Jewish Emigrants in Australia', Vol X Part 8, 1990. As this is a contribution in an historical journal if not corrected this distortion of the truth will be recorded as fact.

The following examples are some of the glaring mistakes made by the author who bears the qualifications of a trained historian and lawyer. Not once did she contact us to verify her statements or to show common courtesy when making controversial or incorrect statements about my family. As this paper is recorded and will be read in the future, I require the following facts corrected: She misquoted from my book, *Dinkum Mishpochah*:

1. Silberts 'originally of Western Australia;. They are still, and have been continually since 1887.
2. Barney, Fanny 'orphaned at an early age'. Not so, *Dinkum Mishpochah* makes reference to my grandfather 'Tutti' and has a full page picture.
3. 'He met Minnie Masel through the Fremantle Synagogue. They were married there...' To my knowledge there were no weddings in the Fremantle Schul and as a young woman my mother lived and was married in Perth.
4. 'Barney liked Yiddish, feeling no need to pursue it'. My father continued all his life to speak Yiddish to my mother and family. *Dinkum Mishpochah* has much to say about this, compete with a glossary of some of his favourite terms. He sang me Yiddish songs which I have, in turn, repeated to my children and grandchildren.
5. 'He (Eric) attended Christian Brothers' College as one of a few non Catholic boys'. However, in the 1930s the Jewish families who wished to send their sons to private schools sent their boys to 'The Brothers' as their teaching was of such a high standard, eg: Brecklers, Masels, Tates.
6. 'Eric chose a very un Jewish career'. Into his father's *Shmutah* business. This isn't Jewish?
7. Royal Australian Air Force — not R.A.F.
8. Menzies Forest. I was the (W.A.) Chairman of the Anzac Forest in Israel, NOT Menzies as quoted. This was covered extensively with photographs in my book.
9. Some of these corrections may seem minor but they add up to a sum total of careless and insufficient research. However, our major complaint is directed to the final claim, which caused hurt and distress to our family. Frenkel's final paragraph:

'We know that the forebears of both families showed little or no concern for the Jewish education of their children. They fostered their 'un Jewishness' at their formative years...'

Actually

- a. In the 1930s my brother and I were regularly taken to *shule* and Hebrew School in Perth from Fremantle. This exercise required a great deal of effort, time and expense by my parents. For my weekly *bar-mitzvah* training I walked, travelled by train, caught a tram and then walked to Rabbi Freedman's home, repeating this to get home: time taken six hours.
- b. Our son was *bar-mitzvah* et al and became President of the Jewish Students at the University of Western Australia.
- c. Our three daughters had individual *bat-mitzvahs*, and one became the first Jewish girl in W.A. to gain a Religion and Life Badge (Jewish).
- d. Two daughters represented Australia at Maccabi in Israel (Athletics and Swimming).
- e. The three daughters attended Methodist Ladies College and during this time each year we took Jewish Education to the College. All the Year 10 students came to discussion group then a *Shabbat* evening service at Temple David initiated by the Silberts.
- f. One of our daughters has served for some years on the Temple David Board of Management, a son-in-law was President. She also organised both in the Temple and for the Jewish community seminars on Jewish topics.
- g. This daughter was founder (and current convenor) of the Temple David Kindergarten.
- h. Last year our eldest daughter worked as co-convenor with Rabbi Freilich's wife to set up the inaugural Jewish Womens' Dinner in Perth.
- i. I became a Member of the Order of Australia for contributions to the wider community but an obvious input was from my high profile as a Jewish leader.

Having printed Frenkel's misleading information in an historical journal I request this letter to be printed to refute the damage that has been done. We are looking forward with pride to our eldest granddaughter's *bat-mitzvah* early next year as the fifth generation of that Russian family still committed to our Religion. This gives the lie to the charge of encouraging our children and grandchildren away from Judaism.

Letter from Mr Mark Braham to Professor W.D. Rubinstein

Dear Professor Rubinstein,

In congratulating you, as editor, on the current issue of the Australian Jewish Historical Society Journal which contains many excellent articles, I would draw your attention to some errors which seem to have crept into your review of *The Ethnic Press in Australia and Religion and Ethnic Identity: An Australian Study* (2 vols).

