

**The Formation of Goldfields Anglo-Jewry: How Jewish Settlers  
Negotiated Judaism, Class, and Britishness on the Central  
Victorian Goldfields, 1851-1901**

Submitted by  
Elizabeth Jane Offer  
BA (Hons), La Trobe University

Submitted in total fulfilment of the requirements of the degree of Doctor of  
Philosophy

Department of Archaeology and History  
School of Humanities and Social Sciences  
College of Arts, Social Sciences & Commerce  
La Trobe University,  
Victoria, Australia

July 2021

## Table of Contents

<i>Table of Contents</i>	<i>ii</i>
List of Tables	<i>vi</i>
List of Figures	<i>vii</i>
<i>Abstract</i>	<i>viii</i>
<i>Statement of Authorship</i>	<i>ix</i>
<i>Declaration</i>	<i>x</i>
<i>Acknowledgments</i>	<i>xi</i>
<i>Glossary</i>	<i>xiii</i>
 <i>Introduction</i>	 <i>1</i>
British and European Jewish Histories: The Impact on Australian Jewry	4
Colonial Jewry: Uncovering and Defining Judaism in the Colonies	9
Britishness and Faith: British Identity and Religiosity in the Colonies	18
Theory and Approach: Identity, Lived Religion, and Aesthetic Formations	24
Methodology: Historians and the Newspaper	31
 <i>Section One Introduction A New Place in the Jewish Diaspora: The Beginnings of Judaism in Australia and the Gold Rush</i>	 <i>38</i>
First Arrival: Jews in Australia from the First White Occupation	38
The Gold Rushes: A Booming Colony for Jewish Migrants	41
 <i>Chapter One Prejudice, Contact, and Exchange: Ship Voyages and Jewish Religiosity on the High Seas</i>	 <i>44</i>
From Britain and Europe to Australia: Sailing to the Colonies	45
‘I Regret that I Revealed Myself to be One too’: Jewish Religiosity and Experiences of Prejudice and Discrimination	51
‘Clergyman Walking the Decks’: Contact and Encounter on the Seas	56
‘A Very Different Appearance to Our English’: Confirming Britishness and Class	60

<i>Chapter Two The Synagogue and Jewish Ministers: The Formation of Jewish Institutions on the Central Victorian Goldfields</i>	66
From Britain and Europe to the Goldfields: Establishing a Jewish Community	67
To Build a Sanctuary: Establishing Congregations and Synagogues	76
From the Many to the One: The Centralised Role of the Jewish Minister	84
<i>Chapter Three Intermarriage, Sabbath, and Kashrut: Negotiated Markers and Identity Boundaries</i>	91
Religious Practices as Identity Markers	92
More than a Family Affair: Intermarriage and the Formation of Jewish Families	95
‘Desecrate the Sabbath or Starve’: Sabbath Observance and Colonial Power	102
‘Before He Could Find One that was Kosher’: <i>Kashrut</i> on the Goldfields	108
<i>Section Two Introduction Towards Urbanisation: From Goldfield Camps to Towns and Cities</i>	115
Building the Colonial Character: Race, Religion, and Class in the Colonial Context	115
Boom and Bust: Bendigo and Ballarat from the 1870s	117
Fewer and Fewer: Jewish Communities and Hebrew Congregations	119
<i>Chapter Four Ministerial Dress, Choirs, and the English Language: Performing Decorum in the Synagogue</i>	124
Objects and the Performance of Identity	125
‘Great Want of Decorum’: Religious Reform and Colonial Respectability	127
Corded Silk and Velvet Trimmings: Clothing the Jewish Minister	133
Singing Hymns and Playing Organs: Choirs in Synagogue Public Worship	139
National Anthems and Vernacular Sermons: Hebrew and English in the Synagogue	146
<i>Chapter Five Home Teachers and Choir Singers: The Domestic Femininity of Jewish Women</i>	150

Between Victorian Middle-Class Femininity and Orthodox Judaism	152
‘A Sacred Solo from the Gallery’: Jewish Women in the Synagogue	156
‘The Natural Instincts of Her Heart’: Jewish Women as Wife, Mother, and Religious Teacher	160
Women’s Work: Jewish Women and Employment	169
<i>Chapter Six ‘Little’ Men and Learning Girls: Jewish Childhood and the Experiences of Jewish Children</i>	174
‘I Always Read the Children’s Page’: Navigating Conceptions of Childhood and Children	175
‘Your Pure Heart as an Offering’: Jewish Children and Ritual in the Synagogue	181
‘Nearly all the Elder Pupils were Girls’: The Religious Education of Jewish Children	186
<i>Chapter Seven Jewish Internationalism and the Royal Family: Was there an Anglo-Jewish Imperialism?</i>	196
‘In Faith, in Hope, and in Earthly Destiny’: Colonial Jews in Empires and Jewish Internationalism	198
‘The Passions of Britain’s Children’: British Subjecthood and Jewish Internationalism	207
‘God Save the Queen’: The Royal Family, Empire Belonging, and Colonial Judaism	214
<i>Conclusion</i>	223
Negotiating Identity: New Practices and Altered Symbols	224
Colonial Society and Judaism: Beyond the Metropolitan City	225
Britishness in a Jewish Way: Jewish Religiosity and a British Class Identity	227
Theory and Materials: Uncovering Religious Practice in the Past	227
Future Directions for Research	228
Beyond 1900: Hebrew Congregations into the Next Century	229
<i>Bibliography</i>	232

Primary Sources	232
Australian Jewish Historical Society Sydney Archive	232
Bendigo Family History Group	233
Births, Deaths, and Marriages Tasmania Register	233
Births, Deaths, and Marriages Victoria Register	233
Books, Memoirs, and Published Letters	236
College of Charleston Libraries	236
Databases accessed through Ancestry	237
Directories	237
Jewish Museum of Australia	237
Museums Victoria	237
National Library of Australia	238
National Maritime Museum	238
Newspapers and Journals	238
Parliamentary Report and Censuses	239
Public Records Office of Victoria	239
State Library of New South Wales	240
State Library of South Australia	240
State Library of Victoria	240
Secondary Sources	241
Books, Book Sections, and Journal Articles	241
Encyclopedias and Dictionaries	277
Websites	278

## **List of Tables**

Table 2.1: Country of Birth for Identified Jews residing on the Central Victorian Goldfields between 1851 and 1901	68
Table 2.2: Place of Birth Compared to Last Place of Residence in Britain for Identified Jews on the Central Victorian Goldfields between 1851 and 1901	68
Table 2.3: Place of Birth for Identified Jews who engaged in Familial or Chain Migration between 1851 and 1901	70
Table 2.4: Classification of Major Occupations for Identified Jews on the Central Victorian Goldfields between 1851 and 1901	75
Table 5.1: Average Age of Marriage for Identified Jewish Women and Men on the Central Victorian Goldfields between 1851 and 1901	161
Table 5.2: Place of Birth for Jews who Married on the Central Victorian Goldfields between 1851 and 1901	162
Table 5.3: Fertility of Jewish Women on the Central Victorian Goldfields between 1851 and 1901	163
Table 5.4: The Number and Location of Identified Jewish Women who gave Birth on the Central Victorian Goldfields between 1851 and 1901	163

## **List of Figures**

Figure 2.1: Familial Migration to the Australian Colonies for Identified Jews on the Central Victorian Goldfields between 1851 and 1901	70
Figure 2.2: Ballarat Synagogue in 1877	83
Figure 3.1: Bendigo Synagogue in 1889	121
Figure 4.1: Male Attire Advertised in the Australian Israelite	135
Figure 7.1: Melbourne Illuminated for the Queen's Jubilee in 1887	218

## **Abstract**

As British and European Jewish migrants settled on the Central Victorian Goldfields, they negotiated their Jewish religiosity with their sense of middle-class Britishness. This process of negotiation and movement has not been examined in the existing historiography until now. By concentrating upon urbanised cities, extant scholarship has overlooked the Jewish experience of the goldfield frontiers and regions. This thesis recognises the importance of the Central Victorian Goldfields region in Australian Jewish history, making an in-depth examination of the Jewish communities and Hebrew congregations which formed in Bendigo and Ballarat between 1851 and 1901. Combining a Lived Religion approach and Birgit Meyer's concept of 'aesthetic formations', this research provides the first comprehensive research into how Jewish settlers in Bendigo and Ballarat negotiated their sense of Britishness and colonial middle-class identity through their shifting faith and cultural practices. Jewish ritual, worship, and ideals were significantly altered as Jews adopted the practices of colonial middle-class society, yet Britishness itself was also changed through this process, finding new expression and performance in Jewish spaces and through Jewish religiosity. This thesis furthers current understandings of the colonial Jewish experience and complicates scholarly discourses on Britishness, religion, and settler identities in the mid to late nineteenth century.



## **Statement of Authorship**

Except where reference is made in the text of the thesis, this thesis contains no material published elsewhere or extracted in whole or part from a thesis accepted for the award of any other degree or diploma.

No other person's work has been used without due acknowledgment in the main text of the thesis.

This thesis has not been submitted for the award of any degree or diploma in any other tertiary institution.

Elizabeth Jane Offer:

Date: 14 July 2021

## **Declaration**

This thesis has been professionally copy edited by Dr Rachel Le Rossignol according to the Australian Standards for Editing Practice. Specifically the standards applied included D1, D3 to D5 and E1, E2 and E4. These standards relate to appropriate academic editing, including clarity of expression, spelling, punctuation and grammar, and ensuring the document meets the examining university's format, style and sequencing requirements.

## Acknowledgments

I would like to acknowledge that I am not Jewish. Throughout my candidature, I have attempted to immerse myself in Judaism as much as possible, attending synagogue services and Passover *seders* whilst conducting extensive research. All terms and inferences have been consciously utilised with this stance in mind and chosen after careful consideration, research, and communal feedback. I take full responsibility for any shortcomings or errors. My research and this thesis stemmed from my desire to expand my knowledge on Australia's Jewish community and their long history in Australia. During previous historical research undertaken as part of my Honours degree, I frequently encountered references to the Jewish community in Victoria, but was unable to explore these links in any depth. These encounters, brief as they were, generated an interest which I decided to pursue by undertaking PhD research. In a way, this thesis also represents my journey in developing a deeper appreciation and admiration for the Jewish community in the Victorian colony and some of Australia's most significant goldfield towns. My greatest hope for this thesis is that it will facilitate a similar journey for others; that it could in some small way generate a greater recognition and appreciation of Judaism in Australia, both in our past and, most importantly, in our future.

