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CONTENTS.

THE EARLY JEWISH SETTLERS IN VICTORIA AND THEIR PROBLEMS (PART 1)	335
By Rabbi L. M. Goldman, M.A.	
OBITUARIES	413

Illustrations :

LAYING THE FOUNDATION STONE OF THE MONTEFIORE HOME, 1870	342
THE OLD EAST MELBOURNE SYNAGOGUE	350
D. AND S. BENJAMIN'S STORE, COLLINS STREET	357
THE OLD MELBOURNE SYNAGOGUE, BOURKE STREET	365
THE OLD ST. KILDA SYNAGOGUE	372
CHIEF RABBI SOLOMON HERSHEL	383
THE FIRST MELBOURNE SYNAGOGUE AND ST. PATRICK'S HALL	391
MICHAEL CASHMORE	399



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The Early Jewish Settlers in Victoria and Their Problems

by

RABBI LAZARUS MORRIS GOLDMAN, M.A.

PART 1 — BEFORE SEPARATION

CHAPTER 1

WHY DID THE JEWS COME TO VICTORIA ?

In spite of the reputation which Jewish people have gained over the centuries of being wanderers upon the face of the earth, their instinctive inclination is to remain in close settlements and not to remove from them in large numbers except if special circumstances arise which force them to leave their native habitations. In the face of the devastations of their land and in the face of repeated expulsions, a colony or two of Jews have ever remained in the Land of Israel.¹ The descendants of the original captives whom Nebuchadnezzar carried away to Babylonia still live in Iraq and Iran.² It was not only the Inquisition which compelled Jews on the Iberian Peninsula in the Middle Ages to accept Catholicism. Castille and Aragon were the native countries of the Jews of Spain. They had no desire to leave, and by adopting the pose of Marranos they believed they would escape the cruel decree of expulsion ordained by Ferdinand and Isabella, and at the same time secretly keep their original faith in the land where they were born.³ The liberal political conditions under which the Jews lived in England at the beginning of the nineteenth century⁴ were no encouragement for Jews to leave the British Isles for such a far-flung country as Australia and for a remote colony such as New South Wales, which then took about six months to reach by sailing vessel. Jews in England at the time were mostly observant of their faith, which demanded, among other

requirements, abstention from labour on the Sabbath, adherence to the dietary laws and that they should marry partners of their own denomination, and whilst they might have forgiven themselves for eating non-Kosher food when it was not available, the thought of marriage with any other than a Jewish spouse would have revolted them. In order to maintain their religion, they knew they would have to undergo many hardships. Yet they did migrate. Some compelling pressure must have led them to accept all the risks of the uncomfortable and dangerous journey to the colony which later was to be called Victoria and where, apart from religious problems, they would expect to encounter other tribulations.

CONVICTS

A small number of Jews had no option but to migrate to Australia; they were transported there with thousands of Gentiles by the British Government because of their crimes. A few hardy individuals who were prisoners in Van Diemen's Land, when pardoned or when they had completed their sentence, made their way to Victoria so as to forget their past and to start life anew, for the British Government did not rehabilitate to England. This category included Samuel Henry, a servant of Batman, who years later described himself as a Christianised Jew and asserted that it was he who first cropped and shaved William Buckley, "the wild white man," thereby spoiling a pair of sheep shears and a set of razors, for which he received a bottle of brandy.⁵ Another in this category was Michael Solomon, the first Jew to marry in Van Diemen's Land and the first to divorce his wife in accordance with Jewish law.⁶ He settled at Moode Yalla, Yarra Yarra, as a farmer.⁷ Samuel Hyams could not settle down at all. His predilection for alcohol gained for him the soubriquet of Tetotum,⁸ and when he involved himself in trouble with the authorities for selling "sly grog" and keeping a "bad house,"⁹ he thought it wiser to leave Port Phillip and return voluntarily to Van Diemen's Land.¹⁰

MIGRANTS FROM SYDNEY

Most of the first handful of Jews to arrive in Port Phillip sailed from Sydney.¹¹ They were originally English Jews from London, who as sons of large families saw no prospects or future by remaining in the poverty-stricken conditions then existing in the East End of the capital city, the Jewish quarter. The Napoleonic wars had still

left their economic scars and, together with the industrial revolution then taking place, it had created a situation where wages were miserably low, food dear and unemployment rife.¹² It affected the Jewish shopkeepers seriously. The poverty was demoralising. The high moral standard of the majority of the English Jews forced them to prefer migration rather than crime, and the more courageous of the youth sought relief by sailing to Australia. Emigration was fostered, and since the English Jews preferred to live under an English political system rather than any other, many of them chose to migrate to a far English colony like those in Australia rather than migrate to a nearer non-British country like America. The Jews were remarkably loyal to Britain. During and after the American Revolution, many of the Jews forsook America in order to return to the Mother Country.⁷²⁴

Some dreamt of making a fortune in the new land of promise and hoped then to return to their parental homes laden with riches. Wise souls married before they left the English shores, or made arrangements for their wives and fiancées to follow them out to Australia. Others, without any serious thoughts and totally unaware of conditions, dreaming that distant fields were greener, had confidence that as individuals they would find some maiden's heart to conquer or Jewish girls would migrate in such numbers which would allow them the choice of a wife. In Sydney, some of these migrants found poverty equal to that which had prevailed when they left London. With optimism and courage, they migrated to Port Phillip.

MIGRANTS FROM ENGLAND

When the fame of the Port Phillip Settlement spread far and wide, it attracted all types of immigrants from the British Isles, but as far as the Jews were concerned it mainly attracted the poorer members of respectable families from London and the sea-port towns bent on earning their daily bread with honour and dignity.¹³ Some may have had a little capital, but they would not have been enumerated amongst the wealthy class. They were proud, too. When the bounty system was in progress, the Jews did not travel by this method and preferred to pay their own passage, so avoiding the appalling conditions and immorality which prevailed on the bounty ships. Figures published in 1849 show that in that year 3,509 souls emigrated by bounty ships to Port Phillip from the British Isles. Only one Jew and one Jewess were amongst them.¹⁴

A SQUATTER AND THE PORT PHILLIP ASSOCIATION

Although nearly all of the early Jewish migrants to Port Phillip emigrated because of the adverse economic situation in England, there were two notable exceptions from this general rule. Apart from the venture in the Portland district, the first settlers in Victoria comprised the members of the Port Phillip Association, who sought new pastures whereon to graze their sheep and cattle and to expand their possession of land at little cost to themselves. The membership of the Port Phillip Association included one by the name of Joseph Solomon.¹⁵ He and his brother, Judah Solomon, who gave the ground on which the Synagogue in Hobart was built,¹⁶ were well-known Tasmanian storekeepers in partnership, Judah trading in Hobart¹⁷ whilst Joseph traded in Launceston.¹⁸ They were keen businessmen and were original shareholders in the Bank of Van Diemen's Land, founded in December, 1823,¹⁹ Judah sometimes being referred to as a well-known banker. Batman, on his first survey of the Port Phillip area, because of his personal friendship and association with Joseph Solomon, named one of the mountains that he saw Mount Solomon.²¹ This is now Mount Blackwood.²² Both Judah and Joseph Solomon were intimately connected with the Port Phillip Association, but neither of their names appeared on the petitions which the Association sent to Governor Arthur and to the Secretary of State for the Colonies prosecuting its claims. Only fifteen signed their names.²³ The Port Phillip Association comprised seventeen in number. John Pascoe Fawkner states the reason for the omissions:²⁴

. . . . These 17 Workers deserve some notice by the way—they were a strange Medley.

Captain Swanston, a M.C. of V.D. Land, John Bateman, an illiterate man, said to be one of Col. Arthur's spies in V.D.L., Col. Arthur himself in the name of his nephew and J. Solomon, a Jew and at the time a Prisoner of the Crown. . . . The Company . . . consists—or did consist originally—of Col. Geo. Arthur, Lt.-Governor of Van Diemens, Judah Solomon at the time a Convict, therefore his name was withheld, J. T. Gellibrand, Capt. Swanston, M.C. of V.D.L., Mr. Cotterill, J. H. Wedge, Mr. Simpson, J.P. and Chairman of Caveat Board and Mr. M. Connelly.

Fawkner wrote this letter advancing his own claims as the original founder of the Port Phillip Settlement. From the fact that he used the phrase when writing of the Association, "—or did consist originally—" and then naming only ten persons, it appears that the Port Phillip

Association had earlier origins than the official date for its formation, 1835,²⁵ and that it probably originated in Hobart and not in Launceston, for it was in the former town that the ten men mentioned resided.²⁴ D. J. Sams years later wrote²⁶ his version concerning the formation of the Port Phillip Association, and stated that once on a hike to Ben Lomond in the company of Batman and Cotterill, ". . . it occurred to me to suggest the formation of a Company in order that the expense incidental to the expedition should be light when borne by a Member; this idea was at once agreed upon and forthwith proceeded with, the following are the names associated." Seventeen names follow, Joseph Solomon is the tenth name on the list and Cotterill the eleventh. It is probable that the suggestion of Sams re-awakened in Anthony Cotterill, who had married Frances, the daughter of Joseph Solomon,²⁷ the interest that he and the Solomon family already held in the formation of the Port Phillip Association, and since Batman was prepared to undertake the expedition, the suggestion of Sams led to the final formation of the Company and the carrying out of its purpose into effect. It is not unlikely that Judah Solomon helped to finance the Company and that the original idea of the Association was born or fructified in his mind, for he was one of the few of the ten mentioned by Fawcner who was not a professional man but a man of progressive business instincts,²⁴ looking for opportunities where other men would fear to tread. Although a prisoner of the Crown himself, he in September, 1832, had convicts assigned to him for labour.²⁸ All his transactions, as far as the Port Phillip Association was concerned, were carried out in the name of his brother and partner, Joseph, for Joseph Solomon had been granted a conditional pardon on 24th July, 1834.³⁰ Sir John Franklin would not grant Judah Solomon any kind of pardon,²⁹ although he was one of the leading businessmen in Hobart. Judah Solomon, a father of ten children, had not elected to bring his wife and family out to Van Diemen's Land. She came out on her own account with some of her children, only to find her husband had formed a liaison with another woman from whom he refused to part. Sir John Franklin did not approve of his conduct and would not provide him with an official release.²⁹

Though the name Solomon did not appear on the petitions to Governor Arthur and to the Secretary of State for the Colonies, the brothers soon protected their

interests and established an equity in the Association, and on 18th July, 1835, a legal indenture was signed declaring "that Batman held one share in trust for the use and behoof of Joseph Solomon, merchant."³¹ When the Association divided the land that Batman had acquired from the natives into seventeen portions, Solomon received portion 6,³² a tract of land which lay between the present Yan Yean Reservoir and Sunbury.³³ Whilst the legal aspects of the Association's claims were being tested in London,³⁴ some of the members considered it wise in the meantime to squat on the land which they had received, and accordingly early in 1836 a Hobart newspaper reported, "Mr. Gellibrand has just arrived from Port Phillip where 10,000 sheep have been landed by his company from this colony. One says that Mr. Sams has 500 sheep; Messrs. Solomon, Sinclair and Cotterill 1,200 each: Mr. Batman 2,000: and Messrs. Swanston and Gellibrand 2,500 each."³⁵

The son of Joseph Solomon, Joseph Solomon, Jnr., brought the sheep over and came to look after the interests of his father and his brother-in-law, Anthony Cotterill.³⁶ He set up his run, which was called Solomon's Station,³⁷ and the run of his brother-in-law close to the banks of the Saltwater River, and the ford near their stations was known as Solomon's Ford.³⁸ This ford was the lowest crossing in the Saltwater River, and for many years the only way from Melbourne to Geelong and the westward.³⁹

Nathaniel Gosling, a shepherd who came over on the *Norval* when she made her first visit to Port Phillip from Launceston, wrote about some of the difficulties in which Joseph Solomon, Jnr., was involved. He stated:⁴⁰

Mr. Bateman's men and Mr. Fawkner's men being at home when landed, and Mr. Solomon's men for a while, but Capt'n. Swanston's party their destination being for the River Ax (Weribee); Then in a short time after thiere was a thousand more landed at the heads for us, and two men to bring them: but before those sheep came Mr. Solomon's son of Launceston had landed a thousand sheep at the heads, and had brought them round by Point Henery, so on by the River Ax, and so on to the Saltwater River near Milbourne.

He then writes of "a certain Jeremy Ducks having walked off towards thes 'Yowangs' with Mr. Solomon's double-barrelled gun. Having fallen asleep, he was killed by the Blacks." He also stated that the Blacks stole 500 out of 1,000 sheep whilst the two men who were to bring them around were asleep.

When Lonsdale arrived on 29th September, 1936, to act as magistrate, Joseph Solomon, Jnr., had temporarily

returned to Launceston. In the detailed report that Captain Lonsdale sent his superior at the end of the year, no mention is made of Solomon as a settler. The only reference to him is made in the following entry:⁴¹

SETTLER	DATE OF ARRIVAL	STOCK	REMARKS
Ferguson, E. J.	December, 1835	3,700 sheep, 13 head of cattle.	Agent for self and one Solomon.

However, in 1838, Joseph Solomon, Jnr., married his cousin, Sarah, daughter of Judah Solomon, of Hobart,⁴² and he settled at Mendernong (Maribyrnong) in February, 1839. With him came his sister, Frances, and her husband, Anthony Cotterill⁴³—a non-Jew.

On 20th May, 1839, Joseph Solomon, Snr., sold out his interests in the Port Phillip Association to Captain Swanson for £461, which also included his equity in the Government's remission of £7,000 to the Association. Eight years later he signed a deed poll to this effect.⁴⁴ About the same time when he sold his interests in the Association, he dissolved his partnership with his brother, Judah.⁴⁵ The two events were not co-incidental. It was another indication of Judah's silent interest in the Port Phillip Association. In order to wind up the partnership, which Joseph was anxious to do, their Association assets in the name of Joseph Solomon had to be sold.⁴⁶

Joseph Solomon, Jnr., lived in the vicinity of the Saltwater River for many years, dealing in the sale of live-stock⁴⁷ and amusing himself by running, unsuccessfully, a grey colt named "Lottery" in the Melbourne races.⁴⁸ Afterwards, he lived at Deep Creek,⁴⁹ at another time at Merbong and then at River View⁵⁰ before he left for Tasmania in 1852 to manage the properties left by his father, who had passed away at Launceston.

A PIONEER, SPECULATOR AND SETTLER

The other notable exception to the general type of Jewish migrant who came out to Port Phillip in the early days of the foundation of the Settlement was Joseph Barrow Montefiore. He exhibited all the strong determination and character displayed by his cousin, Sir Moses Montefiore, and the other members of this famous family whose name resounded throughout the Jewish and Gentile world during the nineteenth century. He must be considered as a pioneer who made a definite contribution



LAYING THE FOUNDATION STONE OF THE MONTEFIORE HOME, 1870.

towards the wealth and development of Australia and New Zealand.

After his birth in London on 24th June, 1803, his father took him to the West Indies, where he settled. As a young man, Joseph Barrow returned to England, and at the age of 23 he entered the Stock Exchange and became one of the twelve "Jew brokers" in the City of London,⁵¹ purchasing the privilege for £1,600. He did not remain long in the city. His desire was to emigrate to Australia, in which he saw vast possibilities because of his expert knowledge in agriculture, settlement and commerce, which he had gained in the West Indies and London. Thus he wrote to Sir George Murray, Secretary for the Colonies, on 11th May, 1828:⁵²

Sir,

Having for many years paid great attention to the progress of Colonization to His Majesty's Colony of New South Wales, and adopted every method of satisfying myself of its capabilities, I am new desirous of removing there-to with my family to establish myself as an Agriculturist, persuaded that its soil and climate are adapted to every purpose of cultivation, and that capital expended in those pursuits must by its judicious application prove alike valuable to the Colony and those who employ it. Under this view, I respectfully solicit a grant of five thousand acres of Land which, if accorded, I shall forthwith proceed to the Colony with my wife, child, brother and three domestics, taking with me a capital of ten thousand pounds, exclusively of which I have funded property here in trust to the amount of eight thousand pounds; and, as the expense of proceeding thither will cost above seven hundred pounds, I presume it will appear my means are entirely adequate. I propose taking with me an experienced Agriculturist in all its branches, and, as I have resided many years in the West Indies, and am familiar with its products, my views will be extended to their cultivation, should the soil promise a favourable result.

I likewise propose turning my attention to the cultivation of various drugs, which I am persuaded may be matured there. I further propose taking with me a quantity of the most improved breed of Merino sheep, to which it is my intention to give every attention as well as to the breeding of Horses and horned Cattle.

It would entirely exceed the limits of a letter, were I to enlarge on the objects stated, and I presume sufficient has been said to evince my ability of fully employing the grant solicited; persuaded of the vast importance of this fast rising Colony, I trust it will be made speedily, that I may adopt the necessary measures to proceed without delay. As references respecting myself, I beg to refer you to the following gentlemen whose names I have given at foot.

I have etc.,

J. BARROW MONTEFIORE.

W. Montefiore Esq., Park Lane (one of the Trustees to my funded property), Wm. Ward Esq., M.P., New Bond St., A. W. Roberts Esq., M.P., Lombard St., Major Moody R.E., Bolton St., N. M. Rothschild Esq., Piccadilly.