Your review of these three volumes, containing 44 essays by different authors, contains 1427 words. It is highly flattering therefore that you have devoted no less than 1155 of those words to my modest chapter on 'The Jewish Press in Australia'. Moreover, of the 272 words left for the other 43 essays you have used 144 of those to review the chapter by Dr Klarberg for the purpose, it would seem, of contrasting his objectivity with my 'tendentiousness'.

In an otherwise highly critical review of my chapter you make a curious statement: 'Braham is a highly intelligent man and an excellent writer who, almost always gets the better of his opponents in debate'. I am astonished that a senior

and not undistinguished academic could make this comment in an otherwise scathing review, particularly an historian who must surely be aware that in the long term it is truth that wins debates, not mere intelligence. However, I gather from your statement that you are not unacquainted with my writing, which makes it all the more strange that you seem to have so misunderstood both my chapter and my views on Zionism and Judaism.

You refer to my publication, *The Jewish Commentary*, currently not being published, and which, you say, 'failed through lack of interest' and was 'a quarterly magazine dedicated to presenting Braham's views on Jewish life'. For your information, the journal always aroused great interest among the small percentage of our community who sought authentic Torah viewpoints on contemporary and historical issues. I have a whole file of appreciative letters from such. In a financially viable sense such a journal cannot, and never could, succeed in a small community like Australia. It is not being published for the simple reason that I found it too much of a workload and financial burden since I became involved with other communal work. None should be more aware than academics like yourself that publications catering for an intellectual elite are rarely commercially viable. Even in the UK we have just seen the collapse of those two internationally known and appreciated publications, *The Listener* and *Encounter*. Moreover, as you must be aware, a campaign to suppress *The Jewish Commentary* was conducted by certain members of the community. A remarkable thing about your review is that you, a Jewish historian, seem to have missed the point about Jewish history completely. Jews have always been a minority group, presenting an unpopular viewpoint, even within their own collective, and never more so than during this century. It is significant to note that an objective gentile historian like Paul Johnson in his *A History of the Jews* writes: "The group was comparatively small and to the secular mind extreme. But the whole history of the Jews suggests that rigorous minorities tend to become triumphant majorities." (p 549) Though he is referring to *Naturei Karta* this statement could apply equally to any of the numerous 'ultra-orthodox' groups whose spokesmen and leading writers were regularly published in *The Jewish Commentary*.

You are similarly off the track when you refer to the publication as being a vehicle for 'Braham's views'. I make so bold as to suggest there is no publication in the world that has so consistently presented the whole spectrum of Jewish thought that comes within the authentic Torah tradition. I published articles from 'Middle-of-the-Road' and Modern Orthodox; *Lubavitch*, *Naturei Karta* and *Satmar*; *Mizrachi*, *Revisionsit* and *Kach* Zionists. Nor was there any particular bias: inclusion depended on quality and availability. Nor were exclusions 'Braham's views'; the policy was that prescribed by contemporary Torah Sages and followed by Torah publications throughout the world. In consequence, I of course rejected contributions from spokesmen for breakaway movements: Reform, Liberal, Conservative, etc. I do not believe in the spurious 'unity' policy adopted by most communal bodies. "Peace at any price" is an immoral doctrine. "There are interests by the sacrificing of which peace is too dearly bought. One should never be at peace to the shame of his own soul, to the violation of his integrity, or of his allegiance to God." (Rev. Dr. Abraham Cohen)

My rabbi and mentor for many years, Rabbi T. Silberman (hardly an 'ultra-Orthodox' rabbi) taught his congregation that while all Jews can do *teshuvah* for their one

sins they cannot do *teshuvah* for the sins they cause others to make. Hence, to lend status and credibility to the misleaders of the breakaway movements is to become an accessory to the unpardonable sin of leading Jews into sin; it is to put a 'stumbling block before the blind'.