I would like to thank my supervisors, Jennifer Jones, Charles Fahey, and Jordana Silverstein, for their wonderful support and feedback. Your advice and guidance have been invaluable, shaping me into the historian I am today. Although Jordana joined our team later in my candidature, her counsel has been insightful and brilliant, and I will always be appreciative of her support. A thank you must also be extended to the other postgraduates and academics in La Trobe's history department, particularly to Kerry Nixon, Natasha Joyce, Portia Dilene, Tim Calabria, and Lachlan Meikle for reading drafts and providing comments. My supervisors and the La Trobe History Department were a source of strength and direction throughout my thesis, guiding me through difficult moments and research obstacles; without your counsel and encouragement this journey would have been twice as difficult and not nearly half as rewarding. Part of this research was completed during the 2020 COVID-19 crisis and as a result, the thesis was impacted in unforeseen ways.

I would also like to thank the congregation who gather at the Ballarat synagogue and *kehillat s'dot zahav* (The Congregation of the Fields of Gold), the progressive Hebrew

congregation in Bendigo. Thank you for your warm welcome and generous support, for showing me the beauty of Judaism and how wonderful Jewish food is! I would particularly like to extend a warm thank you to Howard Nathan and Sarah Austin for your continued assistance and research feedback over the years. It has been most greatly valued. Additionally, a fond thank you is extended to Shelley Cohn for sharing with me her wonderful private collection regarding her family's history in Bendigo and beyond. I will always fondly remember the afternoons we spent together, looking over old photographs and reading through letters.

I would like to acknowledge the wonderful work undertaken by the Trove team at the National Library of Australia. Without their hard work and amazing dedication to this great database, this thesis would not have been possible. Thank you.

Finally, I would like to thank my family and friends who have had to listen to my ramblings about the Central Victorian Goldfields and the Hebrew congregations for the last four years. Ashleigh, I know you said you were interested in my research, but I do think sometimes you were humouring me, and for that, thank you. To my sister, Catherine, who has shown me what it means to never give up, that perseverance and dedication is more powerful than negativity. To my father, David, for your great life advice and wisdom. To my mother, Carmen, who has carried me through my low moments, who came with me as I explored archives and attended synagogues. Your belief in me and what I could do, so unwavering and steady, has been my greatest source of encouragement, giving me the strength to trust myself and to follow my passion.

This project is funded by the Australian Research Council, LP160100099 Faith on the Goldfield. This work was also supported by an Australian Government Research Training Program Scholarship and a La Trobe University Postgraduate Research Scholarship.

## Glossary

<b>Alliance Israélite Universelle</b>	A French based Jewish society created in 1860 to advocate for the rights of Jews in countries where Jewish emancipation was denied.
<b>Anglo-Jewish Association</b>	A British organisation established in 1871 to protect the rights of Jews through diplomatic advocacy and education.
<b>Ashkenazi</b>	Jews from Germany, Central Europe and Eastern Europe, or whose ancestors came from those regions, who maintain distinct customs and language.
<b>Bar Mitzvah</b>	A ceremony for Jewish boys which occurs at thirteen years of age. From this age, Jewish boys are considered responsible for their actions and can be counted as part of a minyan, the ten men (or ten people, in Reform and Conservative Judaism) needed for public worship in Judaism. The plural form is <i>b'nai mitzvah</i> .
<b>Beth Din</b>	A Jewish court of law, which consists of three rabbis.
<b>Bildung</b>	A German concept that combined an educational framework with a cultured and genteel personification.
<b>Brit Milah</b>	A circumcision ceremony for infant boys which occurs on or near the eighth day from birth. A <i>brit milah</i> marks the covenant established between the individual and God.
<b>Challah</b>	A special bread in Judaism, which is usually braided and eaten on the Jewish Sabbath and major Jewish holidays. To be considered ritually acceptable, a small piece of the <i>challah</i> dough must be set aside as an offering.

<b>Chazan</b>	The vocalist who leads the Hebrew congregation in songful prayer during public worship in the synagogue, also known as a Cantor. Colonial Jews could at times refer to the <i>chazan</i> as the Reader.
<b>Chevra Kadisha</b>	A group of Jewish men and women who ensure that the bodies of deceased Jews are properly prepared for burial and protected against desecration, according to Jewish religious law.
<b>Chief Rabbi of the British Empire</b>	Also known as the Chief Rabbi of the United Hebrew congregations, a London-based institution which acted as the religious leader of Orthodox Jewish communities throughout the British Empire.
<b>Gemeinde</b>	The factional centre of Jewish communal and institutional life in German states used until 1876.
<b>Germany/Poland/Prussia</b>	Prussia comprised parts of Poland and Germany in the nineteenth century, with Berlin as its capital. In both official and private records, Jews on the Central Victorian Goldfields used the names Germany, Poland, and Prussia to refer to certain areas in Eastern and Central Europe, yet their use of these names often overlapped or diverged individually. As a result, this thesis will incorporate all names, using where possible the location name given in the primary material to ensure a more accurate representation.
<b>Halachah</b>	Jewish religious law.
<b>Haftarah</b>	A short reading from the Prophets, following the reading from the Law in a synagogue.

<b>Haskalah</b>	Often termed the Jewish Enlightenment, an intellectual Jewish movement in Central and Eastern Europe which originated in eighteenth century Germany.
<b>Kippah</b>	Religious head covering.
<b>Kosher/ Kashrut</b>	The Jewish dietary rules and regulations that surround food preparation and consumption.
<b>Matzah</b>	Unleavened bread that is eaten at Passover and is a central component of the Passover celebration.
<b>Mikvah</b>	A bath prepared for ritual immersion.
<b>Millennialism</b>	A Christian belief that in the future, generally the imminent future, there will be a thousand-year age of peace, either beginning with or culminating in the Second Coming of Christ.
<b>Minhag</b>	The customs or rites used for synagogue liturgy.
<b>Minyan</b>	The quorum of ten adult Jewish males (or people in Reform and Conservative Judaism) which is required for public or communal prayer.
<b>Mishna</b>	The first major written collection of Jewish oral traditions.
<b>Mitzvah</b>	A good deed which connects an individual or community to God. There are 613 <i>mitzvot</i> , the plural form of mitzvah, in Judaism.
<b>Mohel</b>	A person trained to conduct a <i>brit milah</i> (circumcision ceremony for Jewish newborns) according to religious law. The plural form of <i>mohel</i> is <i>mohalim</i> .

<b>Niddah</b>	The Jewish laws surrounding purification, menstruation, and married women that governs sexual relations between spouses and ritual bath immersion after the birth of a child.
<b>Pesach/Passover</b>	A major Jewish holiday that commemorates the liberation of the Jewish people from slavery in Egypt. It is an eight day festival that begins with a <i>seder</i> (ritual meal), which is filled with symbolic significance.
<b>Purim</b>	A Jewish holiday that commemorates the saving of the Jewish people from Haman, as is recounted in the Book of Esther. On Purim, the Megillah is read, gifts are given to the needy, and adherents dress up in costumes.
<b>Reform Judaism</b>	A major branch of the Jewish religion that emphasises the developing nature of faith, places primacy on the ethical, and encourages the modernisation of Judaism.
<b>Ro'sh Ha-Shanah</b>	A Jewish High Holiday that celebrates the beginning of the Jewish New Year on the Jewish calendar and includes the lighting of candles, festive meals, prayer services, and the sounding of the <i>shofar</i> (ram's horn).
<b>Sabbath/Shabbat</b>	A day of rest and religious study. In Judaism, the Sabbath occurs from sundown on Friday to sundown on Saturday, also known as 'Shabbat', however, contemporaries usually use the term Sabbath.
<b>Sephardi</b>	Meaning Spanish, the term refers to Jews from Spain and Portugal, or whose ancestors came from those regions. Sephardi Jews maintain distinct customs and language.
<b>Shavuot</b>	Also known as the Feast of Weeks, this Jewish holiday celebrates the giving of the Torah by God to the Jewish people on Mount Sinai.



<b>Shehitah</b>	The slaughtering of animals for consumption which is completed according to Jewish law.
<b>Shochet</b>	A trained ritual slaughterer of animals, who prepares meat according to Jewish law.
<b>Sukkah</b>	A temporary hut constructed according to specific biblical descriptions for the festival of Sukkot.
<b>Sukkot</b>	A week-long harvest celebration that recalls the wanderings of the Jewish people in the desert after they left slavery in Egypt.
<b>Tanakh</b>	The canonical collection of Jewish sacred writings, comprising the Torah, the Prophets, and the <i>Ketuvim</i> (writings).
<b>Tefillin</b>	Small leather boxes containing the words from the Torah with straps that are wrapped around the head and arms.
<b>Tisha B'Av/ Ninth of Av</b>	A day of fasting that mourns the destruction of the First Temple by the Babylonians and the Second Temple by the Romans.
<b>Torah</b>	The first five books of the Hebrew Bible which contain the written laws.
<b>Yom Kippur</b>	Translated as the Day of Atonement, this major holiday is the holiest day of the year in Judaism and centres on atonement and repentance, involving prayers for forgiveness in synagogue and fasting.
<b>Zeved Habit</b>	The naming ceremony performed for newborn girls in which the father is called to the Torah following their

birth, acting as a means to welcome infant girls into the Jewish community and faith.

**Zionism**

A Jewish nationalist ideology and movement that originated in Central and Eastern Europe in the second half of the nineteenth century. A goal of the movement was to create and support a Jewish national state.

## Introduction

In the early months of 1880, a large crowd assembled at the Alfred Hall in Ballarat, eager to discuss how they could support the Irish Famine Relief Fund and alleviate the suffering of the Irish in their distant homeland. Among those gathered was Israel Goldreich, the Jewish minister for the Ballarat Hebrew congregation. As the meeting progressed and men of note addressed the assembly, Ballarat's Anglican bishop, Samuel Thornton, appealed to the audience as Christians, calling on their Christian faith to spur them to action. Goldreich raised objections to this claim; not all gathered were Christians as a considerable number of Jews were in attendance. Instead, Goldreich "preferred to address the meeting simply as men all created by one Father and one God".<sup>1</sup> In this moment, Goldreich portrayed the Jewish community as being similar to their colonial Christian peers yet also as practicing a distinct faith, hinting at the disparate notions through which Jews articulated and understood their place in Ballarat.

Acknowledging the complexities of Goldreich's description, this research investigates how and why Jewish migrants on the Central Victorian Goldfields continued or adapted their Jewish religious practices as they responded to life in a frontier and colonial setting. As Jews settled on the Central Victorian Goldfields, Judaism was negotiated to reflect their middle-class attachments or their British colonial identity whilst also maintaining a sense of distinction, reflecting their desire to be similar yet not exact, different yet not separate. This was a dialectical process that could entail significant changes to both Jewish religious practice and to British or class symbols, complicating current scholarly discourses on faith and a British identity in the mid to late nineteenth century. Both Judaism and Britishness emerge in this thesis as shifting and often integrated identities as Jewish individuals and communities altered distinctive Jewish symbols, rituals, and practices, connecting with a significant area within Jewish Studies.<sup>2</sup> This thesis demonstrates the malleability of dominant archetypes of a colonial British identity, which

---

<sup>1</sup> 'News and Notes', *Jewish Herald*, 13 Feb. 1880, 3.