Joseph Barrow Montefiore came out to Sydney soon afterwards, and after a most exciting exploratory voyage to New Zealand⁵³ acquired on behalf of his brother, Jacob, who lived in London, and himself, over 12,000 acres of land in various parts of New South Wales.⁵⁴ With his brother he organised the foundation of the Bank of Australasia,⁵⁵ and he himself travelled extensively in New South Wales and in Van Diemen's Land, where he formed various business partnerships.⁵⁶ He was called back to London to give evidence to a Select Committee of the House of Lords in April, 1838, which was appointed to enquire into the state of the Islands of New Zealand.⁵³ When the news arrived in London that the Port Phillip Settlement was likely to advance rapidly, Joseph Barrow Montefiore immediately recognised the possibilities for investment and speculation and hastened back to Australia to settle at Port Phillip, where he rented the home of the widow of John Batman, which the latter had built by the banks of the Yarra.⁵⁷

Another Jewish young man who was later to achieve fame in New South Wales also came to Port Phillip for the purpose of investment and speculation. He was Saul Samuel, later to become Sir Saul Samuel.⁵⁸ Born in London on 2nd November, 1820, he was brought by his parents to Sydney⁵⁹ when twelve years of age. When he was a young man of seventeen, his family was speculating in pastoral properties⁶⁰ and sent him to Port Phillip to spy out the land. He bought nothing at the sale which took place on 1st June, 1837, and he soon returned to Sydney, where he abandoned his pastoral pursuits and entered the fields of mining and commerce.

CHAPTER 2

TRADES AND OCCUPATIONS

When the immigrants arrived at Port Phillip, their immediate requirements compelled them to seek a livelihood at once, and it was only natural for most of them to turn to the trade or profession in which they were trained or to the type of business with which they were closely acquainted. It would have been foolhardy for these Londoners, reared in the back lanes of the East End, to attempt to work on the land, although their ancient forefathers were tillers of the soil and pastoralists and they

themselves still celebrated agricultural festivals three times a year.⁶¹ Historic circumstances in Europe had reduced the Jews to shopkeepers, tavern-keepers and small merchants,⁶² and it was to this kind of business that the majority of the Jewish migrants in Port Phillip first put their hands when they landed in their new abode. A few who already had experience on the land were not averse from working on it. Joseph Solomon, Jnr., reared sheep, cattle and horses on his property near the Saltwater River.⁶³ A very small number had gained their experience as farmers the hard way. They had been forcibly assigned to work the soil as convicts in Van Diemen's Land. Most of the early marriages registered in the Hobart Town Hebrew Congregation records state the bridegroom's occupation to be that of a farmer.⁶⁴ They had not practised it in England. It would have been beyond the limits of human nature to have expected a bridegroom to describe himself as a prisoner of the Crown on his marriage lines. Like Michael Solomon, of Moode Yalla, after their forced apprenticeship, they adopted farming as their means of earning their daily bread,⁶⁵ because it was probably the only skilled occupation which they knew.

THE CLOTHING TRADE

The majority of the early Jewish migrants in Port Phillip, however, occupied themselves in the business of selling clothes in one form or another, and the drapery trade was well represented by members of the Jewish fraternity. They crowded Collins Street and overflowed into Elizabeth Street and the streets nearby. Some of them gave fancy names to their establishments, as was the fashion in those days. Solomon and David Benjamin traded as partners of a drapery store in Collins Street called "Cheapside House."⁶⁶ Their elder brother, Moses, who followed them to Australia from England, opened a similar store, "Albert House,"⁶⁷ in the same street. Not far distant stood the drapery and clothing stores of Moses Lazarus at "Portland House,"⁶⁸ and of Asher Hymen Hart at "Commercial House."⁶⁹ The clothing store, "Waterloo House," of Hart's brothers, Edward and Isaac Hart, who traded as partners,⁷⁰ stood close by. More modest businesses of a similar type in the same street were owned by Isaac L. Lincoln,⁷¹ Raphael Alexander⁷² and James Simeon, the latter being one of the earliest to open as a clothier⁷³

in Port Phillip in 1837.⁷⁴ A large clothing business was owned by the partners, S. H. Harris and John Marks, who traded as Harris & Marks⁷⁵ of the "London Mart" at a shop in Queen Street and at the "Liverpool Mart" at a shop on the corner of Collins and Elizabeth Streets.⁷⁶ On the opposite corner, Michael Cashmore opened a more ambitious business, "Victoria House,"⁷⁷ as a wholesale warehouse, beside which he sold drapery and clothing to retail customers. His building was the largest in Port Phillip and a landmark in the town and the surrounding countryside.⁷⁸ Not very far distant in Elizabeth Street, Abram E. Alexander⁷⁹ conducted business as a clothier, and so did Michael Davis,⁸⁰ whilst John Levy's clothier's shop was situated in Little Collins Street.⁸¹ Othere in the town in the same trade included Edward Nathan, Nathaniel Nathan and Cashmore Lazarus.⁸²

The popularity of the clothing and drapery trades amongst Jews was not only confined to Melbourne. Amongst the first clothiers to open in Portland was the store of G. Alexander, the "London Mart,"⁸³ and no doubt David Cashmore⁸⁴ was also employed in the same business, for when he and Alexander removed to Geelong, they opened drapery and clothing stores in that town. Others in Geelong in the same trade were Abraham Levy, Emanuel Ackman⁸⁵ and Phillip Phillips, the latter also opening up a branch of his business in Colac of which he was one of the pioneers.⁸⁶

All the aforementioned drapers and clothiers started in their business before March, 1846, when the total Jewish population in Victoria numbered only 117 souls⁸⁷—about 92 in Melbourne,⁸⁸ nine in Geelong and three in Portland.⁸⁹ The majority of those drapers and clothiers had already been established in their businesses at the time of the census in March, 1841, when the total Jewish population of the Port Phillip district numbered 57 souls—51 in the County of Bourke, which included Geelong, and three in Portland.⁹⁰ More Jews may have entered the trade before Separation, when the total in Victoria numbered about 200⁹¹ souls, but it is clearly apparent that the economy of the Jews in Victoria was intimately bound up with the drapery and clothing business.

AUCTIONEERS AND TAVERN-KEEPERS

A number of Jews were attracted to the auctioneering business, and both Asher Hymen Hart⁹² and Isaac L. Lincoln⁹³ changed their former occupations, Hart when his premises were destroyed by fire⁹⁴ and Lincoln when he was made an insolvent.⁹⁵ P. Van Milligen, in Geelong, changed voluntarily to the occupation of an auctioneer from that of a watchmaker,⁹⁶ and so did Abraham Levy,⁹⁷ the first Jew to live in Geelong.⁹⁸ The only one of these mentioned moderately successful was Hart, but when Edward Cohen came to Melbourne just before Separation, he established an auctioneering business⁹⁹—first with a fellow co-religionist, Benjamin Francis,¹⁰⁰ and then with a Gentile named Fraser¹⁰¹—which led him on the road to wealth, position and an honoured place in Victorian history.

Some Jews in the Port Phillip Settlement turned to tavern-keeping as their occupation, a business with which they were acquainted in England, but in which all failed in Victoria. Isaac L. Lincoln, when he did not succeed as an auctioneer, tried his skill as a storekeeper¹⁰² and tavern-keeper at Scymour, but he soon returned to Melbourne when the authorities would not endorse his hotel licence.¹⁰³ Ill-fortune seemed to have followed him all the days of his life, for he soon after went with his family to California and on his way back they were all drowned in a shipwreck, except for his eldest son.¹⁰⁴ Before Lincoln's failure, Henry Davis had failed as the keeper of the high-class "Royal Exchange Hotel,"¹⁰⁵ whilst his relative, John Davies, failed in a far humbler establishment of doubtful reputation.¹⁰⁶ The father of the latter, Michael Davies, experienced a great deal of trouble in conducting his "Shakespeare Hotel,"¹⁰⁷ which he finally had to leave.¹⁰⁸ Benjamin Goldsmidt Levien failed at his "Victoria Hotel" at Footscray¹¹³ for reasons later explained.

A JOURNALIST

Two Jews, John Davies and Benjamin Goldsmidt Levien, stand out as men well known in the community who earned their livelihood by means not connected with the usual occupations with which Jews in Port Phillip were associated. John Davies, after his venture as an inn-keeper, joined the staff of the *Port Phillip Patriot*, and though comparatively illiterate, he possessed the gifts of self-assertion and self-confidence which, together with his

art of collecting news items, made his work on the newspaper invaluable.¹⁰⁹ He may have gained some of his experience whilst employed in England on the *Manchester Guardian*. Apart from his employment as a journalist, he became well known in Port Phillip because of his association with the theatre, in which he earned a reputation and some popularity amongst the habitués of the "Pavilion" as a resurrectionist. In this act he would impersonate a grave digger digging up and reviving the dead. He also acquired a reputation for securing theatre benefits for his own good. However, Davies became involved in serious trouble when in one of his unguarded, caustic articles he made a vicious attack upon the wife of William Kerr, the editor of the *Port Phillip Courier*. It must have been very serious, for the fiery editor of the *Port Phillip Patriot*, John Pascoe Fawkner, took the unprecedented step of publicly apologising to Kerr and his wife.¹¹⁰ A criminal libel charge was preferred against Davies, who was found guilty,¹¹¹ but his apology and his persuasive manner influenced a kind-hearted judge to listen to his plea to mitigate his sentence, and Davies received the comparatively light punishment of a fine of £15.¹¹² Soon after he left with other members of his family for Hobart, where he became famous as the founder of the *Mercury*,¹⁰⁹ a newspaper with one of the largest circulations in Australia and which has celebrated its centenary. John Davies also gained election as a member of the Tasmanian Parliament, where he wielded considerable influence.

A PUNTMAN

Benjamin Goldsmidt Levien failed at his "Victoria Hotel" at Footsray,¹¹³ by the Saltwater River, for a cause not connected with his inn. The profits from his hotel were insufficient for his requirements, so he started business as a puntman, from which he gained a lucrative source of income. He had received a monopoly from the Superintendent. However, a Mr. Graham, from the "Bush Inn," questioned the right of the monopoly.¹¹⁴ The press supported Graham, because they claimed that the charges were too high and they did not believe in monopolies. Graham's advocate argued that under the Turnpike Act it was only legal for the punt to work after a proclamation by the Governor, which proclamation had not been made in the case of Levien. The magistrate considered the plea good law, and though violent quarrels broke out between

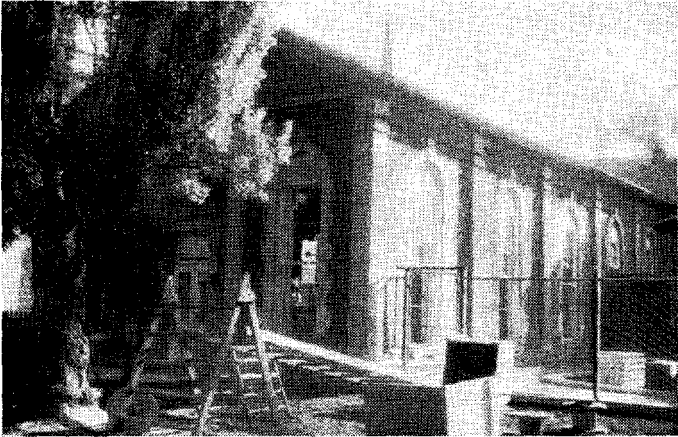
Graham and Levien, for which Graham was bound over to keep the peace,¹¹⁵ yet, legally, Levien could not prevent Graham and others from running punts across the river as well. Competition became too strong, and Levien left the river to his competitors. However, he did not abandon his connection with the water. After acting for some time as a puntman on the Marabool River (Barwon), he removed to Geelong, where he acquired a boring apparatus. He advertised, ". . . having purchased a set of apparatus for boring, he would be happy to undertake to bore for either coal, water or mineral to the depth of 180 ft., or will rent it to any party by the day or week, or would join in any speculation for the above purposes, provided he had not to bore for the cash."¹¹⁶

OTHER OCCUPATIONS

Amongst other occupations in which Jews were employed are to be found a brother of B. G. Levien, John Levien, who was a carcass butcher at Williamstown;¹¹⁷ Ralph Raphael, who was employed as a shopman¹¹⁸; Moses Levy, a lodging-house keeper¹¹⁹; and Joseph Abrahams, a ships' chandler,¹²⁰ a trade which was not uncommon amongst Jews in England. It is worthy of note that only one Jew in the Port Phillip Settlement could describe himself as belonging to the professional class, William Cohen,¹²¹ a clerk of the Union Bank in Queen Street and an original member of the Australian Felix Lodge of Freemasons and its second Secretary.¹²²

Lack of capital and opportunity prevented the Jews of Port Phillip from entering general commerce. R. B. Sloman did not attain to wealth in his business as a merchant,¹²³ and the consequences of the venture of Abraham Abrahams is not recorded. During the commercial depression which commenced in 1841 and overwhelmed the district for three years, a W. F. A. Rucker became indebted to the Union Bank for £10,000 and the directorate asked him to secure his liability.¹²⁴ A fear that the system of mutual paper accommodation then prevailing would collapse and cause a panic, brought a circle of twelve backers, locally known as the "Twelve Apostles," to Rucker's aid. Abraham Abrahams was amongst them. All members of the holy brotherhood were not moved by saintly sentiments. Rucker's property was nominally assessed at £40,000. The smart bank manager, however, rendered each of the "Twelve Apostles" jointly and individually liable,

but not for the sum claimed, but for £10,000 each or for a total sum of £120,000. The bank manager put on the screws mercilessly, and rushed stations and property on to a market with little demand and sold everything without reserve. A "tremendous sacrifice" was effected, and though the "Apostles" had to pay, some of them profited by a sum of £50,000, for it is said they acted in complicity with the Bank's manager. Some of the holy alliance pocketed large sums of money, whilst the unfortunate amongst them withdrew from the struggle and found refuge either in flight or in the Insolvency Court.



THE OLD EAST MELBOURNE SYNAGOGUE.

INDUSTRY

Even after the depression the Jews in Victoria, as a whole, made little advancement in accumulating wealth, so that when industry increased in Melbourne, few Jews were in a position to be interested. In a petition to the Legislative Council presented in July, 1850, A. H. Hart, as President of the Melbourne Congregation, on behalf of the community, asked for a grant of £500 to complete the Synagogue building and a Minister's dwelling, and in it he stated, ". . . your petitioners number between 150 and 200 persons of all ages and of this number only about forty have been in a position to contribute to the erection

of a Synagogue in which to hold Divine Service."¹²⁵ Amongst the few Jews who were actively interested in Victoria's industrial progress was Henri J. Hart, a jeweller who imported new machinery from London for watch-makers, "the like of which has never been seen before in the colony."¹²⁶ His cousin, A. H. Hart, participated in the initial meeting of the Gas Company which proposed to "manufacture and sell the new commodity, gas," for lighting and cooking.¹²⁷ At this meeting, David Benjamin, by a few votes only, just missed election to the position of Trustee of the Company.¹²⁸ He and his brothers, Solomon and Moses, and a co-religionist, S. H. Harris, were members of the Victorian Industrial Society.¹²⁹

LAND PURCHASE

The general poverty amongst the Victorian Jews also accounts for the scarcity of their names in the Land Sales lists. Joseph Barrow Montefiore, who returned to Australia from England for the very purpose of speculating in land, bought but little, and that at high prices. At the land sale held in Melbourne on 13th August, 1840,¹³⁰ he paid £440 for allotment 9 in Block 8, situated at the corner of Spring and Flinders Lane, the highest price for a plot of land on that day. At the same sale he bought allotment 14 in Block 24, a plot of land in Lonsdale Street, for £245. He also dabbled in the purchase of land outside Melbourne, and again paid a high price, £260, at an auction held on 10th September, 1840, for 1 rood and 36 perches of land at Williamstown.¹³¹ In October, 1840, he bought 25 acres for £325 for a suburban allotment at Portland Bay.¹³² Soon after the latter purchase, J. B. Montefiore removed to Sydney¹³³ and later to Adelaide,¹³⁴ which may have been caused by financial difficulties in which he and his brother, Jacob, trading as Montefiore Brothers, were involved through no fault of their own. It concerned the land granted and purchased by them in Australia, and it was not until nearly ten years later that a decision of the Court of Chancery allowed the firm to regain its Australian land purchases.¹³⁵ J. B. Montefiore became one of the most prominent men in Adelaide, where he engaged in commerce, banking, mining and shipping.¹³⁶

Apart from J. B. Montefiore, the Benjamin brothers were the only other persons to purchase more than one or two allotments of land in Victoria for speculation. At the

last of the three auctions held in Sydney for Melbourne property on 11th April, 1839, Samuel Benjamin and his brother-in-law and partner, Elias Moses, bought two plots, one at the corner of Collins and Spring Streets for £80 and £75 respectively.¹³⁷ Samuel Benjamin, who lived in Goulburn, New South Wales, was the eldest brother of the three Benjamins who lived in Melbourne, Moses, Solomon and David.¹³⁸ David and Solomon bought a plot for £325 at Williamstown on 10th September, 1940,¹³⁹ and in October, 1840, purchased, on behalf of Samuel, two town lots in Portland Bay for £208 and £361 respectively.¹⁴⁰ The only other original land purchase made by Jews before the land bubble burst in 1841 were made by Joseph Solomon, Jr., who at the second land sale held on 1st November, 1837, bought the block of land on which Coles & Garrard now stands in Bourke Street for £20,¹⁴¹ and two plots in South Geelong purchased at the first Geelong sale held in Sydney on 14th February, 1839, for £30 each by J. C. Breillat,¹⁴² who at one time was in partnership with J. B. Montefiore in Sydney.

Although recovery after 1844 was rapid, the memories of the financial disaster burnt deeply into the minds of investors, and Jews, did not start buying original Melbourne Crown land again until 8th November, 1849, when Solomon Benjamin bought three plots at the northern end of Elizabeth Street for £366, £206 and £161 respectively. Before Separation, Jews were interested in two more sales of city allotments. On 23rd May, 1850, Jacob Marks acquired two adjoining plots in Jeffcott Street for £81 and £80, and the last land sale of city blocks on 9th May, 1851, David and Moses Benjamin acquired nine blocks between them in Jeffcott Street and Spencer Street, David paying £123, £103, £134 and £118 for his four plots, and Moses £104, £102, £200, £163 and £130 for his five allotments.¹⁴³

Lack of capital was also the cause for Jews before Separation buying so little of original Crown lands outside the Melbourne area, and the only Jews whose names are to be found in the sales lists are the four Benjamin brothers,¹⁴⁵ Joseph Solomon, Elias Moses, Michael and Henry Davis, Nathan Cohen and Isaac L. Lincoln.¹⁴⁴ Except for the purchases made by Joseph Solomon for land at Cut Paw Paw and one purchase made by Moses Benjamin for land at Moorabbin, the prices paid were small amounts.¹⁴⁵ The fact was the members of the community could not even afford to buy cheap lots.