You make the absurd statement that I 'did not have a single ally or supporter in Australia', that *The Jewish Commentary* ... 'did not contain a single article by any Australian Jew'. In fact I published articles by Rabbi Raymond Apple and the late Rabbi Dr Lionel Singer *ztl*, both 'Middle-of-the-Road' Australian rabbis, and have on file two flatteringly enthusiastic letters from the rabbis of Australia's largest mainstream synagogues encouraging me to continue the publication of *The Jewish Commentary*. It is true that I received little or no public encouragement because the secular and pseudo-religious establishment did its best to put me out of business and suppress the views I published in the journal, but throughout the years of publication I consistently received private letters and messages encouraging me to continue. You of course are only too well aware of what I was up against as members of your editorial committee were prominent in an undercover campaign to have me silenced, and you refer in your review to the closure of the *Australian Jewish Herald* in 1968, an indirect result of an attempt by the Victorian Jewish Board of Deputies to have me silenced. Nothing much has changed since 1968: I find it impossible to get space in the Australian Jewish Press to get across the authentic Jewish viewpoint on a variety of subjects ranging from homosexuality to the political ideas of the late Rabbi Meir Kahane *ztl*.

The fact is that I never sought local contributions because I was always embarrassed by the riches of reprints available to me from leading overseas publications. As the local franchisee for the USA's *The Jewish Press* and *The Jewish Observer*, also the UK's *Jewish Tribune*, also with access to some Israeli publications, I did not need local contributions. Moreover, I wanted to republish little known (often suppressed) articles from the pens of contemporary and near-contemporary greats such as Chofets Chaim, Rabbi Elchonon Wasserman, Emile Marmorstein, Rabbi Avigdor Miller, Rabbi Nisson Wolpin, Reb Moshe Shonfeld, Rebbetzen Esther Jungreis, Yaakov Jacobs, Yisroel Spiegel, Rabbi Moshe Young, Rabbi Arye Forta... It is highly significant that you refer to such writers as 'foreign sources' because the Torah view really is foreign to you. This is why you obviously cannot understand my statement, which you quote with scorn, that 'there is an unbridgeable gulf separating Judaism from secular and democratic Zionism'. Rabbi Kahane explains this very clearly in his books and many articles published in *The Jewish Commentary*. This statement shatters the very foundations of the ideology and lifestyles of the liberal Jewish establishment, hence the extraordinary measures taken to silence Kahane, both in Israel and the USA, during his lifetime; hence your reaction to my chapter, and my experiences in the Australian community over the years.

Other 'foreign sources' I published included such names as Rabbi David Hollander, Rabbi Dr Samuel Turk, Professors Paul Eidelberg, Howard Adelson and Sol Model, and Chief Rabbi Lord Jakobovits. The list is by no means exhaustive, but what you describe as 'a strange pot-purri of reprints from foreign sources' in fact comprises, in the eyes of an educated world Jewish readership, and a discriminating minority of our community in Australia, a unique collection of writings, certainly never before published in Australia, and unlikely to be published again until *The*

Jewish Commentary resumes publication.

You refer to Rabbi Meir Kahane *zt'l* as 'the notorious Israeli racist', and say that I am 'increasingly drawn to the Kahane position'; yet in the previous paragraph you write, 'his (Braham's) views are apparently similar to *Naturei Karta*', and gloss over this absurd contradiction. Certainly I was sympathetic to the *Naturei Karta* viewpoint in the 1960s, and while my views have changed I have never lost my admiration for that tiny, powerless but determined group. They hold the view that is legitimate within the framework of Torah and their courage and integrity in face of vilification and persecution from their own kith and kin is an example of Jewish steadfastness. Even Ben Gurion recognised this when he wrote an article 'Nobless Oblige' in *Diglenu* (December 1954) quoted by Emile Marmorstein, *Heaven at Bay*, saying 'Everyone who respects an upright and sincere belief of the heart cannot help respecting this attitude of the Guardians of the City (*Naturei Karta*). Certainly they cannot be accused of adapting their beliefs to suit their lifestyles or further their careers, a not uncommon strategy observable in the Jewish leadership of our time. That said, since the 1960s I have been increasingly impressed by the dedication and selflessness of another 'ultra-orthodox' group, the *Lubavitch*; their positive approach to Jewish life should give us all cause to examine our lifestyle and beliefs.