<sup>2</sup> The question of how Jews live amongst others has been explored in great depth within Jewish Studies. For some of this literature, see David Biale, Michael Galchinsky, and Susan Heschel (eds.), *Insider/Outsider: American Jews and Multiculturalism* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1998); Daniel Boyarin and Jonathan Boyarin, 'Diaspora: Generation and the Ground of Jewish Identity', *Critical Inquiry*, 19/4 (1993), 693-725; Jonathan Boyarin and Daniel Boyarin (eds.), *Jews and Other Differences: The New Jewish Cultural Studies* (Minnesota: University of Minnesota Press, 1997); Andreas Gotzmann and Christian Wiese (eds.), *Modern Judaism and Historical Consciousness: Identities, Encounters, Perspectives* (Boston: Leiden, 2007); Keith Kahn-Harris and Ben Gidley, *Turbulent Times: The British Jewish Community Today* (London and New York: Continuum, 2010); Howard Wettstein (ed.), *Diasporas and Exiles: Varieties of Jewish Identity* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2002).

are typically viewed as overarching and therefore usually separated from religious identifications. In doing so, this research will uncover the more complicated process through which faith and Britishness interacted to define the belonging of Anglo-Jewry in colonial Victoria.

As stated in my acknowledgments, I do not practice Judaism religiously, nor do I identify with Jewishness culturally. I am a first generation Australian from migrant parents of a Western European and Catholic background, both of which I strongly identify with. I was raised within an aspirant working-class family that has successfully transitioned into the middle-class. This ‘outsider’ stance impacts my research and this thesis. The position of the researcher in relation to the community under investigation is a frequently debated topic within the social sciences and scholars have visited and re-visited the place of ‘insider’ and ‘outsider’ researchers.<sup>3</sup> An ‘insider’ researcher commonly refers to a person who shares the characteristics, role, or experiences of the community they are studying, whilst an ‘outsider’ does not.<sup>4</sup> Each stance has its own advantages and challenges. For example, the ‘insider’ may have a breadth and depth of knowledge that the ‘outsider’ does not, yet the ‘outsider’ researcher is less likely to face issues of objectivity and reflectivity due to their peripheral place.<sup>5</sup>

Scholars have, however, complicated this dichotomy between the insider/outsider, providing more nuanced readings regarding the position of researchers.<sup>6</sup> Drawing upon her own research into grief and her experience as an ‘insider’, Lauren J. Breen noted that the “the insider/outsider dichotomy is simplistic, and that neither term adequately captured the role [she] occupied throughout [her] research”.<sup>7</sup> Scholars have tended to agree with Breen and have argued that the position of the researcher in relation to the community they are studying is best described as situational and is dependent upon the

---

<sup>3</sup> For some of this literature, see Lauren J. Breen, ‘The Researcher “in the Middle”: Negotiating the Insider/Outsider Dichotomy’, *The Australian Community Psychologist*, 19/1 (2007), 163-174; Sonya Corbin Dwyer and Jennifer L. Buckle, ‘The Space Between: On Being an Insider-Outsider in Qualitative Research’, *International Journal of Qualitative Methods*, 8/1 (2009), 54-63; Katie Kerstetter, ‘Insider, Outsider, or Somewhere Between: The Impact of Researchers’ Identities on the Community-Based Research Process’, *Journal of Rural Social Sciences*, 27/2 (2012), 99-117; Kim Knott, ‘Insider/Outsider Perspectives’ in John Hinnells (ed.), *The Routledge Companion to the Study of Religion* (Oxon, England: Routledge, 2005), 243-258; Abdi M. Kusow, ‘Beyond Indigenous Authenticity: Reflections on the Insider/Outsider Debate in Immigration Research’, *Symbolic Interaction*, 26/4 (2003), 591-599.

<sup>4</sup> Breen, ‘The Researcher “in the Middle”’, 163; Dwyer and Buckle, ‘The Space Between’, 55.

<sup>5</sup> Dwyer and Buckle, ‘The Space Between’, 57.

<sup>6</sup> For example, Sharan B. Merriam et al., ‘Power and Positionality: Negotiating Insider/Outsider Status Within and Across Cultures’, *International Journal of Lifelong Education*, 20/5 (2001), 405.

<sup>7</sup> Breen, ‘The Researcher “in the Middle”’, 165.

prevailing political, social, and cultural values within a given context.<sup>8</sup> This dichotomy is further complicated in history as the historical actors under investigation are often embedded within a time and place which cannot be completely known, accessed, or uncovered; a part of the historical community will likely always remain hidden to the modern scholar, recalling L.P. Hartley's famous quote that "the past is a foreign country".<sup>9</sup> There are multiple aspects to a researcher's identity – their gender, age, and education level as well as their cultural and religious background – that interact in complex ways to define their place in relation to the community they are investigating.<sup>10</sup>

The status of a researcher is continuously negotiated and locally determined rather than being fixed within an either/or category, and this position shifts over the course of their research.<sup>11</sup> Sonya Corbin Dwyer and Jennifer L. Buckle argued that researchers occupy "the space between" an insider or outsider status, that "we only ever occupy the space between".<sup>12</sup> This space is often characterised as being multidimensional, as the researcher's cultural background and identity influence their position and movement in this space.<sup>13</sup> I occupy this 'space between' in my research; I am neither of the community nor completely outside its reach. In certain moments, I come closer towards the individuals I study, for instance, when I discuss young Jewish women who struggle for financial independence. At others points, I move further away. As a result of this shifting place, I conduct analysis, reach conclusions, and utilise methodological approaches that would likely be different from someone who occupies a more integrated insider position. For example, whilst a significant body of literature has developed regarding Jewish theories on Jewishness, acculturation, and adaption, this thesis utilises non-Jewish approaches, which were consciously chosen in response to the primary material yet these choices also reflect my outsider position.<sup>14</sup> By doing so, this thesis acts as a

---

<sup>8</sup> Susan Gair, 'Feeling Their Stories: Contemplating Empathy, Insider/Outsider Positionings, and Enriching Qualitative Research', *Qualitative Health Research*, 22/1 (2012), 138; Kusow, 'Beyond Indigenous Authenticity', 592; Merriam et al., 'Power and Positionality', 411-412.

<sup>9</sup> L. P. Hartley, *The Go-Between* (London: Penguin, 1953), 1.

<sup>10</sup> Jørgen Carling, Marta Bivand Erdal, and Rojan Ezzati, 'Beyond the Insider-Outsider Divide in Migration Research', *Migration Studies*, 2/1 (2014), 38; Merriam et al., 'Power and Positionality', 411-412.

<sup>11</sup> Kusow, 'Beyond Indigenous Authenticity', 597.

<sup>12</sup> Dwyer and Buckle, 'The Space Between', 60, 61.

<sup>13</sup> Kerstetter, 'Insider, Outsider, or Somewhere Between', 101.

<sup>14</sup> Jewish scholars and theorists have long considered questions regarding Jewishness and how Jews live in a non-Jewish society. For some of this rich and varied literature, see Simon J. Bronner (ed.), *Jewishness: Expression, Identity, and Representation* (Oxford: The Littman Library of Jewish Civilization, 2008); Shaye Cohen, *The Beginnings of Jewishness: Boundaries, Varieties, Uncertainties* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1999); Jonathan Freedman, *Klezmer America: Jewishness, Ethnicity, Modernity* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2009); Helene Meyers, *Identity Papers: Contemporary Narratives of American Jewishness* (New York: Suny Press, 2011); Lisa Silverman, 'Reconsidering the Margins: Jewishness as an Analytical Framework', *Journal of Modern Jewish Studies*, 8/1 (2009), 103-120.

historiography of colonial communities, faith, and Australian Jewry, providing an integrated and contextualised history of the Bendigo and Ballarat Jewish communities.

This study is part of a larger research project, funded by the Australian Research Council, titled 'Faith on the Goldfields', which uncovers the religious diversity of Bendigo and its surrounding areas from 1851 to the present. Reflecting these concerns, this thesis focuses on the Central Victorian gold rush to Federation, between 1851 to 1901. The period encompasses the formation of Hebrew congregations in the mid-1850s, recounting the activity of goldfields Jewish communities at the height of their influence and populace. By Federation, the Jewish communities on the Central Victorian Goldfields had declined significantly, a decrease in population which accelerated in the twentieth century. These reductions in size had a profound impact on the goldfields Jewish communities, yet they are beyond the scope of the thesis. Instead, I focus on a phase in the history of the Bendigo and Ballarat Jewish communities for which there are fewer records. This period has also enjoyed less scholarly attention. Turning to the first days of the gold rushes will enable consideration, for the first time, of the foundational experiences which not only shaped the practice of colonial Judaism, but also the character of the Victorian colony and its place in the British Empire.

### **British and European Jewish Histories: The Impact on Australian Jewry**

Emergent colonial society presented Jews with opportunities to form new communal relationships and integrated identities, yet this process of middle-class or British acculturation had begun overseas in Britain and Europe where full emancipation continued to be denied. Historically, Jews in Central and Eastern Europe were often not viewed nor treated as citizens.<sup>15</sup> They were deemed to be either undesirables or threatening, and as a result, generally lived in segregated and autonomous communities.<sup>16</sup> This separation was a feature that continued through most of the modern period. In 1772,

---

<sup>15</sup> For more on the histories of Jews in Central and Eastern Europe, see Israel Bartal, *The Jews of Eastern Europe, 1772-1881* (Pennsylvania: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2011); Jonathan Dekel-Chen, 'East European Jewish Migration: Inside and Outside', *East European Jewish Affairs*, 44/2-3 (2014), 154-170; Debra Kaplan, 'Jews in Early Modern Europe: The Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries', *History Compass*, 10/2 (2012), 191-206; Marion A. Kaplan, 'Redefining Judaism in Imperial Germany: Practices, Mentalities, and Community', *Jewish Social Studies*, 9/1 (2002), 1-33; David B. Ruderman, *Early Modern Jewry: A New Cultural History* (New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 2010); David Sorkin, 'Beyond the East-West Divide: Rethinking the Narrative of the Jews' Political Status in Europe, 1600-1750', *Jewish History*, 24/3 (2010), 247-256.