GOOD REPUTE

Melbourne Jewry as a whole may not have enjoyed great wealth, but it did gain a good reputation in business circles, and one newspaper described the community as "small but respectable."¹⁴⁶ During the depression, all kinds of devices, legal and illegal, were resorted to by the general public in order to gain a business advantage. Quite a number accumulated stock on credit from warehousemen, sold out quickly and fled silently by night with the proceeds. These dishonest gentlemen were known as "Bolters," and records indicate that amongst many only one Jew earned this unsavoury epithet.¹⁴⁷ The Jewish community boasted of a high reputation, and the only other person who could be said to have tarnished it was a gentleman by the name of Levy, who associated with and came under the influence of a notorious thief, William Hammond.

The high reputation of the Jews saved A. H. Hart a great deal of embarrassment and pain when he had a charge of embezzlement preferred against him¹⁴⁸ for not handing over the full amount of the proceeds of an auction sale to those who had commissioned him to carry it out. The prosecuting barrister asked the Bench to place Hart on bail, but the Bench refused to take any such step against a man so highly respected in the community, and against whom no *prima facie* case had been made out. After an adjournment, the case collapsed completely.¹⁴⁹

Michael Cashmore's high reputation cost him an extra stiff fine of five pounds when he refused to allow a constable to seize a case which he had placed outside his shop. Mr. Brodie, the prosecutor, in sincere sorrow at the discomfiture of the defendant, apologised to the court for the sad duty he was under in preferring such a charge against such a respectable citizen. The police magistrate silenced him by declaring the case should be strictly enquired into, as the more respectable the parties the less excuse they had to evade the law.¹⁵⁰

ENTERPRISE

If there was one fault concerning which Melbourne shopkeepers could complain against the enterprise of the Jewish traders, it was their practice of displaying their wares outside their shops. The Jewish shopkeepers had been accustomed to do so in London, and the Melbourne authorities, in their desire to stop it, made, according to the description of one of the newspapers, "a crusade against

the Jews." The Chief Constable opened "a regular fire of informations, pains and penalties upon a large portion of the Hebrew traders of Melbourne for the unlawful exposition in the streets of saleable goods."¹⁵¹ In spite of fines, it took many years before the practice died out, probably because the Jewish traders considered the regulation unreasonable.

Competition and enterprise amongst the Jewish and other drapers led to a curious incident which amused the town. It also created a public benefit. Messrs. D. & S. Benjamin gave it out that "in consequence of business of importance requiring their presence in England, they were determined to sell the whole of their valuable and extensive stock of drapry, at unprecedented prices, for cash only." "Immense bargains" were held out to intending purchasers, and large flaming handbills and advertisements met the public eye every day and everywhere. The consequence was that the shop was crowded from morning till night with cash customers, and in twelve days it is supposed they took at least £2,000 in the disposal of a large quantity of goods which, under other circumstances, were not in demand. The following Saturday, Messrs. Harris & Marks followed in Messrs. Benjamin's wake, and the issues of the *Herald* and *Gazette* Extraordinaries of that day announced that owing to "a dissolution of partnership" being necessary, their stock of goods would be sold at an "immense sacrifice, for cash only," their advertisement winding up with an intimation that "an early notification would be given of their landed property, accompanied with all particulars." Immediately on this notice appearing, all the respectable haberdashers of the town held a meeting at which it was determined that all like Harris & Marks "dissolve partnership," sell "for cash only" and at "immense sacrifice." Handbills to this effect were forthwith posted all over the town, being with the exception of the names of the firms, exact copies of Harris & Marks' bills. Altogether the affair caused a good deal of excitement amongst the drapers and laughter among the disinterested. By this competition, however, the public benefited, for the shops alluded to, one and all, sold their wares for at least 50% less than they did formerly.¹⁵²

Needless to say, D. and S. Benjamin did not go to England. At the bottom of a large advertisement¹⁵³ of an imported bankrupt stock, they thanked the public for the liberal support that they had received since their commence-

ment in business in Melbourne and begged to inform the public that they could not leave the Colony as soon as they anticipated, owing to the shipment of the advertised stock. Business prospered to such an extent that instead of going abroad they removed to more expensive premises in Collins Street,¹⁵⁴ retaining the name, "Cheapside House," and they later went into partnership with their eldest brother, Moses, who closed his "Albert House" store.¹⁵⁵

Cashmore's initiative brought brighter advertising to storekeepers, and it was he who started unconventional advertising in the Melbourne press. Printed side on in large black type, he published an advertisement in the form of a Legal Writ of Enquiry,¹⁵⁶ stating, "We command you, and every one of you to summons EVERY MAN, WOMAN AND CHILD in your Borough, Town and Vicinity, to attend a Court to be holden from DAY to DAY for the general interest of all Her Majesty's Subjects until further notice at the shop of our well beloved subject, M. Cashmore, Victoria House . . . etc."

Cashmore also introduced the Separation issue into his advertisements, cleverly playing upon the theme that the newly separated State from New South Wales would be known as Victoria, which was also the name of his own drapery store.¹⁵⁷

IMPROVEMENT OF WORKING CONDITIONS

The Jewish community also gained popularity because the Jewish drapers endeavoured to better the conditions of their employees. In early Melbourne the shops were open to all hours of the night, and the entire drapery trade of Collins and Elizabeth Streets combined to give the lead in the movement for the early closing of shops.¹⁵⁸ Negotiations were started by the young assistants in the drapery stores, who were known as "counter jumpers," and the proprietors, only too ready to agree, inserted an advertisement in the three Melbourne newspapers, the *Gazette*,¹⁵⁹ *Patriot* and *Herald*, that "We the undersigned, Drapers of Melbourne, do comply with the wishes of the young men of our respective establishments, and agree to close our houses of business at 8 o'clock precisely, Saturday excepted, from Monday, February 22nd, 1841."

Among the signatories were Michael Cashmore, Isaac L. Lincoln, E. & I. Hart, D. & S. Benjamin, J. Simeon and Harris & Marks. The effort, however, was not of long

duration, for as one shopkeeper infringed upon the agreement, so would his neighbour, and for self-protection the others had to follow suit.

All the drapers except one combined again in April, 1846, to close their stores at 7 p.m. in winter and at 8 p.m. in summer, except on Saturdays, but the dissentient draper did so well for himself when the others were closed that the combine had no alternative but to keep open until all hours of the night.¹⁶⁰

CHAPTER 3

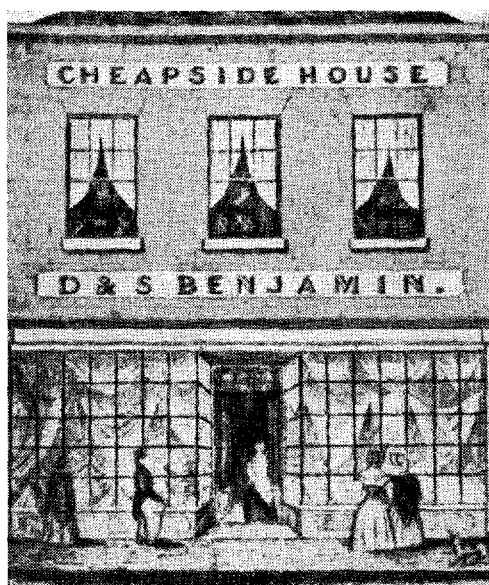
THE RELIGIOUS AND SOCIAL BACKGROUND OF THE ENGLISH JEWS

In the first half of the nineteenth century, the Jews of England were closely attached to their faith, at least formally, and religion played a big part in their daily lives. Association with a congregation or community gave the Jew social standing and prestige. Only a renegade or a person of instability would refrain from official connection with his co-religionists. Few were prepared to abandon their faith, for it would bring with it the tremendous disadvantage of social ostracism. A Jew, even if he believed in nothing at all, could not very well abandon the environment of his upbringing and then crash through the barrier of Gentile society which, although it may have been unprejudiced, still regarded the Jew as "different" and strange. Some did enter Gentile society either by conversion or through enormous wealth, but it was not general.¹⁶¹ This did not mean that the Gentile was unfriendly towards the Jew or the Jew unfriendly towards the Gentile. They were just not intimate. Instinctively, the Jew, even with the slightest vestige of religion, would seek to meet his brethren on the High Festivals, the New Year and the Day of Atonement. The person who failed to observe these Holy Days would have been regarded as belonging to a lowly class. The Jews of the time, some by conviction, others by convention, would close their business premises on the Sabbath and Holy Days, and they would be expected to attend their houses of worship on those occasions. The pious and devout would attend the synagogue daily, morning, noon and night, or at least recite their regulation prayers at home. Eating food according to the dietary laws was general, whilst intermarriage was looked upon with

horror and as a family disaster. Apart from religious and family ties, custom, convention and the marriage institution welded the Jewish community into a social unit.

THE CALL OF THE SOLEMN FESTIVALS

With the approach of any of the High Festivals, the handful of Jews in Port Phillip probably sought each other out, and by the New Year Holy Day in September, 1839, they were able to muster a sufficient number to hold a service in the home and business premises of Moses Lazarus



BENJAMIN'S STORE IN COLLINS STREET.

at "Portland House," although they could not assemble a sufficient number for a public service, which requires a minimum of ten males over thirteen years of age to be present.¹⁶² Jewish devotional service need not be conducted in a consecrated building, though a building can be dedicated specifically for a house of worship. Nor need Jewish services be conducted by an ordained minister. Any layman can read a service if he has the ability and as long as he is considered religiously fit. In a small township the

best available man would have been chosen. In 1839 it would have been Michael Cashmore.¹⁶³

Usually, when a service is held on the Day of Atonement, it is conducted without interruption from early morning until the sun sets in the evening. This would require more than one Reader. On the Solemn Festivals of 5601-1840, four Readers conducted the services held with a full quorum at the store of Solomon Benjamin, "Cheapside House," and they were Michael Cashmore, S. H. Harris, Isaac L. Lincoln and Edward Hart, who "had an aptitude for Chazanuth."¹⁶⁴

BENEVOLENCE

Under ordinary circumstances, when the Jewish population of Port Phillip increased, it would have formed itself into an organised body when the numbers warranted the hiring of a public building for its Holy Day services or when sufficient numbers demanded a regular weekly service on Sabbaths. However, the Jews of Port Phillip combined to establish a benevolent society¹⁶⁵ even before they formed an official congregation, and the cause was not only the poverty of a portion of the members and the expected new immigrants into the Colony, but it was advanced in order to take advantage of a governmental regulation promising "pecuniary aid from the Colonial Treasurer for the support of dispensaries, schools and other charitable institutions established by societies or individuals."¹⁶⁶ When the community did form itself into a Congregation, instead of retaining the benevolent society as a separate body, it incorporated the society's labours into the framework of the congregational endeavours, and it undertook to care for the needy by passing a law that "should any needy persons arrive in Melbourne, power is given the Vice-President (Treasurer) to relieve them to the amount of one pound, the same being sanctioned by two other committeemen. Should any further relief be necessary, a committee was to be called to arrange same."¹⁶⁷

From ancient times the Jews have regarded it as their sacred duty to care for their own poor even in cases where the needy were entitled to State assistance. The position of many of the members of the community in 1848 was such that the burden to grant relief became too difficult for the Congregation to bear on its own account. Unfortunately, a number of Jews had been arrested for vagrancy.¹⁶⁸ Poverty was prevalent and, therefore, A. H. Hart, on 19th November, 1848,¹⁶⁹ convened a General Meeting and estab-

lished the Melbourne Jewish Philanthropic Society, with the object "to assist the poor and distressed in case of sickness, with medical aid, medicine and a weekly allowance to maintain them while unable to follow their usual avocations. And, secondly, to afford temporary aid to deserving objects who may require it in such a form and at such a time as shall be found expedient by the Committee." S. H. Harris was elected President, Edward Hart, Treasurer, John Levy, M. Marks, J. Lincoln and C. Lazarus, Committee, and Moscs Lazarus acted as Hon. Collector. Doctor A. O'Mullane, a non-Jew, generously offered his medical services free to the Society and served many years gratuitously. At first the Society met only when occasion demanded, but by October, 1850, because of the calls made upon it, the Society had to meet regularly every week.¹⁷⁰

THE FOUNDING OF A CONGREGATIONAL SOCIETY

If not for Asher Hymen Hart the community would have remained organised only as a philanthropic movement for a greater number of years than it actually did. Hart was a man of vision, of extensive reading and superior natural ability, and as soon as he arrived in Melbourne before the High Holy Days of 5602-1841, he enquired of his fellow Jews: "What have you done towards the establishment of a Congregation and a permanent place of worship?"¹⁷¹ He immediately summoned his co-religionists to a meeting on 12th September, 1841, at the home of his brothers, Edward and Isaac Hart,¹⁷² and told them that any poor Jew from the neighbouring colonies or from overseas who came to Melbourne would find friends to assist him. There was no need for a "formal pledge" to assist the poor. What was needed was spiritual food, and he strongly advocated the building of a synagogue. He accordingly moved: "That a Society be formed and called 'The Jewish Congregational Society,'" a resolution which was accepted, and for the ensuing year Michael Cashmore was elected President, Solomon Benjamin, Vice-President, Moses Lazarus, Isaac L. Lincoln, Isaac Fonsaker and Henry Davies, Committee, and L. Davies, Secretary.

A. H. Hart, who soon won the confidence of his co-religionists, became the natural leader of the Jewish community, and it was he who led the High Holy Day devotions of 5602-1841, with the assistance of Edward

Hart, the "sweet singer," Isaac L. Lincoln and Louis Nathan, a visitor from Hobart Town. It was held in the "Port Phillip Hotel" in Flinders Street, a new building then unoccupied. From those High Holy Days onwards, weekly services were conducted regularly and "in an able and systematic manner" by A. H. Hart, who acted in the capacity of Honorary Reader to the Congregational Society, which met and prayed at the home of Solomon Benjamin.¹⁷³ Prior to the building of a synagogue, various places, such as the Mechanics' School of Arts or the shop of S. H. Harris,¹⁷⁴ were used for the High Holy Days and other festivals, whilst for the weekly Sabbath services, the premises of Michael Cashmore and A. H. Hart were also available beside those belonging to D. & S. Benjamin.¹⁷⁵

CEMETERIES

Though A. H. Hart when he came to Melbourne proposed the building of a synagogue, he must have soon changed his mind, for he noted another communal need which in his opinion must have demanded preference over the erection of a house of worship. He insisted that "the funds of the Society be applied only in the first instance for the establishment of a burial ground . . . and afterwards as an accumulating fund for the purpose of establishing a synagogue."¹⁷⁶ Prayers could be recited anywhere, but the dead could not be buried in any place and at any time. The Jewish burial ground had to be separated from other denominations and, if part of a general cemetery, it had to be distinctly divided by a fence or by another distinctive sign of demarcation. A properly equipped cemetery also had to include a Metahar House—a building which sometimes took the place of a mortuary, where the dead could be cleansed and where prayers could be recited before and after the burial. With the increase of the Melbourne population, it was obvious that a larger cemetery than the Congregation had previously purchased would be needed, and to buy ground within reasonable distance of the Melbourne township was far beyond the means of the small Congregation. When the daughter of Henry Davies died, Abraham Abrahams presented a piece of land for the purpose of burial at Merri Creek, between the present Northcote and Merri Creek bridges.¹⁷⁷ When the cortege arrived they found that the sexton had not progressed very far with his work. Nature had designed the site more for

the purpose of a bluestone quarry than for a cemetery. Two quarrymen and the sexton, in addition to the officiating layman, Michael Cashmore, delved and dug for a long time, and it took several hours before Cashmore could proceed to read the funeral service. When the Davies family moved to Tasmania, the coffin was exhumed and transhipped to Hobart Town.

The Congregational Society then bought a half-acre of land from Abraham Abrahams for £15 at Pentridge, which they resolved "should be securely enclosed by a fence consisting of narrow pailings having three rails and a pair of substantial gates." They also resolved that "immediate steps be taken for the erection on the burial ground of a modern building, 15 feet square, with a brick chimney, two large doors with locks and bolts, and one window, the whole to be eight feet high independent of a shingle roof."¹⁷⁹ The chimney most likely was included to serve to warm the "wacher" appointed to watch any body lying in the Metahar House overnight. Jewish law requires a corpse to be "watched." The Committee deferred carrying out its resolution into effect, for this cemetery also proved to be unsatisfactory either because of its distance from town or because of its size. Only one interment took place there.¹⁸⁰

On behalf of the Society, A. H. Hart made an application to the authorities in Sydney for a grant of land as a burial place for the Jewish denomination, and in April, 1843, Governor Gipps acceded to the request.¹⁸¹ Hart's application was probably made with trepidation and misgivings. Sir John Franklin had refused a similar request made to him by the Jews of Hobart Town. The gesture of Gipps received the approbation of the local press, which was most indignant that Hobart's application "had been most inhumanly refused by Sir John Franklin for reasons for which the press were at a loss to divine."¹⁸¹ The grant was one acre of land bordered by the Aboriginal Cemetery to the north and the Wesleyan and Protestant Dissenters to the east, and was situated where the Wholesale Fruit Market now stands in Queen Street.¹⁸² The deed, signed by Governor Geo. Gipps and dated 18th December, 1844, granted the land in trust to Michael Cashmore, Solomon Benjamin and Asher Hymen Hart.¹⁸³ The Society spent a sum of £24/19/- for the fencing of the whole ground and built its Metahar House with its chimney. Unfortunately, A. H. Hart had the sad task of officiating at the first funeral at that cemetery at the burial of his own brother, Lewis Hart.¹⁸⁴

The Jewish cemeteries in England contained a small corner which was set aside for the burial of persons who had committed suicide, for apostates or others who had seriously infringed upon the laws of Judaism. The Trustees of the Jewish Burial Ground in Melbourne divided it into two portions, A and B,¹⁸⁵ and probably apportioned a larger percentage than usual to part B because they expected a larger percentage than usual to be buried there. In England, intermarriage was regarded as near apostasy, and those persons who had married out of their faith would be buried "Min Hazad"—aside from the main portion. In Melbourne, so far away from the vital Jewish centres, the leaders of the community did not deceive themselves that the numbers who would intermarry would be greater than in England. However, no Jews at all were buried in portion B. According to the plan of the cemetery on which plots where persons were buried were marked in black, all interments were made in section A. The shortage of Jewish women to marry had forced so many of the young men to seek partners of other faiths, that intermarriage became a problem which did not altogether bear the stigma it bore in other parts of the world. Moreover, interment of a person in section B would have cast a reflection upon the family for all time. In a small community this could have had serious effects. In Melbourne, so many families were involved that it was no doubt deemed wiser to bury all the dead in section A.