It is true that in recent years I have indeed been drawn to the Kahane position because, in political terms, only Rabbi Kahane made sense. There is logic and legitimacy within the Torah framework for every position from, on the one hand, *Naturei Karta*, on the other Kahane. The only position which makes no sense, either within the framework of Torah or political science, is that of secular and democratic Zionism. Because Rabbi Kahane exposed this so devastatingly he was denied a platform. He committed the ultimate sin in the eyes of the liberal establishment: he shattered their illusions. You, therefore, in the role of a leader of the liberal establishment were bound to slander the departed rabbi and call him a 'notorious Israeli racist', despite all the evidence in his prolific writings that here was not a grain of racism in his ideology, simply a recognition of the dangers of Israel's Arab minority to the people of Israel and the existence of the state. Nothing has so endorsed Kahane's views as the behaviour of the Israeli Palestinians during the Gulf War.

You say: 'Braham believes that Judaism is solely a religion... and that Zionism, Reform or Conservative Judaism, secularism, etc., are heresies and their believers and practitioners are not Jews in any real sense'. This is not correct because I clearly define 'real Jews' whose status is established either at birth or *halachic* conversion, not by beliefs or practices. Your use of the term 'Zionism' without qualification is misleading.

You say that I am a 'regular columnist for B.A. Santamaria's *News-Weekly*'. This is not the case. *News-Weekly* originally approached me to do occasional book reviews; I have also written three articles for them. In my book reviews, which have so far always had a Jewish theme, I have used the opportunity to promote a strongly pro-Israel line. Where possible, I have also used the publication as a vehicle for getting across to a gentile reading public the authentic Torah viewpoint on moral and social issues. In this way I have tried, and to some extent succeeded, in countering the terrible harm done to Torah and the Jewish people by spokesmen for the various breakaway movements, and secularists, who have so confused the

general public about what Judaism and Jews actually stand for. It is not out of place for me to say here that despite the fact that *News-Weekly* is of course a strongly right-wing Catholic publication I have experienced no difficulty whatsoever in being published and expressing views which must often run counter to the received orthodoxy of many *News-Weekly* readers, not to say the publishers and editorial staff. This is a rare freedom I have not enjoyed with the Australian Jewish Press since the closure of the *Australian Jewish Herald* in 1968.

You refer specifically to my *News-Weekly* article entitled, 'There are more important Criminals to Pursue'. This article was based on the important article on War Crimes trials that appeared in the UK *Jewish Tribune* by Rabbi Oppenheimer, who is Research Fellow at the Research Centre for International Law, University of Cambridge; Associate Editor, *International Law Reports*; Fellow of Glasgow *Kollet*. He views the War Crimes trials as counter-productive. Taking up his theme I suggested we would be better concentrating our efforts and expertise on bringing to trial the war criminals and terrorists who plague us now. On the basis of my article you suggest I would have opposed the Nuremberg trials. As an ex-serviceman, with six years service behind me before you were born, and one who fought the Germans in Europe, your suggestion is insulting. You say that I have 'ridden (my) hobby-horses'. You refer of course to my revulsion at the manner in which the Australian Jewish Press tramples on our sacred practices — *Kasbruth*, *Shabbat*, sexual morality, modesty, *halachic* conversions... As a Jew, and a historian to boot, I should have thought you would have been conscious of the fact that your own forebears — and mine — laid down their lives in defence of our Torah commandments. That you can scoff at their beliefs and practices is further proof, if such were needed, of your detachment from authentic Jewish life.

You say that I would not publish features about Marx, Woody Allen, Freud, Monash, Isaacs... You are wrong. I should certainly publish articles about Marx, Freud and Woody Allen to show what terrible damage such people have done to us, whether through their teachings and beliefs or their lifestyles, sometimes both. It is most important to educate both the Jewish community and the gentiles and tell them what we really stand for. As for Monash and Isaacs; they belong to Australian, not Jewish, history. It is obvious that while you know a great deal about Jews in history like so many arboreal experts you have missed the wood.

Your reference to the book's dedication may lead some readers to connect me with its sentiments. In fact, in inserting this dedication the editors acted without reference to myself, or, to my knowledge, any other contributor. I wrote immediately to Dr Ata expressing my dismay at being in any way associated with so dishonest and misleading a dedication; I had been tricked. I would concede, however, that the editors would have been influenced in their choice of myself as a contributor by the views I am known to hold about secular Zionism and its effect on Jewish communities of the diaspora, possibly about my relationship with the Australian Jewish press and my known contempt for their standards. All this is on the public record through my editorials in *The Jewish Commentary*. The irony is of course that in order to expose the un-Jewish nature of the Australian Jewish press one is forced to publish outside the community; on the other hand, in order to expose the fearful dishonesty of Arab propaganda, such as the dedication to which you refer, one goes to a Jewish publication.