<sup>16</sup> Sue Silberberg, *A Networked Community: Jewish Melbourne in the Nineteenth Century* (Melbourne: Melbourne University Press, 2020), 21.

the Empress of Russia, Catherine II, commanded Jews to settle within a certain area, known as the Pale of Settlement, barring Jews from returning to towns which they had previously occupied.<sup>17</sup> In the German states, all Jews who resided in a specific area belonged to the *Gemeinde*, a faction which acted as the centre of Jewish communal and institutional life until 1876.<sup>18</sup> Through this faction, the state controlled Jewish lives via bureaucratic restrictions that sought to determine population sizes and specified residential areas.<sup>19</sup> These residential restrictions soon resulted in overcrowding. In response, communal authorities regulated living quarters through residency permits; these permits, which were only available to a fee-paying few, limited the ability of Jews to form new families and governed access to business opportunities.<sup>20</sup> While individual Jews could prosper in this climate of regulation and discrimination, the prevailing political systems and antisemitism continued to disadvantage and separate the Jewish community.<sup>21</sup> Despite these limitations, cultural and social shifts occurred within German Judaism as they sought to acculturate to the educated middle-class.

From the eighteenth century, German Jewry experienced social and cultural transformation. In this period, German Jewish society began to shift towards ideals of *bildung*, a concept that combined an educational framework with a cultured and genteel personification.<sup>22</sup> As research into German Jewry has shown, this shift was particularly pronounced for Jewish women, altering their social, cultural, and familial responsibilities.<sup>23</sup> The Australian Jewish literature tends to overlook the gendered aspect of colonial settlement, downplaying the role and impact of acculturation and assimilation on the lives of Jewish women during this period. This shift towards the middle-class in German states was further facilitated through the Haskalah, an intellectual Jewish movement in Central and Eastern Europe which originated in eighteenth century

---

<sup>17</sup> Ibid. 7.

<sup>18</sup> Marion A. Kaplan, *The Making of the Jewish Middle Class: Women, Family, and Identity in Imperial Germany* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1991), 12.

<sup>19</sup> Silberberg, *A Networked Community* (2020), 21.

<sup>20</sup> Ibid. 22.

<sup>21</sup> Peter Pulzer, *Jews and the German State: The Political History of a Minority, 1848-1933* (Detroit: Wayne State University Press, 2003), 79.

<sup>22</sup> Christhard Hoffman, 'Constructing Jewish Modernity: Mendelssohn Jubilee Celebrations within Germany Jewry 1829-1929', in Rainer Liedtke and David Rechter (eds.), *Towards Normality? Acculturation and Modern German Jewry* (London: Leo Baeck Institute, 2003), 30-31. For more on this shift in German Jewry, see Michael Brenner, Rainer Liedtke, and David Rechter, *Two Nations: British and German Jews in Comparative Perspective* (London: Leo Baeck Institute, 1999); Jacob Katz, 'German Culture and the Jews', in Jehuda Reinharz and Walter Schatzberg (eds.), *The Jewish Response to German Culture: From the Enlightenment to the Second World War* (Hanover, New Hampshire: University of New England Press, 1985).

<sup>23</sup> Kaplan, *The Making of the Jewish Middle Class*; Kaplan, 'Redefining Judaism in Imperial Germany'.

Germany. Drawing from the European Enlightenment, most particularly from the German Enlightenment, the Haskalah followed a similar course with emphasis placed upon rationality and intellect, though with a specifically Jewish character. Followers of this emerging movement were encouraged to abandon their distinctive cultural and social characteristics, including dress and mannerisms, and to acculturate to European society while still practicing Judaism.

The Haskalah led to the creation of two new movements or branches of Jewish practice, Reform Judaism and Zionism. Reform Judaism is a major branch of Jewish religion that emphasises the developing nature of faith, placing primacy on the ethical, and encouraging the modernisation of Judaism.<sup>24</sup> In colonial Victoria, the majority of Jews were Orthodox.<sup>25</sup> Attempts were made in Melbourne to form a Reform congregation in the 1880s, known as the Temple of Israel, with Dr. Dattner Jacobson acting as Jewish minister, yet after a few months the congregation was dissolved.<sup>26</sup> Despite this, Reform Judaism was still a significant influence for colonial Hebrew congregations, with heated arguments occurring amongst Jewish contemporaries regarding the place of these reformed practices and ideas in the colonies.<sup>27</sup> Whilst Reform Judaism proved influential in the colonies, the social and cultural transformations underway amongst Jews in Britain were most central in defining colonial Jewry.

Jews first entered Britain in 1066, initially occupying a prominent though heavily disadvantaged position within English society.<sup>28</sup> In Britain, Jews were compelled to act as moneylenders or merchants, providing a substantial source of revenue for the monarch

---

<sup>24</sup> For more on Reform Judaism, see *Encyclopaedia Judaica*, s.v. 'Reform Judaism'; Plaut W. Gunther, *The Rise of Reform Judaism: A Sourcebook of its European Origins* (Nebraska: University of Nebraska Press, 2015).

<sup>25</sup> Suzanne D. Rutland, *The Jews in Australia* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2005), 8.

<sup>26</sup> 'Meeting of Persons Favourable to the Establishment of a Reform Congregation', *Jewish Herald*, 12 Jun. 1885, 4; 'Dr. Jacobson's New Movement', *Jewish Herald*, 10 Jul. 1885, 6.

<sup>27</sup> Not all colonial Jews in Victoria were happy about Reform Judaism and argued against the introduction of Reform elements. Others, however, viewed Reform very favourably. For examples, see 'Reply to a Particular Point of Reform', *Jewish Herald*, 10 Sep. 1880, 10; 'The Reform Movement', *Jewish Herald*, 24 Jul. 1885, 13; 'The Ritual', *Jewish Herald*, 12 Mar. 1880, 3; 'Modern Judaism', *Jewish Herald*, 22 Feb. 1884, 8.

<sup>28</sup> For more on the history of Jews in Britain, see Eitan Bar-Yosef and Nadia Valman, *'The Jew' in Late-Victorian and Edwardian Culture between the East End and East Africa* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2009); David Cesarani (ed.), *The Making of Modern Anglo-Jewry* (Great Britain: Basil Blackwell, 1990); Todd Endelman, *The Jews of Britain, 1656 to 2000* (Los Angeles: University of California Press, 2002); David S. Katz, *The Jews in the History of England, 1485-1850* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1994); Alys Levene, 'Jewish Households and Religious Identity in Mid- Nineteenth Century Britain', *Journal of Family History*, 43/3 (2018), 281-301; V. D. Lipman, *Three Centuries of Anglo-Jewish History: A Volume of Essays* (Cambridge, England: Published for the Jewish Historical Society of England by W. Heffer, 1961).



who exploited the community through extraordinary levies and taxes.<sup>29</sup> In the second half of the thirteenth century, Jewish wealth declined dramatically as new restrictions limited moneylending and excessively high taxes were placed on the Jewish community.<sup>30</sup> This deterioration in wealth contributed to the decrease in perceived Jewish fiscal utility, which, combined with rising religious hostility, saw the removal of Jews from England in 1290 under King Edward I's Edict of Expulsion.<sup>31</sup>

Jews did not begin to return to England in substantial numbers until the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries with a small yet growing Jewish community established under Oliver Cromwell's rule. Though the first waves of Jewish migration consisted mainly of Sephardi Jews, Ashkenazi Jews soon followed and settled in larger numbers. As Jews returned in greater numbers, Rabbi Menasseh ben Israel, a scholar from Amsterdam, travelled to London in 1655 to personally petition Oliver Cromwell, who favoured readmission, for the equal rights of the Jewish community in England.<sup>32</sup> A conference was convened to discuss the issue, but despite several meetings, no conclusion was reached. The conference raised more opposition against Jewish readmission than Cromwell expected and he therefore avoided any public statement. It quickly became evident, however, that Jewish worship would be tolerated.<sup>33</sup> With the expulsion edict in place, no charters or legislation were enacted to regulate Jews as, by law, they were not formally acknowledged as a population within England.<sup>34</sup>

While initially helpful, this lack of recognition became an issue of consequence for Jewish migrants. Foreign-born Jews were unable to purchase land and, until 1830, were debarred as Freeman of the City of London and excluded from guilds and commercial circles. This was a considerable impediment for a community comprised mainly of shopkeepers, small scale merchants, and brokers.<sup>35</sup> The exclusion edict contributed to the impoverishment of London's Jewish community, slowing the emergence of a Jewish middle-class which did not become more prominent until the 1850s; in the early nineteenth century, Anglo Jewry mainly comprised the working class with only a small

---

<sup>29</sup> Endelman, *The Jews of Britain*, 15.

<sup>30</sup> Ibid.

<sup>31</sup> Ibid.

<sup>32</sup> Katz, *The Jews in the History of England, 1485-1850*, 108.

<sup>33</sup> Abraham Gilman, *The Emancipation of the Jews in England, 1830-1860* (New York: Garland Publishing, 1982).

<sup>34</sup> Sue Silberberg, 'A Networked Community: Jewish Immigration, Colonial Networks and the Shaping of Melbourne 1835-1895', Ph.D. thesis (Melbourne University, 2015), 9.

<sup>35</sup> Todd Endelman, *Radical Assimilation in English Jewish History, 1656-1945* (Indiana: Indiana University Press, 1990), 73; Silberberg, *A Networked Community* (2020), 12.

group of wealthy elite Jews.<sup>36</sup> Most of the British born Jews who settled on the Central Victorian Goldfields were first generation migrants drawn from the working-class Jewish enclaves of London, such as Whitechapel and Bethnal Green.<sup>37</sup> The parents of these settlers were usually born in Europe, as the database of goldfields Jews created for this thesis reveals.<sup>38</sup> Jews in Britain began to increasingly acculturate to Anglo-Saxon society throughout the Modern period.

While Jews in Europe often struggled to gain emancipation because of increasing civil and legal restrictions, England presented a much different social, civil, and economic environment. This contrast led to different communal, religious, and cultural responses to modernity. Few laws existed in England that impacted the day-to-day lives of English born Jews or specifically prevented their economic and social integration, though Protestantism did significantly shape civil, economic, and cultural frameworks, which could place Jews at a disadvantage.<sup>39</sup> As Todd Endelman argued in his important study on British Jews, from the eighteenth century the London Jewish community formed as a voluntary religious group, with members deciding to observe or deviate from religious observances as they saw fit.<sup>40</sup> These shifts in religious practice and worship in England are discussed in more detail in the chapters below, noting how colonial Jews continued to practice or deviated from earlier negotiations in Britain. With Jewish communal and institutional adherence becoming increasingly privatised and optional, the nineteenth century witnessed a rapid acculturation and assimilation of Jews in England.<sup>41</sup> The removal of England's remaining civil restrictions against Jews, mainly those defining access to political positions, was slow.<sup>42</sup> This delay has been credited as preventing a wider sense of English or British identification from forming amongst Jews until the mid-nineteenth century.<sup>43</sup> In contrast to this literature, it is clear that British Jews arriving in

---

<sup>36</sup> Endelman, *Radical Assimilation in English Jewish History*, 73; William D. Rubinstein, *A History of the Jews in the English Speaking World: Great Britain* (Basingstoke: Macmillan, 1996), 66.