In Geelong, the small Jewish population also divided its cemetery into two sections, apportioning section A "to the reception of such persons as have conformed to the Judaical precepts, and Division B, to such other persons as the Warden and Committee deem fit."¹⁸⁶ On 1st August, 1849, a Government grant of one rood for the purpose of burial had been given to the Trustees, Godfrey Alexander, Emanuel Ackman and Benjamin Goldsmidt Levien.¹⁸⁷ Both the leaders of the Melbourne and Geelong Jewries could not have been too well acquainted with Jewish learning or Jewish law, for they made an issue of the consecration of the Geelong cemetery. The dedication of a cemetery is a voluntary matter, and its omission does not invalidate a place of burial as ground set apart for the purpose. Nevertheless, H. J. Hart, as the Secretary of the Melbourne Hebrew Congregation, wrote to B. G. Levien in connection with the burial of the son of Abraham Levy, warning him, "recollect your ground is unconsecrated, therefore not a

Jewish place of burial and is no more than a casual piece of ground."¹⁸⁸ On 8th September, 1851, B. G. Levien, as Secretary of the Geelong Hebrew Congregation, wrote to the Melbourne Congregation asking "for the services of a qualified person to consecrate the cemetery."¹⁸⁹ The Melbourne Congregation requested its Minister to perform the ceremony at "the earliest convenience." They thought they had need for haste as Samuel Levy, a man of 71 years of age, was on the point of death. He, however, was not the first Jew to be buried on consecrated ground in Geelong.¹⁹⁰ Whilst Phillip Phillips was crossing Muston's Creek, a mile from his home, he fell into the raging waters and was drowned.¹⁹¹ Consecrated ground was ready for his reception.

THE REMNANT OF ISRAEL

With its first objective of obtaining a suitable cemetery achieved, the Melbourne Congregational Society proceeded on to its next step to build a synagogue. Before doing so, however, they must have decided to give their institution greater power and authority. The title, Society—in Hebrew, *Hevrah*—in England would denote a small group, and in regard to public worship denoted a small group which held services in a private home. Larger congregations which conducted services in an established synagogue would give their institution a more elaborate title, firstly prefixed by the words "The Holy Congregation" and then by a name which struck a note concerning the hope or character of the congregation or the building, such as "The Holy Congregation of the Lovers of Peace" or "The Holy Congregation of the Gates of Heaven." If the group were to take a lead in communal matters amongst an increasing population, it could not be just a *Hevrah*, which sounded insignificant. A "Holy Congregation" was authoritative. The Melbourne community also intended applying to the Government for a grant of land on which to build a synagogue, and an application from a "Holy Congregation" had a greater chance of success than a mere plea from a Society. Accordingly, on 21st January, 1844, it was unanimously resolved "that this Congregation be designated *Khal Kodesh Shearith Yisrael*—The Holy Congregation of the Remnant of Israel." They also altered and amended the laws of the institution.¹⁹²

Although the title, "Remnant of Israel," is rather a quaint name for a congregation, for when the Bible speaks

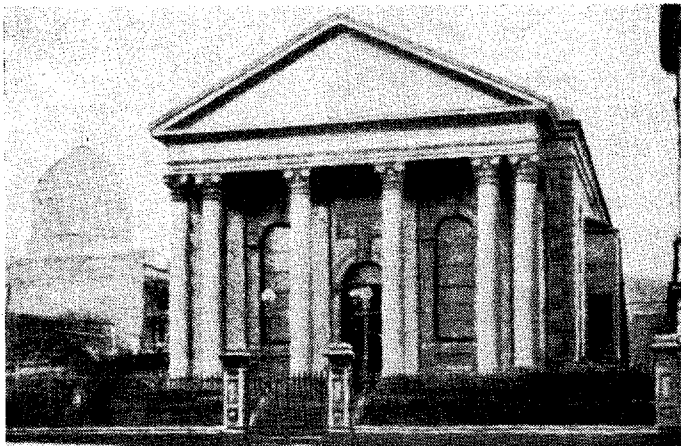
of a remnant of Israel it refers to the remainder that has been left of an abundant people which has been punished and destroyed because of its transgressions and wrongdoing, yet, the thought which the promoters desired to convey by adorning the Congregation with the name is apparent. They were so far away from their homes and from their Jewish surroundings and environment that they regarded themselves as cut off from the rest of Israel as a small remnant, forsaken and forlorn, which could not expect much help from its brethren but which placed infinite hope in the help of God. When in 1849, the Jews in Geelong formed their small congregation, they also gave it the name Shearith Yisrael—The Remnant¹⁹⁴ of Israel, not because of any affiliation to the Melbourne Congregation, which opposed the new offshoot,¹⁹³ but because they, too, believed that their remoteness and the smallness of their numbers left them like an unremembered drop in a sea of many waters. Later, during the period of the gold rush, the Congregation in Ballarat were also to name themselves by the same title and for the very same reason.¹⁹⁵

THE SYNAGOGUE

The proposal to ask the Government for a grant of land to build a synagogue was now pursued, and from a choice of two plots situated in Bourke Street, allotment 6 was "unanimously chosen."¹⁹⁶ It had been originally bought by Joseph Hodgson for £50, for which he paid a deposit of £5 which sum was forfeited because of the non-payment of the purchase price and the Government resumed the land.¹⁹⁷ The fee of the land was vested in the same trustees as the Burial Ground, Hart, Cashmore and Benjamin. Difficulty may have been encountered in receiving this grant, for when the deed was signed, sealed and delivered, the Congregation presented a silver snuff-box to Captain Buckley "for his efforts and the anxiety evinced by him in obtaining a grant of land from the Government."¹⁹⁶

The community was thankful for the grant from many angles. Without it, they may have taken many additional years before they would have been able to erect a synagogue edifice. In any case, although it received the grant in 1844, it was not until June, 1847, that the Committee thought the time ripe to erect a building. It was not the lack of numbers which deferred the start on the building

but the lack of money. In all those years the Congregation could only accumulate £100, and with £50 of good debts on its books and with £50 which it hoped to receive from offerings and donations, it risked the drawing up of plans for a building for an estimated cost of £250.¹⁹⁸ The sub-committee deputed to make recommendations about the matter was so afraid of the huge expense that it recommended that Nathaniel Nathan's property in Little Collins Street be rebuilt as a place of public worship at a cost of £76, but the recommendation was not acceptable and they decided that any outlay of money should be spent on the property belonging to the Congregation in Bourke Street.



THE OLD MELBOURNE SYNAGOGUE, BOURKE STREET.

The lowest tender offered, however, was £435, and this being considered as much beyond their means and intentions, they reduced the size of the building to an edifice which was within their financial possibilities and which was 20 feet by 30 feet and 17 feet high. Because of poverty the structure was not as large as the community had originally hoped, but it looked forward to the day when it could afford to build a larger edifice and turn the building then in contemplation into a school-room and a residence for a Minister.

The moment for which the Melbourne Jewish community had patiently waited at long last arrived, and on

Wednesday morning, 25th August, 1847, nearly all the Jewish residents were present when the President, Solomon Benjamin, laid the foundation stone.¹⁹⁹ The event was suitably celebrated by a dinner at night. On Friday, 17th March, 1848, with due solemnity, the completed synagogue was consecrated.²⁰⁰ The following Monday, the community celebrated the occasion and felt proud of its achievement,²⁰¹ and looked forward to the future with confidence and with courage, although it had to borrow £100 at 8% so as to complete payment for the building.²⁰²

THE SCROLL OF THE LAW AND OTHER REQUISITES

Since every penny counted in the poor community, the procurement of a *Sefer Torah*—a Scroll of the Law—which cost at least £20 and which had to be obtained from England,²⁰³ may have also contributed to the delay between the acquisition of the grant and the building of the synagogue. A *Sefer Torah* is a necessity for a complete public service on Sabbath and Festivals.

In spite of their poverty, the members of the community were prepared to pay the maximum prices for their religious requisites. Unfortunately, they could only obtain these religious requisites from England, as no one in Australia was sufficiently efficient to manufacture them. They were often imposed upon, to the deep sorrow and chagrin of the recipients. A. H. Hart, as President of the Congregation, had to write to the Chief Rabbi, calling his "attention to the various articles that are sent out to these colonies for religious purposes. A greater evil I know not of. Prayer books (especially festivals) are all misprints. Although the prices are never objected to, we (the congregation) have some dozen sets of *Tsitsis* quite useless, from being too short and too light. The *Tephilin* and *Mezuzos* are shameful impositions and the worst misfortune is the remedy is too far off to be available. Hence the wrong both morally and civilly."²⁰⁴

THE GEELONG GRANT

Although the small group of Geelong Jews had no possible chance of building a synagogue, they must have noted that the Melbourne Jews had obtained a grant of land for a synagogue, and so they applied as well, for they

did hope that at some future date wealth would come to them and they, too, could fulfil their hearts' desire. Sir Charles Augustus FitzRoy granted them a plot of land of two roods at the corner of Yarrow (now Yarra) and McKillop Streets to the same trustees as the cemetery, Cashmore, Ackman and Levien. The grant, which was dated 10th May, 1851, provided for a yearly quit rent of one peppercorn for ever if demanded, and indicated that the Government was already mindful of mineral rights apart from its concern with the religious welfare of the community. One of the conditions reserved "unto us, our heirs and successors all mines of gold, of silver and of coal" and was given "in order to promote religion and education in our territory . . . for the erection thereon of a synagogue for the use of the members of the Jewish Faith, and for no other purpose whatsoever."²⁰⁵

CHAPTER 4

THE DUTIES OF A READER

With the establishment of an organised, growing congregation, the Melbourne community realised it would also be obliged to appoint a Minister, and a sub-committee was authorised to seek a Reader. The term Reader in those days implied that besides reading the service (for which if he possessed an excellent voice he could assume the title of Cantor), he would also have to undertake to preach whenever the occasion demanded it. He would also be expected to read the Law, which is no easy task for the untrained, for to chant the words of the Bible without vowels and without notes needs study and practice. In smaller communities the Reader would be expected to possess additional qualifications. He would have to act as a Shochet—a ritual slaughterer—a Mohel—a circumcisor—and would also have to teach the young. Usually, in small congregations, the emphasis was placed upon the duties of a Shochet and a Mohel which were usually studied in combination by students who expected to be appointed in small townships. It was a period when it was not unusual for a layman to possess ability to conduct a service and to read the Law, whilst preaching was not considered of primary importance. The call, therefore, was for the specialised tasks of Shochet and Mohel, whilst it was taken for granted

than any Shochet could teach, although more often than not the Shochet possessed the learning but no qualification at all to impart it.

SHECHITAH

The fact that in October, 1847, the Melbourne community appointed Walter L. Lindenthal as its Reader²⁰⁶ and he was no Shochet, indicated a relaxation in the dietary laws by Melbourne Jewry. Not having a ritual slaughterer for so many years, the Jews, though pious and particular about Jewish law and practice, allowed themselves the licence of eating the meat of animals killed by the non-Jewish method. There is no record of any of the community only eating vegetarian food. As far as meat is concerned, the dietary laws do not only require the animal to be killed by a Shochet, but all blood must be drawn from the meat by leaving it liberally sprinkled with salt for one hour. Many of the Melbourne Jews would buy their meat from the Gentile butcher and though it was not Kosher, would then salt it.²⁰⁷ When the Rev. Moses Rintel was appointed Reader to the Congregation in January, 1849,²⁰⁸ the Shechitah problem was solved, as Rintel was a qualified Shochet.²⁰⁹ Nevertheless, many, already accustomed to eat non-Kosher meat, still continued to do so and a number still continued to salt it.²⁰⁷

MILAH

Lindenthal was no Shochet nor was he a Mohel. It did not mean, however, that because he lacked this qualification that the Victorian Jews were lax in the practice of circumcision. On the contrary, they adhered strictly to this ancient law, which has been observed for centuries amongst even those Jews who were most unobservant in everything else. It is, however, a religious rite and, therefore, it is not sufficient for a Gentile medical practitioner to carry out the ceremony. The operator must be a person of the Jewish faith and preferably a practising member of the faith. Earnestly desiring the continuance of the observance of the Abrahamic rite amongst the Jews of Victoria, Isaac L. Lincoln on his own accord learnt to perform circumcision and proved to be a great asset to the community.²¹⁰ When Lincoln moved to Seymour,²¹¹ it was a matter of deep concern to the Melbourne Jews, for to bring him from the country to Melbourne whenever a male child was

born may have proved expensive to the poor parents. Lincoln's failure in business at Seymour,²¹² in a way, was the good fortune of the Jews of Melbourne, and he celebrated his return to the city in June, 1847, by circumcising the third son of James Simeon which was recorded as the tenth Bris in the Colony.²¹³

Jews who lived in the country would sometimes have to wait years before they could circumcise their children, and a curious point once arose when two children of six and eight years, whose parents lived far from town, had to be circumcised. Lincoln took it upon himself "to administer the lately discovered soothing agent Chloroform," and the Congregation sent an urgent enquiry to the Chief Rabbi in England asking if Lincoln had acted correctly.²¹⁴

When Rintel was appointed Reader, the problem of Milah was also solved, for he was an authorised and skilful Mohel. Lincoln, who had practised for seven years, wished to obtain a certificate of efficiency from the Chief Rabbi, but he did not receive it, probably because the distance between Australia and England made it impossible for Lincoln to undergo the necessary examination. In lieu of the Chief Rabbi's certificate, the Congregation issued him with a testimonial, setting forth "that he had acted as Mohel for seven years to the entire satisfaction of the community."²¹⁵

SABBATH OBSERVANCE

Besides the eating of non-Kosher meat, another observance in which the Jews of Victoria seemed to show signs of weakening was the observance of the Sabbath. Nearly all Jews in London at the time closed their stores on Friday nights, on Saturdays as well as on Festivals, and the Jews of Victoria followed the same practice. On the eve of a Festival, the Congregation would advertise in the local press "that the members of the Hebrew profession intended a suspension of business to observe the Feasts."²¹⁶ In the early years of Port Phillip, private individuals would also advertise to the same effect, and some even notified the public that they closed on the Sabbath. On arrival at Port Phillip, Moses Benjamin announced the opening of his store, "Albert House," in Collins Street. At the end of the advertisement he added a postscript: "No business

transacted between 6 o'clock on Friday and 6 o'clock Saturday evenings."²¹⁷ He must have soon realised that 6 o'clock was too early to open on Saturday evenings in the summer time, for in subsequent advertisements he notified the public that his shop would close from 7 o'clock on Friday evenings and would re-open at 7 on Saturday evenings.²¹⁸ This alteration in itself is evidence of the beginning of a relaxation of the strict observance of the Sabbath. In England, the opening of a shop would not have been countenanced before actual sunset. Before that time, it would have been regarded as a desecration of the Sabbath and just as wrong as if it had been opened at noonday. In Port Phillip in summer-time, the sun set well after seven, but that hour seemed to be the time chosen for the re-opening of shops even by those who considered themselves orthodox Jews.

With the passing of the years, the observance of the Sabbath must have relaxed still further, for advertisements regarding the closing of stores on the Sabbath did not appear in the press and only seldom on the eve of a Festival. A note of complaint marred the serenity of the Honorary Reader to the Congregation, A. H. Hart, when at the end of 1846 he wrote to the Committee "setting forth the necessity he felt of resigning the office of Honorary Reader to the Congregation" owing to the non-attendance of a sufficient number of members to make a Minyan. He stated: "I will not any longer (to be plain) submit to the insult of attending the Synagogue on Sabbaths and Holy Days without the means of celebrating public worship." At a meeting to discuss Hart's letter, a motion was put to discontinue worship till the New Year Feast of 1847, but as a compliment to Hart's sincerity "the following members voluntarily agreed to attend to the Synagogue every Friday night and Saturday morning, or subject themselves to a fine of five shillings on each occasion of their absence, unless a substitute be provided or sufficient cause be shown to the President: Nathaniel Nathan, M. S. Davis, J. Marks, S., M. and D. Benjamin and S. H. Harris."²¹⁹ Such a resolution would never have been necessary in a strictly Sabbath-observing community.