Publication of this letter in your next issue is requested and would be appreciated.

Letter from The Honourable Mr Justice William Kaye to Professor W.D. Rubinstein

Dear Professor,

My attention has been drawn to your review, published in the Society's *Journal* Vol XI 1990 Part I, of Professor H.M. Sachar's *Diaspora*.

On reading your review, it became apparent that much of your criticism of Professor Sachar's section concerning Australian Jewry was based upon statements of fact made by the author which you allege to be wrong, and you gave particulars of some of those alleged incorrect facts. Including among those erroneous facts is a statement which you allege the author attributed to me. As it is now five years or thereabouts since I read Professor Sachar's publication, it came as a disturbing surprise to read the following passage in your review:

'Virtually all' post-War Melbourne Jews according to Kaye 'have moved, or plan to move, to the suburbs of Prahran and Moorabbin' (page 177).

I have searched without success for any such statement on page 177 of the author's book; but I found on page 174 the following reference by Professor Sachar to post-war Jewish immigrants:

Most are business men, of course, while their children typically have been drawn to the professions. Virtually all of them have moved, or plan to move, to the suburbs of Prahran and Moorabbin in Melbourne; and of Randwick, Woollahra, Waverley and North Sydney in Sydney.

It is clear that Professor Sachar did not attribute that statement of fact to me or identified me in any way with it. Moreover, there is no reference to me by name or otherwise on pages 174 and 175 of the book. Above all I am quite sure that I never made any statement to like effect to the author or to any other person.

You further state, 'For reasons that are unclear he has used the example of the Komesarov family as typical of 20th century Jewish immigrants here'. The 'Komesarov family' to which you refer are the matters relating to my late father and my late brothers and to me, noted by the author. Those matters concerning my family are introduced by the following sentence:

Between the 1880s and World War I, an influx of Eastern European immigrants more than doubled the Jewish population. (page 170)

It is significant in this connection that Professor Sachar then described Sir John Monash's parents as 'Viennese immigrants of Polish descent', followed by a brief account of the most eminent Australian's distinguished career and contributions to the nation, (page 170). The author described Sir Isaac Issac as 'the son of Polish immigrants', (page 172), and of Sir Zelman Cowen he wrote that Sir Zelman was 'a distinguished legal scholar and Vice-Chancellor of the University of Queensland,' and 'was appointed Governor-General of Australia thereby becoming the second Jew to hold this office', (page 176). The author did not hold out any one of those eminent Australians or members of my family as typical of 20th century Jewish immigrants. Furthermore, there is nothing in the words of the author from which such an inference could reasonably be drawn or concluded.

It is to be noted that contrary to your implied assertion Dr H.V. Evatt was correct-

ly described by the author as 'Australia's Minister of External Affairs', which was the title of his portfolio in the Chifley Government. It was in 1970 that Mr (later Sir William) McMahon became Australia's first Minister for Foreign Affairs.

Whether the whole emphasis and thrust of Professor Sachar's section on Australian Jewry is wrong and whether your further disparaging remarks about it are well-founded or justified are matters about which informed readers may differ. Nevertheless, I consider it would be a matter of regret if members of the Society and others interested in Jewish communities beyond these shores as well as our own were discouraged, as a result of your criticisms, from reading for themselves Professor Sachar's *Diaspora*.

Norwithstanding your belittling description of Professor Sachar's work as a 'John Gunther-like tour of all significant Diaspora Jewries apart from North America's', other readers might find, as I did, a wealth of information concerning those communities, apart from the Australian community, not readily available elsewhere.

Note from Professor W.D. Rubinstein:

The Editor of the Melbourne issue of the *Journal*, Professor W.D. Rubinstein, wishes to make it clear that in his review of Howard M. Sachar's *Diaspora* (Vol XI, Part 1, November 1990, p.222), due to an unfortunate error in editing the statement (midway on the page), that 'virtually all post-war Melbourne Jews according to Kaye "have moved, or plan to move..." ' should read 'according to Sachar...' We wish to apologise to Mr Justice William Kaye for this unfortunate error.