<sup>37</sup> This information is inferred from a database of Jewish migrants who settled on the Central Victorian Goldfields, compiled for this thesis. This database will be discussed in more detail in a following section of the Introduction.

<sup>38</sup> This database will be discussed in more detail below.

<sup>39</sup> The laws that did impact Jews, mainly those who were foreign born, related to everybody who was born overseas, not just Jews. For more on this, see Endelman, *The Jews of Britain*.

<sup>40</sup> Ibid. 35.

<sup>41</sup> Lipman, *Three Centuries of Anglo-Jewish History*, 82; Reinhard Rürup, 'Jewish Emancipation in Britain and Germany', in Michael Brenner, Rainer Liedtke, and David Rechter (eds.), *Two Nations: British and German Jews in Comparative Perspective* (London: Leo Baeck Institute, 1999), 50.

<sup>42</sup> Two of the most notable acts passed to remove the remaining civil and political bars for Jews were the Religious Disabilities Act of 1846 and the Jews Relief Act of 1858, both of which were enacted long after religious rights were granted to Catholics.

<sup>43</sup> William D. Rubinstein, 'The Decline and Fall of Anglo-Jewry?', *Jewish Historical Studies*, 38 (2002), 13; Silberberg, *A Networked Community* (2020), 12.

the colonies during the 1850s had strong identifiable ties to England, as Chapter One demonstrates, a connection which significantly shaped Jewish responses to the colonial setting.

Amongst British Jews, the place of Jewish religiosity within individual and communal lives was shifting as Jews negotiated how to be Jewish in a British society. This process of negotiation continued in the Australian colonies. Jewish religious practices in the colonies at times closely resembled and replicated patterns observed in England, demonstrating a continuation of earlier religious and cultural change rather than a transformation. As the nineteenth century ushered in new social, religious, and cultural possibilities for British Jews, it came with insecurities and doubts regarding the place of Jews in contemporary society, an area of research which to date lacks perspectives gained from the colonial Australian context.

### **Colonial Jewry: Uncovering and Defining Judaism in the Colonies**

Jews maintained an ambiguous colonial, imperial, and racial position during the nineteenth century as they often enjoyed increased political and legal liberty whilst ideas of their difference continued to permeate society. This is a crucial tension which the Australian literature has not adequately explored. Colonial communities benefited considerably from the contribution of Jews who were active agents in the economy, in social life, politics, and charitable institutions, though some underlying discrimination did exist. Such prejudice, whether expressed through actions or words, tended to be rare or was infrequently recorded, though Jews on the Central Victorian Goldfields did speak out or took legal action when discrimination occurred.<sup>44</sup> Despite their acceptance into colonial society, the place of Jews within the developing imperial hierarchy was uncertain. As Michael Calchinsky argued, English Protestants in the early nineteenth century held romantic but discriminatory views about Jews as being nomadic and oriental peoples, who came closer in their approximations to other marginalised groups such as the Catholics, Irish, and Scots.<sup>45</sup> These were groups that could be both white and Other, who were accepted to varying degrees as part of colonial society, yet were understood as

---

<sup>44</sup> Suzanne D. Rutland, *Edge of the Diaspora: Two Centuries of Jewish Settlement in Australia* (Sydney: William Collins, 1988), 143-144.

<sup>45</sup> Michael Calchinsky, 'Africans, Indians, Arabs, and Scots: Jewish and Other Questions in the Age of Empire', *Jewish Culture and History*, 6/1 (2003), 55, 56; Dianne Hall and Elizabeth Malcolm, "'English Institutions and the Irish Race': Race and Politics in Late Nineteenth-Century Australia", *Australian Journal of Politics & History*, 62/1 (2016), 1-15.

being religiously different and could still be targets of discrimination. A similar conception of Jewry was transported to the colonies.

What was understood by a vast majority of colonialists, and which Jews themselves espoused, was that Jews were different religiously.<sup>46</sup> As Jewish historian Hilary Rubinstein noted, Jews in colonial Australia “were clearly distinguishable only by religion, and it is significant that from an early period they described Judaism as a ‘denomination’”, placing emphasis upon their religious difference.<sup>47</sup> Contemporary evidence from colonial Jewish newspapers supports this assertion, with Jewish writers often employing the term “of the Jewish persuasion” when referring to Jews.<sup>48</sup> The use of this phrase suggests an element of choice, laying stress upon the perception that Judaism was a religious denomination or choice rather than a communal or social difference. Both Jewish and non-Jewish contemporaries did at times use the word ‘race’ or relied upon notions of blood ties when referring to Jewry as a whole. At the mid-nineteenth century, however, ‘race’ was used in these communities to denote their shared cultural, religious, and historic separateness, and did not imply an inherent homogeneity, as later colonial racial discourses did.<sup>49</sup>

In the Australian colonies, the increasing racialisation of Jews was connected to the rising nationalism of white settlers and to fears regarding the impact of immigration. Historian Deborah Cohen argued that at the end of the nineteenth century, race formed as the perceived inherent set of characteristics that is imagined to be passed through blood, one which was used to explain biological difference.<sup>50</sup> As scholars such as Stuart Hall and Alana Lentin attest, this conception of difference is central to ideas of race, which is a social and political process that relies on biological distinctions to legitimise discriminatory and oppressive practices.<sup>51</sup> The meanings attributed to race evolved across

---

<sup>46</sup> Jon Stratton, ‘The Colour of Jews: Jews, Race and the White Australia Policy’, *Journal of Australian Studies*, 20/50-51 (1996), 54.

<sup>47</sup> Hilary L. Rubinstein, ‘Australian Jewry: A Brief Historical Overview’, in John W. Roffey (ed.), *When Jews and Christians Meet: Australian Essays Commemorating Twenty Years of Nostra Aetate* (Melbourne: Victorian Council of Churches, 1985), 4.

<sup>48</sup> For examples, see ‘Attempted Assassination of the Queen’, *Jewish Herald*, 10 Mar. 1882, 6; ‘The Jewish Children in the Industrial Schools’, *Jewish Herald*, 2 Jun. 1882, 6; ‘The Jewish Children in the Industrial Schools’, *Jewish Herald*, 16 Jun. 1882, 8; ‘The Montefiore Memorial’, *Jewish Herald*, 11 Dec. 1885, 6; ‘The Education Question’, *Jewish Herald*, 4 Nov. 1881, 8.

<sup>49</sup> Deborah Cohen, ‘Who was Who? Race and Jews in Turn-of-the-Century’, *Journal of British Studies*, 41/4 (2002), 472.

<sup>50</sup> Ibid. 461; Mitchell B. Hart, *Jews and Race: Writings on Identity and Difference, 1880-1940* (Massachusetts: Brandeis University Press, 2011), 23.

<sup>51</sup> For Stuart Hall, an influential cultural theorist, race is a major concept through which people are classified, acting as “the centrepiece of a hierarchical system that produces differences”. Stuart Hall, *The*

the nineteenth century to become more narrow and with biology increasingly utilised as an explainer that was supported by new deterministic racial ‘sciences’.<sup>52</sup> Racial science played a crucial role in generating a Jewish racial discourse which antisemites actively utilised in the nineteenth century.<sup>53</sup> As Mitchell B. Hart noted, racial science “when taken up by antisemites, became fundamental components of a larger ideological struggle to define the Jews as essentially different, and to limit or ban their participation in the modern nation-state”.<sup>54</sup> A similar discourse was replicated in the Australian colonies.

As the colonies advanced towards Federation, the desire for a homogeneous white nation led to questions regarding the ‘whiteness’ of Jews.<sup>55</sup> It is important to note that this discourse racialised colonial Jews in different ways, placing Jews who had arrived during the gold rushes in a contrasting category to recently arrived migrants who were born overseas. This will be discussed more fully in the introduction to Section Two. The increasingly racialised and antisemitic discourses that began to prevail in the late nineteenth century dismayed assimilated colonial Jews who were caught in the ambivalence of a white/non-white status.<sup>56</sup> For many contemporary observers, however, it was the acculturated nature of Jews, their ‘invisibility’ or adaptability, which marked their perceived racial quality, a trait which could be used to argue for or against Jewish citizenship.<sup>57</sup> Whilst race will be discussed at times in this thesis, particularly in Chapter Seven, the focus of the research centres on faith, class, and the expression of a British identity. For Jewish migrants, this process was also in part constructed through settler colonialism.

---

*Fateful Triangle: Race, Ethnicity, Nation* (Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 2017), 32-33. Drawing upon Hall, Alana Lentin develops this concept of difference further, arguing that race is a “project of colonial distinction” that justifies the repressive and prejudicial treatment of individuals or groups, one intimately tied to ideas of racism. Alana Lentin, *Why Race Still Matters* (Cambridge, England: Polity Press, 2020), 12. For more, see Patrick Wolfe, *Traces of History: Elementary Structures of Race* (London: Verso, 2016).

<sup>52</sup> Cohen, ‘Who was Who? Race and Jews in Turn-of-the-Century’, 427.

<sup>53</sup> A large body of literature examines how race was utilised in the nineteenth century to exclude Jews from the developing nation state. For some of this literature, see Karen Brodtkin, *How Did Jews Become White Folks and What Does That Say about Race in America?* (New Brunswick, New Jersey: Rutgers University Press, 1999); Sander L. Gilman, *The Jew’s Body* (New York and London: Routledge, 1991); Eric L. Goldstein, *The Price of Whiteness: Jews, Race, and American Identity* (Princeton, New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 2006); Hart, *Jews and Race*; Maite Ojeda-Mata, “‘Spanish’ but ‘Jewish’: Race and National Identity in Nineteenth and Twentieth Century Spain”, *Jewish Culture and History*, 16/1 (2015), 64-81.

<sup>54</sup> Hart, *Jews and Race*, 24.

<sup>55</sup> Stratton, ‘The Colour of Jews’, 56.

<sup>56</sup> Ibid.

<sup>57</sup> Cohen, ‘Who was Who? Race and Jews in Turn-of-the-Century’, 477.

Narratives of Jewish settlement have overwhelmingly been that of diaspora and involuntary emigration, aspects which have also shaped Australian Jewry, yet Jews arriving in the mid to late nineteenth century were also contributing towards processes of dispossession and displacement for Indigenous communities. As a field of historical research, settler colonialism has gained currency in the last two decades, which has allowed for focus on particularly resilient forms of domination that served settler interests.<sup>58</sup> Compared to other theories of colonialism, settler colonialism refers specially to processes wherein people come to a land inhabited by Indigenous people and declare that land as theirs, as belonging to the invaders.<sup>59</sup> Settler colonialism is concerned with the pursuit of land, as well as resources and labour.<sup>60</sup> Whether Jewish or non-Jewish, settlers migrating to the Central Goldfields region in the 1850s were not the first Europeans to arrive in the area and claim the land as theirs, but their presence, coupled with the building of homes, towns, and the power structures that it reinforced, were part of settler colonialism.<sup>61</sup> As Patrick Wolfe noted, “settler colonizers come to stay: invasion is a structure not an event”.<sup>62</sup> Settler colonialism involves a persistent societal structure, of ongoing colonial ways of being that continually seeks to dispossess Indigenous people of their land, most often through violence.<sup>63</sup> Though Jews could at times challenge pervasive social constructs, they also contributed towards maintaining and reinforcing these societal hierarchies as they became an integrated part of settler society.