In June, 1848, A. H. Hart, as President of the Congregation, frankly admitted in a letter to the Chief Rabbi in England that Sabbath observance was not strictly kept. In asking if a member of the priestly family which has the privilege of administering the benediction during the

service on Festivals, could do so if he worked on Saturday, he stated: "I do not attempt to conceal the fact, there are Cohenim, as well as others, who do not scrupulously adhere to the duties appertaining to the keeping of the Shubbos."²²⁰

There may have been two major reasons for the gradual increase of the non-observance of the Sabbath day, poverty and the lack of social pressure. Most of the early settlers in Melbourne were young men, who would not exert the same influence in this matter as their elders would have done in England. They were also few in number and living in an atmosphere of freedom where one did not interfere too much with one's neighbour, especially when his livelihood was involved.

EDUCATION

Since Lindenthal was not appointed for the purpose of Snehitah or Milah and there were others in the community who could read the service, there must have been some other purpose for his appointment. It was not because he could read the Law. Rather than be compelled to read the Torah, he agreed to relinquish ten pounds per annum from his meagre salary.²²¹ The major reason then for his engagement, although it was not stated as such, was to teach the young. Although education of children according to Jewish law is a specific parental duty, it has usually been accepted as a communal responsibility which the Melbourne Congregation did not fail to acknowledge, in spite of its poverty. However, the object of Lindenthal's appointment was not only to teach the children Hebrew and religion. Secular tuition at the time was not provided by the State. It was a private matter, and one of the conditions of Lindenthal's engagement included the stipulation that he would receive "the support of the Congregation generally in a school which it was expected he would open for the instruction of Jewish children in Hebrew and English."²²² In order to allow him to supplement his inadequate stipend, a distinct understanding existed that he alone was "to have the privilege of teaching Hebrew, which, with his superior abilities to teach English and other languages also, would enable him to establish a good, and it is hoped, a profitable school." The Committee also built two additional rooms on the Synagogue building, one which

served as Lindenthal's residence and the other as his schoolroom. To assist him they appointed Samuel Isaacs as Beadle and as a Reader of the Law, he having been recommended from Sydney "as a useful man in any capacity the school might require him."²²²

Isaacs really proved to be a useful man in any capacity. In consequence of a report concerning him, he was called to appear before the Committee, and "having no



THE OLD ST. KILDA SYNAGOGUE.

defence he was forthwith dismissed."²²³ The following year he made full use of his talents and opened a day school for boys and girls at the "Eastern End of Great Latrobe Street."²²⁴ He was very successful, and from the statistics of the Colony it appears that he had one of the largest teaching establishments in the town.²²⁵ He received a certain amount of financial help from the Government subsidy. At the beginning of 1849, the Government of New South Wales introduced the Denominational School Board subsidising all the principal denominations except that of the Jewish faith.²²⁶ To receive assistance it was

necessary for the school to be attached to the major Christian denominations. Isaacs' school was a Wesleyan establishment.²²⁵ The Jewish boys and girls in Melbourne attended classes which were conducted by Lindenthal. In his first year his pupils numbered seventeen, with six prospective additions to the roll. Among his difficulties was the lack of a good choice of elementary books, which could not be supplemented from abroad as there was a shortage of such books in England at the time.²²⁷ In spite of Lindenthal describing himself as a "Professor of Hebrew and German," he displayed other qualities for which the Committee dispensed with his services.²²⁸

The Committee was determined to acquire a proper qualified teacher for the vacant post, because it advertised, "that the office of Reader was open to anyone who could produce a certificate as Cantor, Mohel, Bal Kore and Shochet with ability to teach Hebrew grammatically and must have an agreeable voice."²²⁹ Two applications were received for the vacancy and one was bluntly told "that he appeared to have misunderstood the nature of the qualifications necessary, the most important one being, as described in the circular letter, viz., 'Ability to teach Hebrew grammatically'."²³⁰ Rev. Moses Rintel could teach Hebrew grammatically and he was chosen for the position.²³¹ A qualified Shochet and Mohel as well as scholar, he emigrated to Sydney from England at the age of 20, and after serving the Sydney Congregation for about five years as Principal of the Hebrew School, he accepted the post with the Melbourne Congregation. Euthusiastic and capable, Rintel succeeded in his task, and having been born in Edinburgh,²³³ he was able to impart English as well as Hebrew and religion.

CULTURE AND THE ARTS

A feature concerning the Jews of Melbourne was their lack of advanced study and desire for Jewish learning. Throughout the generations, Jewish communities were adorned by their study circles, and even the ordinary workman would have some acquaintance with the Bible and its commentaries, as well as with the Talmud and with philosophy and part of their vast allied literature. Those unable to attend a study group during the week because of work and business, would at least attend a Bible class on the Sabbath. In England, however, those whose ances-

tors had been born in the country and had originally come from Spain, Holland and Germany, did not stress the study circle. They placed the emphasis on dignity, brotherhood and courteous conduct, and would not reach a high standard of Jewish knowledge, whilst the eastern European Jews, believing that "the ignorant man cannot be a pious man," placed the emphasis upon study and not upon polish. From the absence of a study circle in Melbourne and the presence of obvious errors which the community sometimes made in their letters to the Chief Rabbi, it is apparent that the Jews of Melbourne were descendants of English Jews whose ancestors had lived in England for more than one generation. Only A. H. Hart displayed any profound knowledge of Jewish subjects, and when his premises were destroyed by fire, he "very much felt the loss of his books, of which he had a very choice little lot—choice for this part of the world."²³⁴ On the other hand, the belief current amongst the community in the brotherhood of all mankind urged many to join Masonic Lodges, in which they took a keen interest.²³⁵

The deficiency of Hebrew culture amongst Victorian Jewry also reflected itself in their standards of general culture. They were not actively concerned with music, art or literature, and only John Davies and Michael Cashmore had any connection with the amateur stage, the latter as a very moderate and infrequent performer, whilst Davies was associated with a class of theatre which amused the uneducated and which he used as a means of deriving theatrical benefits for himself.²³⁶ On a far higher rung stood Wizard Jacobs, but he was a professional actor and conjuror.²³⁷ Originally from Liverpool and London, he played to audiences in Tasmania and Melbourne, where he enjoyed popularity, especially when he mimicked Jewish characters. A critic wrote of him²³⁸ that in the part of Solomon in *The Stranger* he "excited roars of laughter. Mr. Jacobs is an excellent comic actor. His identification with his character never quits him; he evidently never thinks of Mr. Jacobs, and this is the first requisite towards the completion of a clever performer." After a number of years on the stage, he received a bumper benefit at the Queen's Theatre²³⁹ and then he retired from the footlights and started a career as a dancing instructor.²⁴⁰

Another professional artist who may have made a contribution to the advancement of music in Victoria, had

he remained in Port Phillip, was Isaac Nathan. Before coming to Australia he had made his debut at the Covent Garden Theatre, but his voice proving too weak for the stage he turned to musical and dramatic composition.²⁴¹ An intimate friend of Lord Byron, he set some of his poems to music. He also wrote a *History and Theory of Music*, *Musurgia Vocalis*, *Memoirs of Madame Malibran de Beriot*, the music for *Sweethearts and Wives*, *The Alcaid*, an opera, the musical farce, *The Illustrious Stranger*, the drama, *The King' Fool*, whilst one of his most celebrated songs was *Why are you wandering here, I pray ?*" He was historian of music to George IV, and became instructor to Princess Charlotte of Wales. Her early demise and the cessation of the royal stipend led him to seek his fortune elsewhere. On arrival at Port Phillip early in 1841, he gave a number of musical concerts, which were punctuated by some much used Hebrew synagogue melodies to which he set rather inappropriate words.²⁴² The first concert attended by the Superintendent and his wife was not a financial success. Compulsory full dress costume, high prices and the ambitious "high-brow" programme did not make it popular. When he amended these three faults at other concerts, "the hall was crowded out into the lane with an audience delighted beyond measure once more to hear the tones of a master."²⁴⁴

In spite of all his concerts, Isaac Nathan did not find any inducement to remain in Port Phillip, and he made his home in Sydney, where he wrote an opera, *Merry Freaks in Troublesome Times*,²⁴⁵ and where he rendered great service in developing musical talent and improving music in houses of worship and choral societies.²⁴⁶ It may have been Nathan's influence which prompted the formation of the Melbourne Harmonic Society, with one of the Benjamin brothers as Secretary,²⁴⁷ and it may have been his departure which contributed to the effort falling away.

CHAPTER 5

THE RELATIONSHIP WITH OTHER COMMUNITIES

As much as the Jews of Melbourne had need to struggle to build and maintain their own congregation, it added to their merit that they never refused assistance to other communities when called upon for help. When the Sydney community appealed for funds to build their synagogue in York Street, the Melbourne Jews voluntarily contributed £22/10/-.²⁴⁸ On another occasion, when the Launceston community called for assistance to release them from a mortgage on their synagogue, A. H. Hart, Michael Cashmore and Solomon Benjamin personally called upon all the members of their own congregation for subscriptions.²⁴⁹ On one occasion, relationships between the Hobart and the Melbourne Congregations were strained, but the breach was soon healed, in spite of the strong language of condemnation used by both parties. It concerned the appointment of a Minister to the Melbourne Synagogue. The latter sent a copy of the advertisement to the Presidents of the Sydney, Launceston, Hobart and Adelaide communities. The Hobart Congregation imagined that Melbourne desired to filch their Minister, whom they had imported from England, and in reply made some unpleasant references concerning the Melbourne Synagogue Committee, to which the latter passed a resolution approved by the general body of members, "that the reply from the officers of the synagogue in Hobart Town to a communication from this congregation is most disrespectful, insulting and ill-becoming deliberations of a religious body." The uncomplimentary exchange indicated the sensitiveness of the Jewish communal leaders.²⁵⁰

Besides sensitiveness, a somewhat autocratic attitude developed amongst the leaders of Melbourne Jewry. When the Jews in Geelong intimated that they had formed a congregation, H. J. Hart, as Hon. Secretary, wrote on behalf of the Committee that "they had come to the unanimous determination that they cannot sanction anything in connection with a separate congregation in Geelong."²⁵¹ B. G. Levien replied, "we have no separate congregation beyond a burial ground," which brought forth the retort from H. J. Hart: "I am at a loss to understand your statement . . . and the signature B. J. Levien, Hon. Secretary, Jewish Congregation, Geelong. . . . Our Congregation

will always be willing to assist you when you have the materials for properly carrying into effect what is required in a Jewish Religious Establishment"²⁵² What exactly the Melbourne Congregation meant by the last statement is not exactly defined, but it appears they were not so much concerned with the religious aspect as they were concerned with the maintenance of their assumed authority. They believed that, as leaders of the Melbourne Congregation, they also possessed the guardianship of the whole of Victorian Jewry. Anyone who wished to form a congregation of their own had to seek their permission first. Apparently the Geelong Jews cared little for autocracy, for not long after they made another request to the Melbourne Congregation, and B. G. Levien still signed as Hon. Secretary, Geelong Hebrew Congregation.²⁵³ Melbourne accepted the *fait accompli*.

THE RELATIONSHIP WITH THE CHIEF RABBI

Since the majority of the Jews in Port Phillip were English-born, they had a strong attachment to the Mother Country, and their ties with England were as strong as the bonds of the general community. As most of them also came from London, they regarded the Chief Rabbi of London, Rabbi Solomon Herschell, as their spiritual head, and when he passed away his loss was keenly felt and they published a memorial notice in the local press.²⁵⁴ Herschell had been appointed and supported in London by a single congregation exclusively, and there had been no attempt to have his authority recognised generally. His successor, Chief Rabbi Dr. Nathan Marcus Adler, however, assumed office under widely different circumstances. He was elected and solemnly installed by the United Congregations, a London body constituted of several institutions.²⁵⁵ Other communities in the British Empire were in no way legally bound to Dr. Adler's jurisdiction, yet, most of them, especially those in Australia, because of their ties with England, willingly submitted themselves to his ecclesiastical authority and financially supported this position by an annual contribution to the Chief Rabbi's Fund. The Melbourne Congregation voted a yearly sum of £5/5/- towards the office.

To mark their respect for Dr. Adler, the Melbourne Congregation sent him an illuminated address, beautifully

engrossed on a scroll of the finest parchment and magnificently adorned with figures and emblems. Commentators at the time stated, "that it exceeded in beauty everything of the kind they had seen."²⁵⁷ They looked to the Chief Rabbi to endorse any ministerial appointment made to the Congregation, and posed problems to him on all kinds of subjects, particularly religious questions. One subject, proselytisation, touched the intimate lives of the Melbourne Jews, and it counts to their credit that in spite of the distance from England, their veneration for the Chief Rabbi's office impelled them implicitly to obey any advice which he tendered, although it affected some of the members of the community seriously and adversely.²⁵⁸

THE RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN THE CONGREGATION AND ITS MINISTERS

The Minister of the Melbourne Congregation was never his own master. The Committee regarded him as a paid servant, who had to carry out their demands and wishes even concerning matters affecting the synagogue services. If they had been more knowledgeable they would probably have dictated to him concerning religious matters as well. When the Congregation appointed Lindenthal as its Reader, it informed him that A. H. Hart, as the former Honorary Reader, would be "unanimously allowed" to choose whatever part of the service he wished to read on the New Year and the Day of Atonement. Lindenthal, however, was ordered to read the Afternoon Service and instructed to deliver a "Religious Discourse" on Yom Kippur.²⁵⁹

Lindenthal did not remain long with the Congregation, but a similar attitude was adopted towards his successor, Rintel, although he was far better equipped in Jewish scholarship and reputation. Rintel had advised the Committee that no objection existed according to Jewish law in circumcising a child of a Jewish father and a non-Jewish mother, but the ceremony would not be regarded as a religious ceremony as the child could not enter the Jewish faith by such circumcision.²⁶⁰ A general meeting resolved, "that there was no objection to the circumcision of the child" and the President ordered Rintel "to attend at the home of the father of a child on Sunday next at 11 o'clock to perform the operation."²⁶¹ Rintel, by this time, realised the danger of his advice. The circumcision

ceremony achieved nothing and could lead to confusion. The parents would believe their child was Jewish when he had definitely not entered the pale of Judaism. Rintel now protested he did not desire to perform the ceremony, and requested that the matter should be placed before the members, which resulted in the President writing him a letter in a tone which Rintel could not mistake but which continually marred the cordial relationship which should exist between a minister and the lay leaders of the community. Thus he wrote:—²⁶²

Hebrew Congregation,

Melbourne, Dec. 19, 1850.

Revd. Sir,

In reply to your letter of this date I must certainly express my greatest surprise at your inconsistent conduct, also of your wishing to appeal from a greater to a lesser tribunal. I have yet to learn that it is compatible with your position as our Reader to dictate to the general body as to what you will or what you will not do touching a matter on which it is on record you maintain is religiously correct. It is not for you in your capacity as our Reader to interfere in any matters of Civil policy such as you yourself pronounced this to be. Hoping you will not push this matter to extremities,

I am,

Revd. and Dear Sir,

Yours truly,

M. Cashmore,
Warden.

On one matter considered of little importance, the Committee allowed its Minister to flout Jewish practice because it was convenient. The Minister, in his desire to serve and please his congregation, may have willingly consented. Rintel, as a descendant of the priestly family of Cohanim, was not permitted according to Jewish law to visit a cemetery, yet he performed funeral services.²⁶³ He would not have done it in England under the Chief Rabbi's supervision.

CLASS DISTINCTION AND AUTOCRACY

Although a spirit of brotherhood and benevolence prevailed amongst the Jewish community, yet, on occasions, a note of class distinction manifested itself. In July, 1842, A. H. Hart was proposed as a candidate for the City Council. The proposal was seconded by James Simeon. Hart took the trouble of writing to the *Port Phillip Herald* protesting because "you should have thought it necessary to couple my name in two separate paragraphs with that of a person who, however RESPECTABLE he may be in

YOUR estimation, I assure you I have not the slightest ambition to become familiarised with."²⁶⁴ The newspaper took Hart to task for "casting such reflection upon one of his own people," upon which Hart stated he only desired the truth but "had no intention of impugning his (Simeon's) respectability." The newspaper then attacked Hart more severely for his ambiguity in seeking the truth.²⁶⁵ Actually it was a class difference which impelled Hart to write a letter to a public newspaper concerning such a trivial matter. When Simeon succeeded in business, Hart did not hesitate to seek a donation from Simeon for the building of the synagogue.²⁶⁶

Another instance of class distinction appeared in the laws of the Melbourne Congregation.²⁶⁷ They divided those attached to the Synagogue into privileged and non-privileged members. It could be understood that they desired to penalise those who had married out of their faith by dispossessing them of some advantages, but the division of the membership into two classes also had another purpose. The Congregation was not open to all and sundry. Like an autocratic social club, the original members were determined that only those whose reputations could meet with their high standards and requirements would join with them in the conduct of communal affairs and in participation of voting rights. Strict enquiries were made concerning each applicant for membership, who had to pay an entrance fee in advance and for whom a ballot was held. Even then the applicant could not gain membership immediately but had to occupy a seat in the Synagogue for six months before he entered the portals of the privileged class.²⁶⁸

Since to become a privileged member of the Congregation was no simple matter, it created a situation in the Jewish community similar to that existing in a society where to belong to certain exclusive institutions gives the holder the stamp of respectability and good repute. When the leaders of the community realised that anyone disobeying their rulings could be expelled from membership and thus lose caste and status, they sometimes employed their acquired power somewhat autocratically. When the Melbourne Congregation objected to the Geelong Jews burying a child of Mr. A. Levy in the Geelong Cemetery, they threatened to fine its own four members living in Geelong the sum of ten pounds if they helped in opening the grave.²⁶⁹ A system of fines was enforced for all types of

offences. Penalties were inflicted upon Committeemen if absent without reasonable excuse. When Lindenthal was dismissed as Reader of the Congregation, the Benjamin brothers sympathised with him and absented themselves from the Committee meetings. The other members did not hesitate regularly to fine David Benjamin 2/6 for each non-attendance and Moses Benjamin 5/-, although he was Treasurer of the Congregation and highly esteemed.²⁷⁰ If anyone refused to pay a penalty inflicted upon him, the Congregation had a method of implementing its decision. If a member of the family died, the Congregation would refuse to open the grave in the Jewish cemetery. One member who repudiated an I.O.U. for money owing to the Synagogue discovered he could not bury his newly-born child who had died, unless he paid his debts in full.²⁷¹