Further, Mr Justice Kaye believes that the statement made in this review by Professor Rubinstein that 'for reasons that are unclear he [Sachar] has used the example of the Komesarov family as typical of 20th century Jewish immigrants here' to be factually incorrect and derogatory of his family. Professor Rubinstein would like sincerely to apologise to Mr Justice Kaye and his family for any distress caused and to assure them that absolutely no derogatory implication was intended.

In reference to Mr Justice Kaye's letter, printed above, Professor Rubinstein wishes to point out that his criticism of Sachar *vis-a-vis* Dr Evatt was for that author's identification of Evatt as a Liberal rather than a Labor Foreign Minister.

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.

BERGHOUSE FAMILY, Arrived mid 1800's from Germany.

BITTAR FAMILY

COLLISS, David and Catherine arrived 1841 from London.

JOEL, Moss and Adelaide (nee Jacobs) - Descendants.

MOGLER, Samuel born Heilbronn, Nutenberg c.1852 arrived Australia c.1872.

MOSS, Descendants of the four sons of Esther and Moses Moss - Jacob, Louis Beresford, Samuel Benjamin, and Hyam Henry.

NEUHOF, Was this family originally from Alsace or Strasbourg?

SIGAL FAMILY

WAXMAN FAMILY.

WOLFERS, Phillip and Louisa (nee Salzedo) ancestors of same.

LIST OF NEW MEMBERS OF

NEW SOUTH WALES

BRIGGS DR AND MRS H.

DIAMOND MRS E.

DI VEROLI MR S.

EMANUEL SCHOOL (THE)

FABIAN MRS I.

FERRER MR & MRS R.

FINBERG MR & MRS M.

FRENKEL MR R. AND MRS L.

GALE DR Naomi & MR R.

GINGES MR & MRS H.

HARVEY MRS D.

JENSEN MR H. & MRS U.

KLEIN MR Peter

LANG MRS Joan

LAWRENZ MS Janice

LIPPMAN MR H.

LUXFORD MR & MRS R. J.

MELTZ MR & MRS S.

MYERS MS Julia

ROSENCWEIG MR M.

ROUVRAY MRS V.

SCHWARTZBAUM MRS H.

SEGAL MR Abe

SELIG MR D. P.

STERN MRS V.

SYMON MR & MRS J.

SYMONDS DR B. & MRS A.

SYMONDS MR K.

SYMONDS MR R.

THOMAS MR Peter

WAKS MRS Anna

WEGMAN DR E.

WOLF DR F. M.

ACT

HARTSTEIN MRS E.

JESNER MR G. D.

VICTORIA

STAFFORD MRS J. M.

QUEENSLAND

KOMELSAEROFF MR M.

THE AUSTRALIAN JEWISH HISTORICAL SOCIETY

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BENEFACTIONS IN MEMORY OF

ERNEST SAMUAL MARKS, C.B.E.
ADOLPH AND AMELIA ALEXANDER
GERALD AND ISABELLE BENJAMIN
ERNEST R. BARUCH
SIMON JOSEPH GUSS
SIR SAMUEL AND LADY COHEN
HYAM SHOLOM AND KATHLEEN HIMMELFERB
HERMAN AND RACHEL AHRONSON
WILLIAM L. AND GLADYS N. COHEN
ELIAS AND LEBa GREEN
SIR BENJAMIN AND LADY BENJAMIN
ALFRED AND MAY PHILLIPS
FREDERICK DAVID AND ESTHER ZILLAH MICHAELIS
JACOB AND EMMA GLASS
PERCY BRIGHTON COHEN
LIONEL COHEN
PHILIP SCHNEIDEMAN
SYDNEY BENJAMIN GLASS
DAVID JAMES BENJAMIN
JUDAH AND FANNY ELLIS
RABBI LAZARUS MORRIS GOLDMAN
RALPH SYMONDS
JUDAH GREEN
PHILLIP MORRIS AND DORA ELIZABETH HART
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BELLA GREEN
CELIA ROSENBERG
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