For Jews across the Victorian colony, the processes and negotiations that occurred as they attempted to weave themselves into dominant British structures were entangled with settler colonialism. Such processes for Jews were also grounded in the gaining of subjecthood or citizenship. During the nineteenth century, Britain enacted changes to processes of citizenship, allowing foreigners to become citizens more easily through naturalisation. Previously, foreign born persons were either deemed as denizens or

---

<sup>58</sup> Significant research into settler colonialism includes, Patrick Wolfe, *Settler Colonialism* (London and New York: Cassell, 1999); Frederick Cooper, *Colonialism in Question: Theory, Knowledge, History* (California: University of California Press, 2005). Lorenzo Veracini, *Settler Colonialism: A Theoretical Overview* (Hampshire, England and New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2010).

<sup>59</sup> Aimee Carrillo Rowe and Eve Tuck, ‘Settler Colonialism and Cultural Studies: Ongoing Settlement, Cultural Production, and Resistance’, *Cultural Studies Critical Methodologies*, 17/1 (2017), 4.

<sup>60</sup> Ibid; Lorenzo Veracini, *Settler Colonialism*, 8.

<sup>61</sup> For more research on the Australian goldfields and settler colonialism, see Philip Steer, ‘Gold and Greater Britain: Jevons, Trollope, and Settler Colonialism’, *Victorian Studies* 58/3 (2016), 436-463.

<sup>62</sup> Patrick Wolfe, ‘Settler Colonialism and the Elimination of the Native’, *Journal of Genocide Research*, 8/4 (2006), 388.

<sup>63</sup> Rowe and Tuck, ‘Settler Colonialism and Cultural Studies’, 4; Jordana Silverstein, *Anxious Histories: Narrating the Holocaust in Jewish Communities at the Beginning of the Twenty-First Century* (New York and Oxford: Berghahn Books, 2015), 163.

required to be individually naturalised by an act of parliament, however, after 1844 naturalisation occurred at the executive's discretion under a statute, which was also adopted in the Australian colonies.<sup>64</sup> Jewish migrants born outside of Britain and its colonies could apply for naturalisation after being resident for five years, which granted the privileges of citizenship, including the right to own land and vote in elections. Across the Australian colonies, significant numbers of non-British Jews applied for naturalisation, gaining rights that were at that time denied still in much of Europe.<sup>65</sup> This naturalisation, coupled with the greater ingress gained in the colonies for British Jews to partake in all spheres of colonial society, meant Jews were deeply involved in the structures that supported settler colonialism. Moreover, as Jews negotiated identifiable religious and cultural shifts, they also claimed belonging to white, British, and Christian colonial society, to an invading coloniser group, though how they did so was a contested process amongst both Jews and non-Jews, as this thesis demonstrates. Frederick Cooper, a frequently cited historian of colonisation, argued that it is important to “pay attention to what empires did”, to how boundaries were policed and a sense of belonging in diverse populations was created, through which claims on rights and resources were often based.<sup>66</sup> In doing so, a greater understanding can be gained on a range of forms of imperial power as enacted on invaded land and through settler society. By focusing on a group whose racial status at the time has been understood by scholars as being ‘ambiguous’, a more nuanced and complex history of the relationship between settler colonialism and a British identity will be attained. The negotiation of a British and class identity for colonial Jews is an under-researched area within Australian historiography, which this thesis seeks to address.

Few histories have been written about the Jewish communities and Hebrew congregations of the Central Victorian Goldfields during the nineteenth century. The literature on Australian Jews usually focuses on the twentieth century, a period of important transformation for world Jewry following the devastation of the Holocaust.<sup>67</sup>

---

<sup>64</sup> David Dutton, *Citizenship in Australia: A Guide to Commonwealth Government Records* (New South Wales: National Archives of Australia, 2000), 26.

<sup>65</sup> For more on Jewish naturalisation records, see Malcolm J. Turnbull, *Safe Haven: Records of the Jewish Experience in Australia* (New South Wales: National Archives of Australia, 2000), 60- 68.

<sup>66</sup> Cooper, *Colonialism in Question*, 30.

<sup>67</sup> An extensive range of historical literature exists on Australian Jewry. For some examples, see Sol Encel, ‘The Demographic History of the New South Wales Jewish Community 1933-1966’, *Jewish Social Studies*, 34/2 (1972), 140-154; J. Forrest and I.M. Sheskin, ‘Strands of Diaspora: The Resettlement Experience of Jewish Immigrants to Australia’, *Journal of International Migration and Integration*, 16/4 (2015), 911-927; John Goldlust, ‘Jewish Continuity in Australia’, in Leslie Stein and Sol Encel (eds.), *Continuity, Commitment, and Survival: Jewish Communities in the Diaspora* (Westport, Connecticut: Praeger, 2003); Max Kaiser, “‘Jewish Culture is Inseparable From the Struggle Against Reaction’: Forging an Australian

One of the first studies into Australian Jewry was by Lazarus Goldman who, in 1954, published a history on the Jewish community in colonial Victoria.<sup>68</sup> Colonial Jewish histories did not become more numerous until much later in the 1980s. Suzanne Rutland, the most notable Jewish historian of this later period, produced numerous histories on Australia Jewry; however, her research provides little information on communities located on the Central Victorian Goldfields.<sup>69</sup> Other notable scholars include Hilary Rubinstein and William Rubinstein, who have published histories together and separately.<sup>70</sup> Another particularly notable contribution has been made by John Docker and his book, *1492*, which includes an examination of Orthodoxies in Australian Jewish history and contemplates the place of British Jews in the colonies.<sup>71</sup> Currently, there is no in-depth research on the Jewish community in Bendigo. Only two publications have been produced on Bendigo Jewry, including a recent booklet published on the Bendigo synagogue by Terry Davidson, a local historian, and a family history focusing upon the Cohns, an influential Jewish family who founded and operated a large brewing company in the area.<sup>72</sup> Scholarly interest in goldfields Judaism has centred on Ballarat, with Nathan Spielvogel and Newman Rosenthal both producing institutional histories on the Ballarat Hebrew congregation.<sup>73</sup> These histories on Bendigo and Ballarat Jewry lack wider

---

Jewish Antifascist Culture in the 1940s', *Fascism*, 9/1-2 (2020), 34-55; Melanie Landau, Nathan Wolski, and Michael Fagenblat, *New Under the Sun: Jewish Australians on Religion, Politics & Culture* (Melbourne: Black Inc., 2006); Andrew Markus, 'Jewish Migration to Australia 1938-49', *Journal of Australian Studies*, 7/13 (1983), 18-31; F. Rawdon Dalrymple, 'Reflections on Chanan Reich's Australia and the "Yom Kippur" War of 1973', *The Australian Journal of Jewish Studies*, 26 (2012), 31-36; Rodney Gouttman, 'A Jew, and Coloured Too! Immigration of "Jews of Middle East Origin" to Australia, 1945-58', *Immigrants & Minorities*, 12/1 (1993), 75-91; Jordana Silverstein, 'Jewish Holocaust Histories and the Work of Chronological Narratives', *Journal of Jewish Education*, 78/1 (2012), 58-83; Jordana Silverstein, *Anxious Histories*; David Slucki, *The International Jewish Labor Bund After 1945: Toward a Global History* (New Jersey: Rutgers University Press, 2012).

<sup>68</sup> Lazarus Morris Goldman, *The Jews in Victoria in the Nineteenth Century* (Melbourne, Victoria: L.M Goldman, 1954).

<sup>69</sup> Suzanne D. Rutland, 'A Changing Community, The Impact of the Refugees on Australian Jewry: New South Wales, a Case Study', *Australian Journal of Politics & History*, 31/1 (1985), 90-108; Suzanne D. Rutland and Sol Encel, 'Smaller Jewish Communities in Australia', *Jewish Journal of Sociology*, 51/1 (2011), 5-33; Rutland, *The Jews in Australia*; Rutland, *Edge of the Diaspora*.

<sup>70</sup> Hilary L. Rubinstein, *The Jews in Australia: A Thematic History* (Melbourne: William Heinemann Australia, 1991); Rubinstein, 'Australian Jewry'; William D. Rubinstein, *The Jews in Australia* (Melbourne: Australasian Educa Press, 1986); William D. Rubinstein, 'Patterns of Jewish Immigration to Australia and their Impact Upon Australian Jewish Identity', *Australian Jewish Historical Society Journal*, 28/2 (2006), 231-234.

<sup>71</sup> John Docker, *1492: The Poetics of Diaspora* (London and New York: Continuum, 2001).

<sup>72</sup> Alan Alexander Cohn, Jack Magnus Cohn, and Lawrence Julius Cohn, *Tablets of Memory: The Bendigo Cohns and Their Descendant 1853-1989* (Doncaster, Victoria: Antelope Press, 1990); Terry Davidson, *Jewish Worship in Bendigo (Sandhurst): An Overview of Religious Observation 1853 – 2017* (Bendigo, Victoria: Victoria Bendigo Historical Society Inc., 2017).

<sup>73</sup> Newman Rosenthal, *Formula for Survival: The Saga of the Ballarat Hebrew Congregation* (Melbourne: Hawthorn Press, 1979); Nathan F. Spielvogel, 'Ballarat Hebrew Congregation', *Australian Jewish Historical Society*, 2/6 (1946), 350- 358.



contextualisation and a global perspective, focusing instead on chronology and description, a feature shared by most of the literature on colonial Judaism.<sup>74</sup>

Alongside these institutional histories, a small body of Jewish literature has developed which examined the deeper relationships between Jews, identity, and colonial society. In 1970, a study undertaken by Israel Getzler uncovered the political position of colonial Jewry and how the wider social setting shaped access to emancipation.<sup>75</sup> More recently, Sue Silberberg has made significant contributions to Australian colonial historiography in her studies on the Melbourne Jewish community, connecting this group and their emerging British identity to a wider imperial and colonial context.<sup>76</sup> This Australian Jewish historiography has focused on colonial metropolitan centres such as Melbourne with little to no research into the surrounding regions or frontiers.<sup>77</sup> Nor has any research been conducted into the shipboard experiences of Jewish migrants, Australian Jewish internationalism, the lives of Jewish women on the goldfields nor the experiences of Jewish children in the Australian colonies.<sup>78</sup> These notable gaps in the current historical literature will be addressed in this thesis. In doing so, this thesis contributes to another significant gap in the existing Australian historiography by revealing the complex interplay between gender, religion, and class for Jewish communities located on the Central Victorian Goldfields. By focusing on these gaps, this thesis provides a localised yet contextualised Jewish history of the Central Victorian Goldfields that both connects with older Australian Jewish historiography and extends the recent literature on colonial Jewry.