The Committee preserved the power of privileged membership most jealously. When Benjamin Francis arrived in Melbourne he desired to become a privileged member immediately by paying for a year's seat rental in advance. A business associate of Edward Cohen, a man of irreproachable conduct and repute, as well as being a man with whom the community was already familiar by reputation, Francis was not allowed any concessions in spite of his vigorous written protest. Like all other members he had to wait six months before he was granted the honour of privileged membership.²⁷²

SOCIAL RELATIONSHIPS

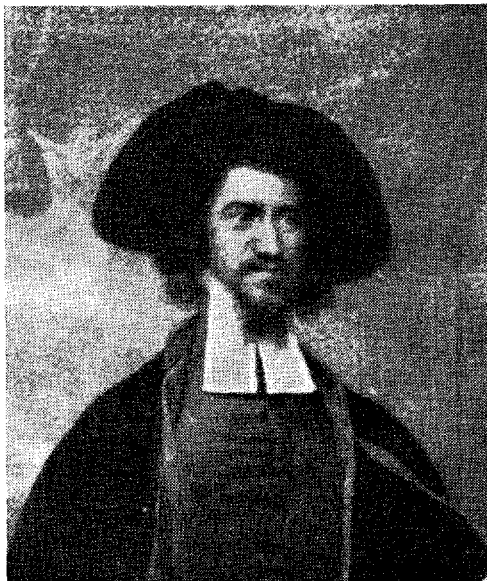
The division between the privileged and the non-privileged in the Synagogue may also have reflected itself in the social relationship of Melbourne Jewry. Common interests create common friendships, and the mutual interest of the Jews in their Synagogue, religion, customs, traditions and history, besides the frequent close blood relationship, led them to mingle on intimate terms with each other. A great deal of the leisure time of the leaders of the community was taken up in communal meetings and "shool politics." There were hardly any organised social functions except the annual dinners commemorating the laying of the foundation stone of the Synagogue, which were punctuated with numerous toasts drunk to a varied host of individuals and institutions.²⁷³

CHAPTER 6**PROSELYTES**

Although the members of Melbourne Jewry lived on cordial terms with their Gentile neighbours, there is no evidence of their friendship being close and intimate. However, because of the scarcity of Jewish women of marriageable age, a number of young Jewish men did form liaisons with Gentile women. Most of these young men had been nurtured in the belief that to marry out of the Jewish faith was an act of disloyalty against their people, as well as against their religion, and some of them, therefore, rather than marry Gentile partners, lived with them in a *de facto* state. For this reason, when the Melbourne Congregation legislated against those that had intermarried, it also added a phrase to include those who "were living openly in a state of concubinage."²⁷⁴ Others who considered living with a *de facto* wife as immoral, married their partners and endeavoured to proselytise them to the Jewish religion. This was no easy task. In communities under the influence of the Chief Rabbi of England, the strict view was taken in accordance with Jewish law that no one should be allowed to convert to Judaism for the sake of marriage. A convert must believe in the Jewish faith and join it through conviction. The opinion was current that to proselytise a person for the purpose of convenience but not of belief was ethically wrong and a disintegrating influence amongst the Jewish people.

The initial view of Melbourne Jewry concerning intermarriage was reflected in the laws of the Congregation. At first they passed a resolution that any person who was married or reputed to be married contrary to the Jewish faith could not hold office.²⁷⁵ Later they made the law more stringent, and anyone "married out or living openly in a state of concubinage" could not become a privileged member. If a privileged member violated the resolution regarding intermarriage or concubinage, he would forfeit all his rights.²⁷⁴ The Congregation also adopted a local rule practised in England of not allowing anyone who had intermarried to receive the honour to be invited to the reading desk in the Synagogue on those occasions when the Torah was read from the scrolls. When Rintel first joined the Congregation as its Reader, he was unaware of this local rule, and he inadvertently honoured a visitor

from Sydney who had intermarried by inviting him to come forward and stand at the reading desk whilst the portion of the Law was being read and to make the appropriate blessings. A. H. Hart immediately walked out of the Synagogue, and the Committee decided not to accept the visitor's offering and asked a general meeting to con-



CHIEF RABBI SOLOMON HERSCHEL.

firm its action.²⁷⁶ Cashmore, when President, had a similar experience, and he found it necessary to write as follows²⁷⁷ to a person who had an "alayah":—

Sir,

However painful its performance, I find it my duty as President of this Congregation to call your attention to the fact that your call to the Torah this morning was caused by a misrepresentation of your own to me in your application this week.

It having been done in error I should not now have mentioned it but was fearful that it might be construed into a precedent. I therefore take this earliest opportunity of removing any erroneous impression that may exist.

Yours etc.,
M. Cashmore,
President.

The Congregation became so adamant about mixed marriages that it passed a more definite resolution, "that no application for conversion to the Jewish faith be received by this Congregation or be entertained in any shape."²⁷⁸

Eventually, when the community arrived at the conclusion that Jewish women were not attracted to Victoria and there was little chance of them emigrating to Australia in large numbers, they took a more lenient view towards those married to Gentile women and towards children born of their union. The Congregation then decided to refer the whole subject "as to the propriety of making Guerists" to the Chief Rabbi. All persons who were desirous of having their wives proselytised were requested to send in their applications to the Hon. Secretary along with their reasons, so that each case could be studied separately by the Jewish authorities in London. When the first minister of the Hobart Town Congregation, Rev. Morris R. Cohen, arrived from England in Van Diemen's Land in August, 1846,²⁷⁹ a communication was hastily sent to him as to his powers in such cases. He had none and did not assume any. Further correspondence with Rev. M. R. Cohen elicited evasive replies and indicated he had no desire to meddle in such matters.²⁸⁰ Lindenthal, who was prepared to meddle in anything to his advantage, was informed "that the Committee was opposed to deciding on the question of making proselytes in Port Phillip, but they had no objection to lay questions before Dr. Adler, the British Chief Rabbi, by whose opinion only they disposed to be guided."²⁸¹ A. H. Hart wrote to the Chief Rabbi again, desiring to know "whether, under favourable circumstances, you would authorise the making of female proselytes, there being one or two cases that have very frequently been brought under our notice, but which we have invariably refused to entertain, not thinking it a matter for laymen (most of whom are young and inexperienced in such affairs) to legislate upon."²⁸² Frequent correspondence between the Chief Rabbi and all the communities in Australia regarding the thorny problem of proselytes indicate that he desired to examine each case individually.²⁸³ He was strongly opposed to the conversion of Gentiles, but did not close the door on genuine converts or on cases brought about through circumstances of extreme hardship. The Chief Rabbi admitted this in a letter to the Board of Management of the Sydney Synagogue in May, 1874, in which he stated, "cases occurred at that time in Melbourne

where refusal to admit them into our pale would have been almost a crime, and their reception has been a positive good." However, the Chief Rabbi pointed out that even if he consented certain requirements were necessary, circumcision, the act of immersion in a ritual bath and the act of conversion by an authorised ecclesiastical body. Since Melbourne had neither a ritual bath nor an ecclesiastical authority, nor had Sydney, no conversions could be made of anyone living in Australia unless they travelled to London.

Evidence of the ignorance of the laws of proselytisation is patently apparent in a letter which Michael Cashmore sent to the Chief Rabbi as the President of the Congregation.²⁸⁴ He wrote he believed it would be necessary for the child of a Jewish mother and a Christian father to convert before being accepted as a Jew. There is no such necessity, as children born of a Jewish mother are Jewish without any conversion, no matter who the father is. If a child is born of a non-Jewish mother it must go through the ceremony of conversion if it is desired it should be recognised as Jewish. Isaac L. Lincoln, when he was the Mohel of the community, would circumcise boys of non-Jewish mothers, not as a religious ceremony but in order to make it easier for them to undertake the conversion ceremony when they grew up and went to London or when a ritual bath and an ecclesiastical authority would be established in Australia.²⁸⁴ The community never referred Lincoln's actions to the Chief Rabbi, for they claimed they had no jurisdiction over Lincoln as a private individual. One cannot, however, erase the impression that they did not refer it to the Chief Rabbi in case he disallowed the practice.

When Rintel was appointed Reader of the Synagogue, he was the only Mohel in Melbourne, and the matter became an official communal affair. Rintel, at first, desired to follow Lincoln's practice, but he soon realised the errors that could arise therefrom. Parents and members of the community would believe, because of the circumcision, that the child was Jewish when it was not. In fact, some of the children circumcised by Lincoln were accepted as Jews and attended the Synagogue and the Hebrew School. Rintel refused to carry out Lincoln's practice, which he himself had hastily advised, but he was forced by the Committee to perform such a circumcision ceremony. On referring the matter to the Chief Rabbi, he confirmed

Rintel's fears, and asked the Congregation to cease the practice. The Congregation appealed to the Chief Rabbi on the grounds that it would cause parents and children to sever from the faith, and that it was done in "foreign parts." The problem touched the community to such an extent that in requesting the Chief Rabbi to reconsider the matter they wrote a peculiar presumptive paragraph in the following terms, although they stated they had no desire to be presumptive :—"but should you think that the rite of circumcision must be denied those children (I would not take upon myself to be so bold to ask you to explain the same and point our your reference, for such I should deem too presumptive on my part) but for the information and good of the Congregation and more specially for the satisfaction of the parties concerned, will you please to give us some authority in order to set the matter for ever at rest."²⁸⁴

The Chief Rabbi's reply is not on record, but from other correspondence it is clear he considered circumcision alone without immersion a danger to the community and still opposed it. He also opposed proselytisation generally, though sympathetic towards the early pioneers, and that in cases where preselytisation was recommended it could only be carried out with his authorisation.²⁸³

CHAPTER 7

JEW AND CHRISTIANS

The opposition of English Jews to intermarriage and proselytisation had no foundation in any antipathy towards Christians and Christianity. It was rather founded on the desire for self-preservation and a dislike of hypocrisy. The Jew instinctively is a lover of peace and tranquillity, and this fact, together with the liberal views shared by the general population living in Victoria at the time, enabled the Jews and the Christians to meet on the most cordial of terms. Continual occupation in business, marriage laws, dietary laws and religious practises and institutions did divide them to the extent that their social ties were not very close, but it did not separate them to the extent that they could not enjoy the same civic and communal interests. Moreover, the English Jews were brought up in the tradition of Sir Moses Montefiore, who displayed

an exceptional love for his faith and people, and at the same time faithfully served his Queen and country. Those Jews who possessed the ability regarded it as part of their duty to share the burden in civic affairs, and especially to associate themselves with charitable institutions and benevolent deeds. They donated liberally towards the project of a Melbourne hospital,²⁸⁵ in which Hart and Cashmore took a deep interest, both of them signing, amongst others, a petition to call a special meeting to discuss ways and means to liquidate the debt of the temporary hospital.²⁸⁶ Later, A. H. Hart and David Benjamin sat on the Board of Governors of the Melbourne Hospital,²⁸⁷ as well as on the Board of Management of the Victorian Benevolent Society.²⁸⁸ When the Foundation Stone of the Benevolent Society's Asylum was laid on 24th June, 1850, near the Flagstaff Gardens, ten thousand Melbourne people, who had been granted a holiday for the occasion, saw "the Rabbi Rintel" participate in the ceremony and in the procession, and those near the platform heard him deliver a rather lengthy oration.²⁸⁹ Amongst those who took a major part in a public meeting to help the survivors of the shipwreck *Cataraqui*, which foundered in April, 1845, were Hart and Cashmore. The disaster moved the public, for 399 lives were lost and only nine were saved.²⁹⁰

The semi-religious order of Freemasons and its association with the ancient Jewish Temple in Jerusalem, gave the Jews the opportunity of displaying in a practical way the belief of their faith in the brotherhood of all mankind and their own desire to live in harmony with their Christian neighbours, and the members of the Victorian Jewish community eagerly joined Masonic Lodges, in which they took a keen interest. When the foundation stones of the bridge over the Yarra and the Melbourne Hospital were laid on the one day, on Friday, 20th March, 1846, Hart, as Senior Worshipful Master of the Masonic Lodge,²⁹¹ marched through the town in the procession, took part in the Masonic service²⁹² at the bridge, and poured wine, oil and corn on the foundation stone of the hospital.

The Jews were not only friendly with the members of the Protestant denominations but also with their Catholic fellow citizens. They often collected for their funds, and Michael Cashmore from the goodness of his heart once even agreed to act as a collector in the Latrobe Ward for the Irish and Scotch Relief Fund.²⁹³ A. H. Hart was popular amongst them. At a St. Patrick's Day Dinner

he was called upon loudly to speak in reply to the toast of "The Sons of St. George," and he said that as a native of the old country, he felt pleased to accede to the request, especially as people of his religion were usually dominated by creed rather than country. One object of the St. Patrick's Day Society won his admiration—the advancement of education. His speech earned him continued loud applause.²⁹⁴

So friendly did the relationship between the Jews and Christians become that it was suggested that for the Consecration Service of the Synagogue "musical assistance should be obtained from those of the opposite faith," and it was only the strict religious views of Edward Hart which prevented the suggestion from being carried out.²⁹⁵ The Mayor of Melbourne honoured the Jews by attending the Consecration ceremony, and he donated a sum towards the Synagogue building.²⁹⁶ For many years the Jews accepted the honorary services of Dr. A. O'Mullane as medical advisor to the Melbourne Jewish Philanthropic Society.²⁹⁷

In spite of the fact that the Jewish fraternity was well known in the township, confused notions concerning Jewish customs persisted amongst the Gentiles, and quaint paragraphs concerning them frequently appeared in the local press. On one occasion a bald, unqualified announcement stated that "the Jews of Germany have changed the Sabbath from Saturday to Sunday."²⁹⁸ On another occasion, when commenting about the Day of Atonement, the reporter wrote, "this is the anniversary of the absence of Moses from Mt. Sinai for forty days when the Israelites, too impatient to await his return, worshipped the golden calf and Moses in his wrath broke the tablets, and those of the Jews that were not destroyed observe an annual fast in honour of the occasion."²⁹⁹

ANTI-SEMITISM

A major factor contributing to the happy relationship between Jew and Gentile was almost the complete absence of anti-Semitism, and if it was present in any form it was counterbalanced by the goodwill shown to the Jews time and time again. A conversant knowledge of the Bible and of the foundations of Christianity, together with the spirit of liberalism which prevailed among the Victorian populace, tended to turn the Christian towards the Jew instead of against him. Those who know the Bible and the origins

of Christianity are often the most violent anti-Semites, but the pioneering spirit and views on freedom and democracy, which were prevalent in Victoria at the time, made the populace intolerant of religious prejudice and the conversion of religion to hatred and persecution. That the *Port Phillip Herald* should publish the following letter concerning Jew and Christian against George Arden, the editor of the *Port Phillip Gazette*, who inadvertently allowed a slip to creep through into one of his paragraphs denouncing a Jewish person whom he suspected of sharp practices, indicates the typical tolerant views held by the Victorian population. Under "Original Correspondence," the writer, who signed as "An Israelite," seethingly fumed:—³⁰⁰

Sir,

On perusing the *Gazette* of this morning, I find an article emanating no doubt from the pen of the "Director of Public Morals," for want of other matter to fill up the vacuum that would otherwise appear on the "Rag" in the ENLARGED form. The article alluded to is headed "Pitching it," a cant term apparently well understood by the learned Editor. He then endeavours to warn the innocent! and unwary!! bushman of the deception practised by a certain shop-seller of the "tribe of ——," which is tantamount to saying he is a Jew and which in the opinion of the WRITER OF THE ARTICLE is sufficient to cause him to be execrated by all honest Christians.

I will not attempt to comment on the cowardice of the writer in leaving the name, or rather the tribe blank, so that the accusation, if untrue, could not be refuted: Thereby throwing a slur on the whole of the Jewish community in Melbourne (of which I am proud of being a member), and whose morals I presume are at least equal to those of other religious denominations.

Before leaving the subject I may be excused by adding that when the *Gazette* is again in want of a subject, if the immaculate Editor will turn his eyes amongst his Christian neighbours employed in trade and endeavour to make himself acquainted with THEIR method of business, he will no doubt find sufficient to exculpate any person who would be guilty of such base conduct as that mentioned in the *Gazette*.

Your insertion of the above in a spare corner will oblige, Mr. Editor.

Mr. Arden's reply,³⁰¹ in face of such scathing criticism in a rival newspaper, proves more than anything else the desire of Victorians to eradicate any prejudice against Jews that may have been handed down to them. In Arden's reply he makes an ample and dignified excuse, and does not fall into the error of patronage or stating that "his best friends are Jews." A number of articles appeared later in the *Gazette* which were most favourable and sympathetic towards the Jewish people.