---

<sup>74</sup> For additional examples, see Joseph Aron and Judy Arndt, *The Enduring Remnant: The First 150 Years of the Melbourne Hebrew Congregation 1841- 1991* (Carlton, Victoria: Melbourne University Press, 1992); John S. Levi, *These Are The Names: Jewish Lives in Australia, 1788- 1850* (Melbourne: The Miegunyah Press, 2006).

<sup>75</sup> Israel Getzler, *Neither Toleration nor Favour: The Australian Chapter of Jewish Emancipation* (Melbourne: Melbourne University Press, 1970).

<sup>76</sup> Silberberg, *A Networked Community* (2020); Silberberg, 'A Networked Community' (2015); Sue Silberberg, 'Jewish Immigration and the Shaping of a British Antipodean Outpost', in Marie Ruiz (ed.), *International Migrations in the Victorian Era* (Leiden, Netherlands: Brill, 2018), 356-380.

<sup>77</sup> Only two works on Australian Jewry and the colonial frontier could be found, Paul R. Bartrop, 'Living within the Frontier: Early Colonial Australia, Jews, and Aborigines', in Sander L. Gilman and Milton Shain (eds.), *Jewries at the Frontier: Accommodation, Identity, Conflict* (Chicago: University of Illinois Press, 1999); Daniel J. Elazar and Peter Medding, *Jewish Communities in Frontier Societies: Argentina, Australia, and South Africa* (New York: Holmes & Meier, 1983).

<sup>78</sup> Some research has been conducted into Jewish shipboard experiences and the lives of Jewish women in Australia, though it remains limited. See Lysbeth Cohen, *Beginning with Esther: Jewish Women in New South Wales from 1788* (Sydney, New South Wales: Ayers & James, 1987); Elizabeth Offer, "'Return to the Old Paths and We Shall Yet Be Happy Again': Jewish Women on the Central Victorian Goldfields, 1870-1900", *Australian Association of Jewish Studies*, 32/1 (2019), 34-54; Elizabeth Offer, 'High Holidays on the High Seas: The Voyage Experience of Jewish Migrants Sailing to Australia in the Mid-Nineteenth Century', *Jewish Culture and History*, 20/4 (2019), 1-20; Lancia Quay Roselya, 'Jewish Women's Lives in Colonial Sydney and London, 1850-1900', Ph.D. thesis (Australian National University, 2007).

An early challenge that arose in this research was to establish who was Jewish, what this meant, and what practices were identified with Judaism. The classic formulation of Orthodox Judaism incorporates the Torah (the law), God (the transcendent), and Israel (the people), creating a group with a common religion and a common descent.<sup>79</sup> The Jewish diaspora has been deeply connected with Orthodox Judaism as a response to displacement and dislocation.<sup>80</sup> As Jews have tended to lack a physical connection to place, Jews often envisaged the Tanakh, the Hebrew Bible, as a type of portable homeland, and as both the revelation and the repository of history.<sup>81</sup> For many Jews, modernity meant the end of this all-encompassing religious worldview supported by Orthodox Judaism.<sup>82</sup> A Jewish identity has expanded to become a religious-ethnic category, which has become further blurred as identities are increasingly understood as multiple or fluid. This flexibility has allowed individuals greater freedom in choosing their own Jewish identifications. The increasing fluidity of identities raised concerns over who to include in a study of colonial Jewish communities, whether it should be restricted to those born Jewish, those who identified as Jewish, converted, or practiced Judaism religiously.

My approach to this issue was guided by historian Paula Hyman, who advocated for a broader understanding of Jewishness that included identifications with Judaism in either a religious, cultural, or ethnic sense. As Hyman explained in her own application of this definition, “we did not ask ‘who was Jewish?’ but rather ‘in whose lives, regardless of their origins, did Jewishness play some meaningful role?’”<sup>83</sup> Hyman’s definition allows for a wider demographic scope within this thesis, building a more comprehensive

---

<sup>79</sup> Hasia R. Diner, *A Time for Gathering: The Second Migration, 1820- 1880* (Maryland, Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1992), 114.

<sup>80</sup> The study of the Jewish diaspora comprises a large area of scholarly literature which examines the deep connections between diaspora, identity, and understandings of Jewishness. For more, see Danny Ben-Moshe and Zohar Segev, *Israel, the Diaspora and Jewish Identity* (Sussex: Sussex Academic Press, 2007); Boyarin and Boyarin, ‘Diaspora: Generation and the Ground of Jewish Identity’; Arnold Eisen, ‘The Case for “Assimilation” and Diaspora’, *Jewish Quarterly Review*, 106/4 (2016), 450-458; Forrest and Sheskin, ‘Strands of Diaspora’; Michelle Gezentsvey Lamy, ‘Four Corners of the Diaspora: A Psychological Comparison of Jewish Continuity in Major Cities in New Zealand, Australia, Canada and the United States’, in Stanley D. Brunn (ed.), *The Changing World Religion Map: Sacred Places, Identities, Practices and Politics* (Dordrecht: Springer Netherlands, 2015); Wettstein (ed.), *Diasporas and Exiles*.

<sup>81</sup> Silberberg, ‘A Networked Community’ (2015), 175.

<sup>82</sup> Sara Abosch, “‘We are Not Only English Jews—We are Jewish Englishmen’: The Making of an Anglo-Jewish Identity, 1840–1880”, Ph.D. thesis (University of New York, 2004), 35.

<sup>83</sup> Paula Hyman, ‘We are all Post-Jewish Historians Now: What American Jewish History Brings to the Table’, *American Jewish History*, 95/1 (2009), 54.

narrative of the community. Whilst maintaining an inclusive scope, limits were placed on which other communities would be examined.

This thesis centres on examining the dialogues maintained between Judaism, Britishness, and mainstream Christian denominations in colonial Australian society, and as such, will not discuss engagement with Chinese migrants or the Indigenous population. Chinese miners and workers constituted a significant and highly visible proportion of the goldfields population.<sup>84</sup> Migrating mainly from the Guangdong and Fujian provinces in southern China, these miners arrived on the goldfields in considerable numbers; by 1856, nearly 20,000 Chinese migrants were on the Victorian goldfields.<sup>85</sup> While the Chinese were initially tolerated, they quickly became a target of abuse and anti-Chinese uprisings.<sup>86</sup> British settlers and gold seekers viewed the Chinese as categorically unsuitable as colonialists. Scholar Mae M. Ngai attributed this idea to the racial discourses of European colonialism which constructed the Chinese as being backward, heathen, and barbarous, and in binary opposition with Christian Europe.<sup>87</sup>

Another marginalised group on the goldfields were the Traditional Owners, the Wathaurong and the Dja Dja Wurrung (Jaara), who had already been pushed from their land by squatters. As migrants flocked inland to the new gold settlements, the Indigenous population were further dispossessed of their land. The Ballarat area was first populated by the Boro gundidj language group based along the Yarrowee River, while the Dja Dja Wurrung (Jaara) clans of the Kulin Nation lived in and around Bendigo. Scholarly discussions on the religious diversity of the Central Victorian Goldfields have not always recognised the spiritual heritage of the Traditional Owners; however, recent research has made substantial contributions to this area.<sup>88</sup>

---

<sup>84</sup> For more on the Chinese on the Victorian Goldfields, see John Fitzgerald, *Big White Lie: Chinese Australians in White Australia* (Sydney: University of New South Wales Press, 2007); Mae M. Ngai, 'Chinese Miners, Headmen, and Protectors on the Victorian Goldfields, 1853–1863', *Australasian Historical Studies*, 42/1 (2011), 10–24; Andrew Markus, *Fear and Hatred: Purifying Australian and California 1850–1901* (Sydney: Southwood Press, 1979); Keir Reeves, 'A Hidden History: The Chinese on the Mount Alexander Diggings, Central Victoria, 1851–1901', Ph.D. thesis, (The University of Melbourne, 2005); Keir Reeves and Benjamin Mountford, 'Sojourning and Settling: Locating Chinese Australian History', *Australian Historical Studies*, 42/1 (2011), 111–125.

<sup>85</sup> David Goodman, 'The Gold Rushes of the 1850s', in Alison Bashford and Stuart Macintyre (eds.), *The Cambridge History of Australia* (Cambridge, England: Cambridge University Press, 2013), 182.

<sup>86</sup> Markus, *Fear and Hatred*, 21.

<sup>87</sup> Ngai, 'Chinese Miners, Headmen, and Protectors', 14.

<sup>88</sup> See Fred Cahir, *Black Gold: Aboriginal People on the Goldfields of Victoria, 1850–1870* (Victoria: Griffin Press, 2012); Iain McCalman, Alexander Cook, and Andrew Reeves, *Gold: Forgotten Histories and Lost Objects of Australia* (Cambridge, England: Cambridge University Press, 2001).

Contemporary colonial dialogues surrounding the relationship of Indigenous and Chinese communities to the British Empire and the colonies were heavily racialised. Such groups and individuals were projected as an ‘Other’ which diverged from how colonial Jewish difference was understood. This is not to diminish the similarities of experiences and conceptions between Chinese and Jewish communities, a similarity which became more apparent towards the end of the nineteenth century. As Federation loomed and racial discourses predominated in political and public discourses, foreign born Jews were understood in racialised terms that were connected to and at times echoed sentiments regarding the Chinese community.<sup>89</sup> This racialised discourse is not, however, the focus of this research.

This thesis explores how religious difference and distinction were understood *within* a coloniser group, which gold rush Jews were clearly part of. In centring on the religious negotiation of colonial Jews with other white colonisers, this thesis will examine the critical frictions and tensions that emerge regarding a settler identity, faith, and Britishness. Through this focus, this thesis emerges as both a Jewish and a colonial history, crossing multiple historiographies to not only examine the lived experiences of goldfields Jews but to also contribute to on-going dialogues in colonial and imperial histories of identity and faith.

### **Britishness and Faith: British Identity and Religiosity in the Colonies**

Since the early 2000s, the field of imperial history has increasingly shifted focus to the examination of colonial cultures and the entanglements between colonies and the metropole, giving rise to what has been termed as the ‘New Imperial History’.<sup>90</sup> This literature casts new light on Britishness and identity, revealing significant contemporary discourses regarding the impact of British imperialism on colonial and national identities,

---

<sup>89</sup> This connection will be discussed more in the introduction for Section Two. See Daniel Renshaw, ‘Prejudice and Paranoia: A Comparative Study of Antisemitism and Sinophobia in Turn-of-the-Century Britain’, *Patterns of Prejudice*, 50/1 (2016), 38-60; Stratton, ‘The Colour of Jews’, 55.