Another typical example of goodwill towards Jews was shown when the Separation Committee arranged a meeting on a date which coincided with the Day of Atonement and postponed it in deference to the Jews who served on the Committee³³⁷

GOVERNMENT GRANTS OF LAND

The goodwill of the Government towards the Jews was displayed in its ready grant of land for a burial ground to the Jews of Melbourne through Governor Sir George Gipps. It was welcomed by the Port Phillip press as a step in the right direction towards the proper conduct towards Jews, and it condemned the action of Sir John Franklin, who refused a similar request by the Jews of Hobart Town, as inhuman.³⁰² Later, requests for grants of land for a cemetery at Geelong³⁰³ and ground for the erection of houses of worship both in Melbourne³⁰⁴ and Geelong³⁰⁵ were agreed to without question, although there may have been some anxiety about the Melbourne grant for a Synagogue, for they presented Captain Buckley with a silver snuff-box for his strenuous efforts.³⁰⁶

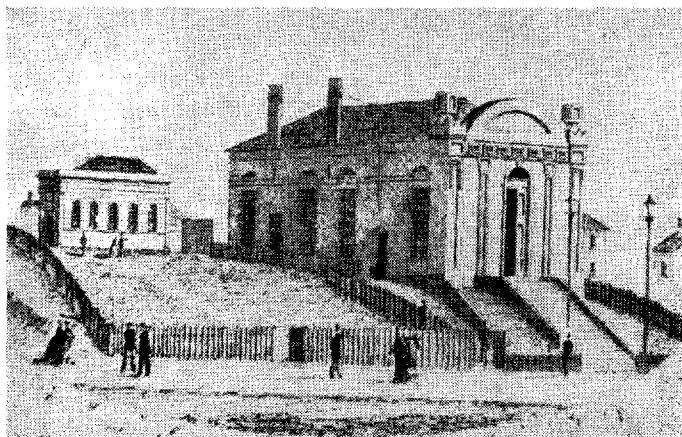
TIMIDITY AND FEARLESSNESS

Although the Jews enjoyed the goodwill of their Christian neighbours, an element of timidity was present in the earlier years of their association with them. The application for a grant of land for the building of a synagogue had been delayed. It had been proposed a year or two previously and a Committee had been appointed to carry the proposal into effect, but the very same meeting which passed the original motion rescinded it.³⁰⁷ It is probable they felt they were too bold in asking for a piece of land for a synagogue so soon after they had been granted land for a burial ground. This may have been the reason that they sought the assistance of Captain Buckley. However, real timidity was displayed when they laid the foundation stone of the Synagogue. They performed the ceremony at 8 o'clock on a Wednesday morning, so as not to be conspicuous amongst their neighbours.³⁰⁸

An element of over-anxiety to please their Christian neighbours is also noticeable. When Solomon Benjamin spoke as President at the Consecration of the Synagogue, he said:

I trust, Gentlemen, not many years hence we shall see a grand and stately edifice near this very stone; such as shall do honour both to ourselves as Israelites, and to this land of our adoption; and more, that we shall be able to prove to our Christian neighbours that the Jew requires but to be known in his Synagogue, and at his domestic hearth, to be better understood and appreciated than he has heretofore been.³⁰⁹

Where matters of principle were concerned, all traces of timidity disappeared and boldness and courage were displayed by Victorian Jewry. The action of A. H. Hart was typical. At the dinner held after the laying of the



The building on the left is the original Synagogue in Bourke Street, Melbourne. The building on the right is St. Patrick's Hall, where the first Victorian Parliament met.

The fenced area leading to the side door of St. Patrick's Hall was lent to the Government by the Synagogue to enable members of Parliament to enter the building whilst sessions were in progress.

foundation stone of the Melbourne Hospital, the Mayor remarked that in ages past religious denominations, whilst urging charity and kindness, never built hospitals. At the conclusion of the Mayor's speech, Hart, fearlessly stood up and in front of all the assembly, reminded the Mayor "that the Jews in the earliest days had hospitals of their own." The Mayor said that he had not meant to cast any reflection upon any denomination, but he was totally unaware when speaking of the fact of which Hart made mention.³¹⁰

At the annual anniversary dinner of the Congregation in 1849, commemorating the laying of the foundation stone of the Synagogue, the assembly showed its mettle by boldly proposing a toast "Jewish Emancipation in our Mother Country." The toast was warmly received amid loud cheering. The Jews in Great Britain were still barred from entering the Houses of Parliament, and the Victorian Jews felt the prohibition, because of the form of oath, reflected adversely upon them.³¹¹ They felt no timidity when a principle was at stake.

STATE AID

The form of the toast for Jewish Emancipation indicated that the Jews in Australia enjoyed more civil and electoral rights than the Jews in the Mother Country. An independent spirit welled in the hearts of the early Australians, both Jews and Gentiles, and though in many ways life was hard and rugged, a sense of fair play and justice motivated the more responsible members of the community. Any toast in favour of a worthwhile cause where injustice had to be fought, received the warm acclamation of Melbourne Jewry. They did have a struggle over a most important matter. All Christian denominations in New South Wales, including the Port Phillip District, received assistance for their religious institutions, either through the Denominational School Board or through Schedule C of the Government expenditure, which included grants for churches and ministers.³¹² The Jewish communities of Sydney and Melbourne were strongly of the opinion that as equal citizens of the Colony, paying taxes and undertaking civic duties and responsibilities, they, too, were entitled to a fair share of the grants and to assistance for their religious institutions. Melbourne Jewry carefully watched and silently supported the protracted initial efforts of the Sydney community to gain its object through petitions to the Governor and through Acts passed by the Legislative Council. On 29th July, 1836 the British Parliament passed the Church Building Act (7 William XIV No. 3) providing assistance for ministers of religion and for building houses of worship out of a sum set aside annually from general revenue. In the preamble the Act states:--

Whereas for the advancement of the Christian religion and the promotion of good morals in the Colony of New South Wales it is expedient to encourage the observance of Public Worship and for this purpose to authorise the assistance from the Revenue of the said Colony of sums to be applied in the building of Churches and Chapels and for the maintenance of Ministers of Religion. . . .

The Act empowered the Governor to appropriate, with the Legislative Council's approval, a sum not exceeding £1,000 in any one instance for the building of a church or chapel, providing a similar amount could be raised by private subscription. It also empowered the giving of grants for stipends to ministers to be proportionate according to the numerical strength of each denomination. On 30th July, 1842, these provisions were incorporated in the Constitution Act of New South Wales, which allowed for a grant of a Civil List to Her Majesty of £63,000 divided into Schedules A, B and C, the latter comprising a total sum of £3,000 for "public worship."

In 1844, Sydney Jewry dedicated its Synagogue, and about the same time the Legislative Council appointed a Select Committee to deal with educational matters.³¹³ Sydney Jewry desired to assert its rights, and at a meeting held on 17th September, 1844, a resolution was passed:

That the system of education recently recommended by the Select Committee of the Legislative Council is represented to embrace the inculcation of the tenets and doctrines of the Christian Faith. The Israelites of this Colony will, if such a system is adopted, be thereby partially precluded, and virtually excluded, from an equal free and legitimate participation in the benefits of general education.

That as British subjects, the Israelites of this Colony are entitled to the same rights of civil, political and religious liberty which their fellow subjects of different religious opinion enjoy, and they therefore consider themselves entitled, on ground of public equity, to a proportional share of advantage from any measure for General Education which may be instituted at the Public Expense, without compromising their faith or waiving their parents' rights.

Sydney Jewry drew up a petition with 167 signatures, which was presented to the Legislative Council on 2nd October, 1844, by W. C. Wentworth, but no result came from it, in spite of the fact that the Jews did not ask for any special privileges but equality in proportion to their numbers. Another petition "from the Hebrew Congregation of the City of Sydney in vestry assembled" was again presented to the Legislative Council by W. C. Wentworth in September, 1845.³¹⁴ They made a very good point in this petition. They stressed that although the Church Act, which allotted £30,000 to churches, referred to Chris-

tian denominations only, the term used in the Constitution Act in connection with the reservation of Schedule C referred only to "public worship" and the Jews, therefore, were entitled to participate in the disbursements. They, therefore, asked for the sum of £1,000 for the liquidation of the debt due on the Synagogue and towards the erection of a suitable residence for a minister of the Congregation, as well as a further sum of £150 as a stipend for such minister. The House carried Wentworth's motion by eight votes to five upon which it went to the Governor Sir George Gipps. He replied very briefly as follows:—

4th November, 1845.

Gentlemen,

I regret I do not feel that I have authority to pay any money towards the erection of a Jewish Synagogue or towards the maintenance of a minister of the Jewish religion out of the sum by which Schedule C of the 5th and 6th Victoria, Chapter 76, is secured to Her Majesty for the purpose of public worship.

George Gipps,
Governor.

It is most unlikely that Governor Gipps did not carry out the wishes of the Legislative Council on account of prejudice against the Jews. It was he who readily agreed to give grants of land to Melbourne Jewry for their cemetery and Synagogue. He genuinely felt that it was illegal for him to pass the money, and this was the view taken by W. E. Gladstone, who approved of Governor Gipp's action.

Instead of asking for the subsidy to be paid through Schedule C, the Sydney community now requested that Governor FitzRoy, who succeeded Gipps, to place the amounts upon the Special Estimates. Wentworth again presented the petition to the Council, which debated it on 15th September, 1846 and passed the motion by a majority of 11 votes to five.

Governor FitzRoy placed the £1,000 on the Estimates but would not agree to do so with the money for the support of the Minister, for he stated, "it would appear that this grant might lead to a permanent charge on the revenue and moreover, that it is a measure of an unusual nature—the Governor deems it his duty to refer it to Her Majesty's decision."

FitzRoy, in writing to Earl Grey, who had succeeded Gladstone, informing him of his action, referred to "the members of the Jewish Religion being a numerous, respectable and influential class in the community, contributing largely to the public revenue." He also stated that Her

Majesty's Government had not objected to Legislative aid for the support of the Jewish religion in Jamaica. From this letter FitzRoy seemed to be sympathetic towards the aims of the Jews of New South Wales.

Earl Grey, however, adopted new grounds for objecting to the granting of the money subsidies. In reply to FitzRoy, he stated :

I entertain serious doubts as to the propriety of such grants being made at all by the Council in aid of the Jewish religion. But, independent of that question, I am of the opinion that there is a very strong objection to the making of such grants, not by virtue of any general rule, but by special grants for individual cases. Such grants, even if they should originate with the Governor, would be liable to the suspicion of partiality; but when virtually originated by the vote of the popular body, they are almost sure to lead to very serious abuse. For that reason it appears to me that if assistance is to be given at all from the Colonial revenue towards the maintenance of Jewish Synagogues, it should be done by an amendment of the Church Extensions Act of the Colony, which should give the Jews according to some definite rule, a claim to pecuniary assistance for the support of their religious establishments. If the opinion of the Council and the inhabitants of the Colony generally should be very strongly in favour of so wide an extension of the principle of granting assistance from the Colonial revenue for the religious institutions of members of the different religious communities, I am not prepared to instruct you to refuse your assent to such a proposal, although I should certainly regret its adoption.

I cannot, however, in the absence of such a general law authorise you, in consequence of the Address presented to you, to place on the Estimates the proposed salary for the Jewish minister; and I should have been glad if you had not consented to make provision for the liquidation of the debt incurred in building the Synagogue.

From the general tone of Earl Grey's letter, it appears that when he stated that he would regret the adoption of new legislation for the granting of assistance to different religious communities, it was not because of any dislike of the Jews but rather because he desired the Christian faith to be the official religion in the colonies as it was in the Mother Country. Nevertheless, Grey's ruling proved a great stumbling block to further attempts for State aid. When on 10th May, 1848, a new address was presented to the Governor on an unopposed motion in the House in favour of an annual grant, the Colonial Treasurer, on behalf of the Governor, published the previous correspondence which negated the petition.

The only remedy now seemed to be to try to amend the Constitution Act, and accordingly Wentworth, on 28th August, 1849, rose in the Council to introduce a bill to extend the provision of the Act. The Colonial Secretary

opposed the motion, and on a division Wentworth's proposition was defeated by 11 votes to 13.³¹⁵

Undaunted, he rose again in the Council on 18th September, 1849, and said that, having looked over Schedule C, it was irrevocably divided between four denominations. It was absurd to move a motion for a petition to the Queen which she had no power to alter.³¹⁶

The Melbourne Congregation now took up the struggle. The Synagogue needed enlarging, especially the ladies' gallery, where no seat could be found for Mrs. Rintel, the Minister's wife.³¹⁷ More accommodation was also necessary for class-rooms for the children's education, for the space was only sufficient for Rintel to teach the boys and not the girls.³¹⁸ The Synagogue had little funds at its disposal and went so far as to consult the solicitors as to its legal rights in leasing the land at the back of the Synagogue which fronted Little Bourke Street.³¹⁹ Accordingly, the Melbourne Congregation sent a petition to the Legislative Council asking for the sum of £500 towards completing their Synagogue and Minister's dwelling and the payment of their small debt.³²⁰ On 30th July, 1850, H. Ebden, one of the members for Port Phillip, presented the petition to the Council, which agreed to place the amount requested on the Supplementary Estimates,³²¹ but Governor FitzRoy, already rapped on the knuckles by Earl Grey for having granted the Jews any money at all,³²² replied, "that he did not consider himself at liberty to comply with the present application without previously obtaining the sanction of Her Majesty's Government."

The injustice of the refusal hurt them bitterly. They were not so much concerned with the non-receipt of the money they so urgently needed as they were indignant that they, by inference, had been classed as second-rate citizens. They were sincerely loyal to the Queen and country, and they were good citizens of the State. Moreover, the Legislative Council had recommended the subsidy. Bubbling over with indignation, they called a special meeting at which three resolutions were passed.³²³ The first protested against the Governor's refusal, the second emphasised that they were justly entitled to a share of the revenue raised in the Colony to assist them in maintaining their religious establishment, and the third was a determination to petition the Governor again through the Secretary of State for the Colonies, pointing out the urgency of their claim.³²⁴

Over 130 Jews of Melbourne signed the new petition, but the same fate awaited it as befell the previous Memorials. Earl Grey did not agree with Governor FitzRoy's precedent in connection with the Sydney community, and he remained adamant in his view and would not change it.

The Melbourne Jews did not give up hope and trusted that with Separation new laws would be enacted which would include legislation enabling them to receive a subsidy equal in proportion to other denominations. It is noteworthy that during the whole of the dispute regarding State aid, the issue was fought on the principle of the enactment of the law and the desire of the Government in England to retain the colonies, as in England, as Christian States. It was not fought on an anti-Semitic issue.

RIOTS

Nor can it be stated that the religious riot which took place on 2nd March, 1844, at the Theatre Royal, where a spectacular drama, "The Jewess," was produced, was anti-Semitic in nature. It was rather a protest against a supposed insult to the Catholic Church. During the production, the celebration of the Jewish Passover was represented in the second act, and by a serious mistake the Roman Catholics present supposed this to be a mockery of the Mass. A scene of considerable violence ensued, some of the rioters threatening to burn down the theatre, and eight of the noisiest were arrested. The manager undertook to withdraw the play, and owing to the losses thus sustained and the habitual intoxication of an actress, who on one occasion tumbled head over heels into the orchestra, the theatre was closed for the rest of the year.³²⁵

Another religious riot, which started when a man named Robertson tried to convert the Jews, also had no anti-Semitic background. Robertson, wearing the beard of a patriarch and known as "Beardie" described himself as an Israelitish missionary and a disciple of Johanna Southcote. On one occasion, on a Sunday afternoon, he mounted a chair and addressed a crowd of 300 at the eastern corner of Market Square. A Jew who was present asked him a question he could not answer, and upon a spectator objecting to the speaker being interrupted, an altercation broke out amongst the onlookers. The fight started with the Jews but ended up between the Catholics and Protestants. A

cry went up, "The sons of King William are not to be imposed upon!" and back came the battle cry, "Now is the time, down with the Orangemen!" Within a few seconds the Catholics and Protestants were at each other's throats, and in the riots seven to eight persons were seriously injured. Robertson, as far as is known, did not succeed at all in his mission to the Jews.³²⁶

POLITICS

When the Jews of Melbourne drank a toast to "Jewish Emancipation in the Mother Country," it referred mainly to the non-admission of Jews into the British Parliament, because they were unable to take the form of oath. Whether or not Jews at that time would have been allowed to enter the New South Wales Parliament if they were elected to it, is a matter for speculation. It had then not yet been tested. The fact is that none nominated for parliamentary honours. Probably it never entered their minds because of their poverty and insufficient influence in the community and because they did not possess that standing necessary to be elected to the Legislative Council. They did, however, give their full support to parliamentary candidates, and they did vote in parliamentary and municipal elections. A. H. Hart, Cashmore and Solomon Benjamin sat on a committee of fourteen to support C. H. Ebdon and Thomas Walker in their candidature for the Legislative Council for New South Wales as representatives of the Port Phillip District.³²⁷ Ebdon and Walker topped the poll.³²⁸

Although Jews did not nominate for parliamentary honours, they did nominate for seats on the Melbourne Council. In February, 1845, A. H. Hart was invited by advertisement by 51 burgesses of Lonsdale Ward to represent the Ward on the City Council.³²⁹ Hart was honest. He told his friends quite frankly he could not afford it. In those days candidates were expected to provide abundant refreshments to the voters, and election often depended upon the sumptuousness of the provisions and the amount of drink freely donated. Hart's next venture as a candidate for municipal honours was not entirely of his own volition. He was tricked into opposing an old friend, Dr. Palmer, and he could not withdraw unless he was prepared to pay

a fine of £25.³³⁰ Without canvassing, Hart nearly defeated Palmer, who only won almost at the last moment. This was a tribute to Hart's honesty and popularity, for Dr. Palmer enjoyed influence and renown in Melbourne.

Michael Cashmore became a Councillor without election. He filled the vacancy left by Councillor Stanford, who contemplated sailing for England.³³¹ He did not participate frequently in debates. His downfall also came



MICHAEL CASHMORE.

through poverty. After a term of nearly two years, he resigned his office.³³² A composition with his creditors caused Cashmore to take this step. As his estate was not assigned by deed, it did not automatically disqualify him from his post. Cashmore must have been a stickler for "red tape" and it nearly cost him £25. Anyone who resigned from the Council was subject to a fine imposed by the

other members, and the Mayor was not prepared to let Cashmore off for a fine less than £25, that being the sum that Cashmore himself desired to impose on a fellow who had previously resigned. However, a nominal sum of 5/- was considered sufficient penalty, as a heavier fine would have been unfair to Cashmore's creditors.

It is claimed there is no such things as a Jewish vote. That may be so, but there can be no doubt as to where the sympathy of the Melbourne Jews lay. When Hart nominated they all voted for him,³³⁴ even James Simeon, whom Hart had once publicly denounced.

ANTI-TRANSPORTATION AND SEPARATION

Besides municipal politics, Jews also took an interest in the Anti-Transportation movement. As businessmen, the entry of convicts into Victoria would have harmed them. When the movement formed the Australian League and founded a fighting fund, the public-spirited Benjamin brothers donated £25.³³⁵

Even in the early days of Port Phillip, the idea of Separation from New South Wales was in the air. In June, 1840, Joseph Barrow Montefiore attended a meeting at Scot's School to form a Separation Association, and he was elected a member of the London Committee.³³⁶ For the Jews, Separation grew into a matter of importance. They believed that with the creation of the Colony of Victoria, the disability they suffered through not receiving State aid would be abolished. Their hopes were high because of the tolerance and sympathy of the Victorians. A. H. Hart, Solomon Benjamin and Michael Cashmore were on the Separation Committee, and a meeting was advertised for 17th September, 1850, to discuss plans. When it was pointed out that the date was a Jewish Holy Day, in deference to these members of the Jewish faith, the meeting was postponed for a week through a motion proposed by the Town Clerk and agreed upon by those present.³³⁷ The Jews, therefore, may have had special reason to rejoice when on 11th November, 1850, the news reached Melbourne that Victoria was on the map.³³⁸

REFERENCES

Ref. No.	Cypher Ref.	Day	Month	Year 1800	Vol.	Part	Page	Col.	Remarks
2	78E								Maps 1 and 5
3	"				2		399		1
4	"				11		484		1
5	8E				5		170		1
1	161C						980		
6	44C								First Marriage
7	70D						380		
8	131N	9	Oct.	41			3	6	
9	"	16	Oct.	41					
10	132N	3	March	43					
11	13B						21		
12	29B						143		
13	79J				1	8	280		
14	128N	5	July	49		2	2		
15	59C	20	Nov.	66					
16	79J				2	1	6		
17	73D			34					
18	126N	27	April	29			4		
		11	Sept.	32			293	1	
19	46C				3	4	532		
20	26B						274		
21	34C								
22	9B						44		
23	15B						114		
24	59C						47-53		
25	15B						102-103		
26	59C						66		
27	81J				18		112		
28	126N	27	Sept.	32			310	3	
29	32C								
30	173N	24	July	34					
31	81J				18		104		
32	26B						274		
33	15B						133		
34	"						136		
35	118N	19	Feb.	36					
36	9B						85		
37	15B						142		
38	81J				18		113		
39	21B						82		
40	26B						514-515		
41	24B						38-39		
42	35C								Solomon, Joseph jnr.
43	81J				18		107		
44	"				18		104		
45	35C								
46	59C						47-53		
47	131N	9	Oct.	44			3	4	
48	"	20	March	44			2	4	
49	71D						253		
50	35C								
51	78E				8		666		
52	46C				1	14	243-245		

Ref. No.	Cypher Ref.	Day	Month	Year 1800	Vol.	Part	Page	Col.	Remarks
53	79J				3	3	142		
54	"				2	9	471		
55	126N	21	Aug.	34					
56	16B						15		
57	22B						34		
58	"						77		
59	78E				9		27	2	
60	76E						401		
61	78E				5		354	1	
62	"				9		371	2	
63	131N	9	Oct.	44			3	4	
64	44C								
65	70D						380		
66	30B						8		
67	133N	29	Jan.	44			3	5	
68	132N	5	July	42			3	4	
69	131N	13	Oct.	41			2	5	
70	132N	21	June	41			3	4	
71	71D						246		
72	70D						336		
73	71D						253		
74	22B						484		
75	71D						247		
76	131N	20	Feb.	41			2	3	
77	"	27	Jan.	41			2	3	
78	75E				2		55		
79	70D						329		
80	"						338		
81	"						349		
82	132N	4	April	45			1	6	
83	25B						280		
84	132N	7	Oct.	45			2	4	
85	67D								
86	132N	8	May	49			2	5	
87	30B						9		
88	131N	26	May	46			1	2	
89	"	1	Aug.	46			2	3	
90	79J				1	8	222		
91	83L	3	Sept.	50					
92	132N	25	July	43			2	5	
93	131N	8	Oct.	41			1	2	
94	8B						208		
95	128N	3	July	49			2	6	
96	132N	3	Nov.	47			2	6	
97	133N	29	Jan.	44			3	6	
98	70D						349		
99	128N	1	Jan.	50			3	1	
100	131N	6	Aug.	50					
101	111N	3	Sept.	61			5	4	
102	131N	21	Nov.	46			3	2	
103	"	20	Sept.	47			2	6	
104	8B						172		
105	131N	8	May	41			2	4	
106	"	15	Dec.	41			4	6	

References

403

Ref. No.	Cypher Ref.	Day	Month	Year 1800	Vol	Part	Page	Col.	Remarks
107	132N	7	Jan.	47			2	3	
108	"	16	Feb.	47			3	1	
109	8B						846		
110	132N	23	Oct.	45			2	5	
111	131N	11	April	46			2	6	
112	"	22	April	46			4	1	
113	23B						81		
114	132N	15	Feb.	45			3	2	
115	"	23	Dec.	45			2	7	
116	121N	5	May	1951					News in by-gone days.
117	71D						246		
118	70D						357		
119	"						349		
120	"						329		
121	"						336		
122	"						323		
123	22B						484		
124	8B						707		
125	106M	23	July	50					
126	131N	18	July	50			2	3	
127	112N	29	Aug.	50			2	2	
128	"	10	Dec.	50			2	5	
129	"	21	Oct.	50			2	5	
130	81J				17	4	133		
131	"				18	4			
132	25B						122		
133	79J				2	10	561		
134	16B						19		
135	112N	17	June	51			2	6	
136	16B						17		
137	79J				2	5	223		
138	"				1	8	280		
139	81J				18	4			
140	25B						274		
141	81J		Nov.	1937	16	4	133		
142	9B						103		
143	81J				16	4	133		
144	132N	23	Oct.	45			2	5	
145	81J				18	4			
146	132N	25	Oct.	47			2	5	
147	"	23	Dec.	42			3	1	
148	131N	18	April	46			3	1	
149	"	22	April	46			2	5	
150	132N	3	June	42			2	6	
151	"	4	April	45			1	6	
152	"	29	March	43			2	6	
153	"	27	Oct.	43			3	4	
154	131N	24	Feb.	44			3	3	
155	131N	8	April	46			3	3	
156	132N	3	April	45			3	4	
157	"	30	Oct.	45			3	6	
158	8B						438		
159	131N	20	Feb.	41			2	3	

Ref. No.	Cypher Ref.	Day	Month	Year 1800	Vol.	Part	Page	Col.	Remarks
160	8B						438		
161	78E				5		168	2	
162	13B						20		
163	8B						695		
164	13B						20		
165	13B						21		
166	71D						108		
167	30B						6		
168	131N	26	Sept.	50			2	4	
169	132N	25	Jan.	53			4	4	
170	106M	31	Oct.	50					
171	13B						21		
172	135N	6	Dec.	44	4	91	57		
173	13B						21		
174	30B						7		
175	53C								A number of entries.
176	30B						7		
177	8B						695		
178	53C								An entry.
179	30B						7		
180	125N	15	Jan.	32			36	2	
181	132N	27	April	43			3	1	
182	54C								
183	62C								
184	60C						1		
185	54C								
186	79J				2	6	344		
187	"				2	6	333		
188	83L								
189	106M	8	Sept.	51					
190	79J				2	6	344		
191	121N	29	Sept.	51			11	5	
192	48C						5		
193	83L	30	Sept.	49					
194	49C						1		
195	79J				2	6	350		
196	30B						8		
197	81J				16	4	133		
198	30B						9-10		
199	131N	28	April	47			2	5	
200	112N	21	March	48			2	4	
201	106M	6	March	48					
202	"	23	Jan.	48					
203	30B						7		
204	83L	27	June	48					
205	79J				2	6	334		
206	30B						10		
207	40C	18	Mar.	1949					
208	13B						51		
209	74E								Under Moses Rintel.
210	30B						5		
211	131N	18	March	46					
212	"	4	June	47			3	6	

References

405

Ref. No.	Cypher Ref.	Day	Month	Year 1800	Vol.	Part	Page	Col.	Remarks
213	"	20	Sept.	47			2	6	
214	83L	27	June	48					
215	106M	8	Oct.	48					
216	131N	15	Sept.	41			3	6	
217	133N	29	Jan.	44			3	5	
218	132N	2	Jan.	45			1	3	
219	30B						9		
220	83L	27	June	48					
221	106M	13	Feb.	48					
222	30B						10		
223	106M	19	April	48					
224	128N	30	June	49			3	2	
225	"	12	Jan.	50					
226	"	11	Jan.	49			2	4	
227	83L	27	June	48					
228	106M	25	Sept.	48					
229	"	8	Oct.	48					
230	83L	1	Feb.	49					
231	13B						51		
232	31B						581		
233	78E						390		
234	135N				4	91	57		
235	132N	15	Dec.	43			3	4	
236	8B						846		
237	"						454-484		
238	126N	12	June	34			3	2	
239	131N	18	March	46			2	5	
240	"	8	April	46			3	5	
241	78E				9		197		
242	131N	13	Feb.	41			2	3	
243	8B						489		
244	31B						507		
245	132N	25	July	43			2	6	
246	78E				9		179		
247	8B						488		
248	30B						7		
249	83L	23	Oct.	50					
250	"	13	March	49					
251	"	16	Sept.	49					
252	"	30	Sept.	49					
253	106M	8	Sept.	51					
254	30B						7		
255	79J				2	9	478		
256	106M	27	Jan.	48			2	5	
257	131N	28	Jan.	46					
258	79J				2	9	471		
259	106M	13	Aug.	48					
260	"	15	Dec.	50					
261	83L	16	Dec.	50					
262	"	19	Dec.	50					
263	60C								Various entries
264	132N	12	July	42			3	2	
265	"	15	July	42			3	3	
266	83L	24	Nov.	47					

Ref. No.	Cypher Ref.	Day	Month	Year 1800	Vol.	Part	Page	Col.	Remarks
267	48C								
268	106M	8	Oct.	48					
269	83L	16	Sept.	49					
270	106M	10	Oct.	48					
271	..	21	Dec.	48					
272	83L	16	April	50					
273	106M	6	March	48					
274	..	23	Jan.	48					
275	30B						6		
276	106M	21	Dec.	48					
277	83L	23	Nov.	50					
278	30B						8		
279	91M		Aug.	46					
280	106M	2	April	48					
281	79J				2	9	478		
282	83L	27	June	48					
283	79J				2	9	471		
284	83L		Nov.	51					
285	131N	4	Sept.	41			3	6	
286	132N	27	Oct.	43			3	4	
287	112N	5	Feb.	50			2	5	
288	8B						250		
289	112N	25	June	50			2	4	
290	8B						586		
291	131N	21	March	46			2	1	
292	8B						502		
293	132N	7	Aug.	47			2	4	
294	..	2	Oct.	45			3	1	
295	106M	30	Jan.	48					
296	112N	21	March	48			2	4	
297	..	25	Jan.	53			4	3	
298	131N	27	July	46			3	1	
299	..	3	Oct.	46			2	5	
300	132N	13	Aug.	43			3	2	
301	131N	14	Aug.	43			3	6	
302	132N	27	April	43			3	1	
303	79J				2	6	333		
304	30B						8		
305	106M	19	May	50					
306	30B						8		
307	..						7		
308	122N	30	Aug.	1947					100 years ago.
309	131N	28	Aug.	47			2	5	
310	8B						235		
311	128N	5	Sept.	49					
312	79J				1	10	337		
313	..				1	2	25		
314	..				1	10	341		
315	128N	11	Sept.	49			2	4	
316	..	28	Sept.	49			2	4	
317	106M	31	March	50					
318	128N	12	Jan.	50					
319	106M	14	July	50					
320	..	23	July	50					

321	30B					11
322	79J			1	10	350
323	8B					175
324	30B					12
325	75E				3	1
326	131N	27	March	44		2 4
327	132N	9	June	43		3 1
328	"	27	June	43		2 3
329	"	18	Feb.	45		3 4
330	"	4	Nov.	45		2 5
331	131N	14	March	46		3 1
332	132N	6	Jan.	48		1 6
333	112N	16	Jan.	48		4 4
334	132N	6	Nov.	45		3 3
335	112N	4	April	51		1 4
336	70D					318
337	131N	17	Sept.	50		2 6
338	112N	12	Nov.	50		2 2

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 87L Letters in to Melbourne Hebrew Congregation.
 88L Letters from Hobart Town to Hebrew Congregation.
 89L Letters to Hon. Minister of Lands from H. J. Hart.
 90L Letter to Local Board from Melbourne Hebrew Congregation.
 147L Letter to Melbourne Hebrew Congregation from Chief Secretary (No. 775).

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- 98M Minutes of Associates' Committee.
 92M Minutes of Anglo-Jewish Association.
 93M Minutes of Choir Sub-Committee of the East Melbourne Hebrew Congregation.
 94M Minutes of Collecting Committee.
 95M Minutes of Melbourne Hebrew Congregation.
 96M Minutes of Education Sub-Committee of the East Melbourne Hebrew Congregation.
 97M Minutes of General Meeting of Jews in Melbourne.
 100M Minutes of General Meeting of Melbourne Hebrew Congregation.
 99M Minutes of Hebrew Congregation, Hobart.
 91M Minutes of Hobart Town Hebrew Congregation.
 102M Minutes of Hebrew Ladies' Benevolent Society.
 103M Minutes of Jewish Mutual Aid Society.
 104M Minutes of Joint Committee of Guerim and Guerros of the Melbourne and East Melbourne Hebrew Congregations.
 105M Minutes of Local Board.
 106M Minutes of the Melbourne Hebrew Congregation.
 107M Minutes of Melbourne Hebrew School.
 108M Minutes of Melbourne Jewish Philanthropic Society.
 109M Minutes of Sub-Committee of the Melbourne Hebrew Congregation.
 110M Rough Minutes of the East Melbourne Hebrew Congregation.

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- 144R Report of the Athenicum Club.
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Obituaries

FRANK GOLDBERG

The death of Frank Goldberg on 10th January, 1958, at the age of 67, deprived the commercial world of Sydney of one of its outstanding figures. Born in London, he went to New Zealand at an early age and entered business life by opening a small advertising agency in Wellington. The romance of its expansion into one of the largest in the southern hemisphere is the story of his life of hard work, imaginative direction and a willingness to venture into fresh fields. Eventually the headquarters of the agency moved to Sydney in 1926.

In public life he was well known as a foundation member of the War Effort Publicity Board from 1940 and as Deputy Chairman of its successor, the Australian Advertising Council, until 1952 when ill-health forced his retirement. He was a colourful figure, generous in his support of charity, both Jewish and non-Jewish, and of great assistance to the work of his wife, Mrs. Agolda Goldberg, in her leadership of the Women's International Zionist Organisation. Mrs. Goldberg and two daughters survive him.

MRS. B. D. COHEN

Mrs. Burnett D. Cohen, née Bertha Levy, who died in Sydney on the 21st January, 1958, was in her 96th year. She was a daughter of the Hon. L. W. Levy, a communal leader of outstanding importance, and Mrs. Cohen worthily maintained all the traditions of Jewish and public service which her father bequeathed to her. A lady of dignity and charity, she was mourned in many circles outside her family. Her concept of the woman's part in the Jewish Community did not lead her to service on committees, but she was most generous in her assistance to organisations which appealed to her for religious and charitable reasons, and her vivid recollections of people and movements in Sydney Jewry were a great help to members of this Society in their quests for facts. Her two sons, Mr. David L. Cohen, of Sydney, and the late Leslie Cohen of London, have each played their part in Jewish communal life.

MISS MYRA BENJAMIN

Miss Myra Benjamin, who died in Melbourne on the 4th April, 1958, aged 72, was the last survivor of the sixteen children of Sir Benjamin Benjamin and Lady Benjamin. The strong attachment to Judaism and the Melbourne Hebrew Congregation which motivated her father's life was a dominant factor in hers. A devoted sister and loving aunt she became an institution in her family and her passing was mourned in a much wider circle. Her charm of manner and dignity of bearing won her widespread admiration, and her pride in the work of her parents and grandparents as founders of Melbourne Jewry led her to close association with this Society. She worked hard for the Ladies' Auxiliary of the Melbourne Hebrew Congregation, as well as for many causes of a more public character. Her death snaps a link with the pioneers.

**Benefactions have been received in memory
of the following:**

ERNEST SAMUEL 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 BENJAMIN AND LADY BENJAMIN.

ALFRED AND MAY PHILLIPS.

FREDERICK DAVID AND ESTHER ZILLAH MICHAELIS.

JACOB AND EMMA GLASS.

PERCY BRIGHTON COHEN.

Corresponding Member for Great Britain :

CECIL ROTH,
31 Charlbury Road, Oxford.

Representative of the Society for United States of America :

Miss FANNY GOLDSTEIN,
West End Branch, Library of the City of Boston,
Massachusetts, U.S.A.

Benefactor Members :

Mrs. ISRAEL GREEN.
SIMON GREEN.
RALPH SYMONDS.
HARRY LESNIE.

Life Members :

Mrs. RONALD BRASS, B.A.
GORDON M. ALEXANDER.
ARTHUR D. ROBB, F.C.A. (Aust.).
Mrs. ARTHUR D. ROBB.

Members of Publication Committee :

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DAVID J. BENJAMIN, LL.B.
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A person donating an amount of not less than £25 in one sum may be elected by the Committee a Benefactor Member of the Society.

—(From the Rules of the Society.)