<sup>90</sup> See Esme Cleall, *Missionary Discourse of Difference: Negotiating Otherness in the British Empire, 1840-1900* (Hampshire: Palgrave Macmillan, 2012); John Darwin, *The Empire Project: The Rise and Fall of the British World-System, 1830-1970* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2011); Alan Lester, *Imperial Networks: Creating Identities in Nineteenth Century South Africa and Britain* (London: Routledge, 2005); Simon J. Potter, ‘Empire, Cultures and Identities in Nineteenth and Twentieth Century Britain’, *History Compass*, 5/1 (2007), 51-57; Richard Price, ‘One Big Thing: Britain, its Empire, and their Imperial Culture’, *Journal of British Studies*, 45/3 (2006), 602-627; Peter Van der Veer, *Imperial Encounters: Religion and Modernity in India and Britain* (New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 2001);.

an area of research also known as the British World project.<sup>91</sup> Britishness refers to when persons identify themselves, whether individually or collectively, as ‘being British’, connecting with the economic, social, cultural, and political surroundings that have their roots within Britain and which often permeated the British Empire.<sup>92</sup> Australian scholars such as Tamson Pietsch have made significant and meaningful contributions to this area of research, demonstrating the complex relationships between the colonies and the British Empire that extended even into the seas.<sup>93</sup> As Pietsch’s research has described, ideas of Britishness and British imperialism shaped ship voyages and encounters at sea, working to define the limits of a British identity. Through this British World project, scholars have focused on the imagined and real commonalities that connect settler communities across the British Empire, examining how a shared sense of Britishness united divergent religious, social, and cultural groups across the Modern period.<sup>94</sup> While this historiography has revealed the meaningful processes underlying Britishness, their work often obscures how the practices of settler colonialism normalised desirable connections while also marginalising issues of power and access surrounding religion and identity in Australian colonial society.

Whilst religious history has grown from the 1960s, religion is often marginalised in Australian historical literature on colonial society due to the misconception that Australia has been a secular country since white occupation.<sup>95</sup> This marginalisation of religion has extended to goldfields histories, with revisionist scholarship tending to focus on ethnic diversity, women, and cultural development.<sup>96</sup> Such histories overlook the powerful place

---

<sup>91</sup> Katie Pickles, *Female Imperialism and National Identity: Imperial Order Daughters of the Empire* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2002); Lindsay Proudfoot and Dianne Hall, *Imperial Spaces: Placing the Irish and Scots in Colonial Australia* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2011).

<sup>92</sup> Paul Ward, *Britishness since 1870* (London: Routledge, 2004), 3.

<sup>93</sup> See Tamson Pietsch, ‘Rethinking the British World’, *Journal of British Studies*, 52/1 (2013), 441–463; Tamson Pietsch, ‘A British Sea: Making Sense of Global Space in the Late Nineteenth Century’, *Journal of Global History*, 5/3 (2010), 423–446; Tamson Pietsch, ‘Bodies at Sea: Travelling to Australia in the Age of Sail’, *Journal of Global History*, 11/2 (2016), 209–228.

<sup>94</sup> Bill Nasson, *Britannia’s Empire: Making a British World* (Virginia: University of Virginia Press, 2004), 443.

<sup>95</sup> David Nash, ‘Reconnecting Religion with Social and Cultural History: Secularization’s Failure as a Master Narrative’, *Cultural and Social History*, 1/3 (2004), 302–325; Pamela Welch, ‘Constructing Colonial Christianities: With Particular Reference to Anglicanism in Australia, ca 1850–1940’, *Journal of Religious History*, 32/2 (2008), 235.

<sup>96</sup> See Louise Asher, ‘Martha Clendinning: A Woman’s Life on the Goldfields’, in Marilyn Lake and Kelly Farley (eds.), *Double Time: Women in Victoria - 150 years* (Ringwood, Victoria: Penguin Books, 1985); Kate Bagnall, ‘“To His Home at Jembaicumbene”: Women’s Cross-Cultural Encounters on a Colonial Goldfields’, in Jacqueline Leckie, Angela McCarthy, and Angela Wanhalla (eds.), *Migrant Cross-Cultural Encounters in Asia and the Pacific* (London and New York: Routledge, 2017); Cahir, *Black Gold*; Kerry Cardell and Cliff Cumming (eds.), *A World Turned Upside Down: Cultural Change on Australia’s Goldfields 1851–2001* (Australian Capital Territory: The Australian National University, 2001); Keir

of religion in shaping historical discourses and society, downplaying the ability of faith to provoke action and to create bonds through the construction and imagining of connections.<sup>97</sup> Historians writing about the religious history of Australia have challenged the long-standing consensus on secularisation, uncovering the faith dimension of the colonial past to demonstrate how faith, usually Christianity, impacted Australia.<sup>98</sup> A similar revival is occurring in Australia's goldfields history which assigns greater attention to the role of religion in shaping the social, economic, and cultural lives of miners and settlers.<sup>99</sup> Colonial Australia was not secular in the modern sense of the term and there was a degree of religious pluralism in colonial society, although Protestantism was dominant and dominating.<sup>100</sup> Nor did colonialists bring with them from Britain and Europe the artefacts of an old culture or the *ancien régime*.<sup>101</sup> Instead, migrants arrived with ideas of liberalism and utilitarianism, yet religion, particularly Christianity, continued to remain a powerful guiding force.<sup>102</sup> While Australian historians have increasingly focused on religion in colonial society, often on Christian missions and missionaries, more investigation is required, particularly regarding faith and colonial ideas of Britishness.<sup>103</sup>

---

Reeves and David Nichols, *Deeper Leads: New Approaches to Victorian Goldfields History* (Ballarat, Victoria: Ballarat Heritage Services, 2007).

<sup>97</sup> Shurlee Swain, 'Do You Want Religion with That?: Welfare History in a Secular Age', *History Australia*, 2/3 (2005), 79.

<sup>98</sup> For literature on colonial religions, see Ian Breward, *A History of the Australian Churches* (Sydney: Allen and Unwin, 1993); Hilary Carey, 'Religion and Society', in Deryck M. Schreuder and Stuart Ward (eds.), *Australia's Empire* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008); Tom Frame, *Anglicans in Australia* (Sydney: UNSW Press, 2007); Hugh R. Jackson, *Churches and People in Australia and New Zealand, 1860-1930* (Wellington, New Zealand: Allen and Unwin, 1987); Bruce Kaye (ed.), *Anglicanism in Australia: A History* (Carlton, Victoria: Melbourne University Press, 2002); Meredith Lake, *The Bible in Australia: A Cultural History* (Sydney: UNSW Press, 2018); Bruce Mansfield, 'Thinking about Australian Religious History', *Journal of Religious History*, 15/3 (1989), 330-344.

<sup>99</sup> See Jennifer Jones, 'Tale of Two Widows: Marriage, Widowhood, and Faith on Bendigo Goldfield, 1859-1869', *Journal of Religious History*, 43/2 (2019), 234-250; Jennifer Jones, 'Faith and Failure on the Australian Goldfields: Gendered Interpretations of Piety and the "Good Death"', *Journal of Religious History*, 43/4 (2019), 460-477; Timothy Willem Jones and Clare Wright, 'The Goldfields' Sabbath: A Postsecular Analysis of Social Cohesion and Social Control on the Ballarat Goldfields, 1854', *Journal of Religious History*, 43/4 (December 2019), 447-459.

<sup>100</sup> Gregory Melleuish, 'A Secular Australia? Ideas, Politics and the Search for Moral Order in Nineteenth and Early Twentieth Century Australia', *Journal of Religious History*, 38/3 (2014), 401.

<sup>101</sup> Ibid.

<sup>102</sup> Ibid.

<sup>103</sup> Histories on Christian missions and missionaries in the Australian context encompasses a large field of work, which has examined the intersections of religion, race, and gender in this act of colonisation. For more on this, see Tolly Bradford, *Prophetic Identities: Indigenous Missionaries on British Colonial Frontiers, 1850-75* (Canada: UBC Press, 2012); Hilary Carey, 'Death, God and Linguistics: Conversations with Missionaries on the Australian Frontier, 1824-1845', *Australian Historical Studies*, 40/2 (2009), 161-177; Hilary Carey, 'Subordination, Invisibility and Chosen Work: Missionary Nuns and Australian Aborigines, c. 1900-1949', *Australian Feminist Studies*, 13/28 (1998), 251-267; Hilary Carey, 'Companions in the Wilderness? Missionary Wives in Colonial Australia, 1788-1900', *Journal of Religious History*, 19/2 (1995), 227-248; Cleall, *Missionary Discourse of Difference*; Jeffrey Cox, *The British Missionary Enterprise since 1700* (New York: Routledge, 2007).

As scholars have shown, Protestantism was a significant component of a British identity and a major influence upon colonialism, yet the relationships maintained between religion and Britishness, as experienced by colonialists, were much more complex and varied than recognised to date.<sup>104</sup> In 1992, Linda Colley demonstrated how Protestantism had, to some extent, created the idea of Great Britain, while acquisition, domination, and the administration of an empire held members together.<sup>105</sup> Protestantism, Britishness, and imperialism have since been revisited by scholars who highlighted the diversity of Protestantism in the empire and the competing ideas of what ‘Britishness’ meant, both in Britain and in the colonies.<sup>106</sup> A number of important and influential studies have been produced, such as Catherine Hall’s *Civilising Subjects* and Hilary M. Carey’s *Empires of Religion*, which add further complexity to contemporary understandings of faith, identity, and Britishness.<sup>107</sup> In the British Empire, as Carey argued, “multiple rather than unitary nationalism became the norm and Britishness supplied a new overarching identity that supplemented rather than supplanted older ethnic and religious loyalties”.<sup>108</sup> This did not mean that older religious ties remained unchanged. Scholarship has demonstrated how the religious and ethnic ties of colonial migrants, such as Welsh Nonconformists, Scottish Presbyterians, and Irish Catholics, were modified and adapted in the colonies.<sup>109</sup> Despite this recent research which complicates the connection between faith and a British colonial identity, a notable gap remains. This literature has focused on how religious and ethnic

---

<sup>104</sup> Alan Atkinson, *The Europeans in Australia: Volume One - The Beginning* (Sydney: University of New South Wales Press, 2016); Jean Comaroff and John Comaroff, *Of Revelation and Revolution: Christianity, Colonialism, and Consciousness in South Africa* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1991); John Gascoigne, ‘The Expanding Historiography of British Imperialism’, *The Historical Journal*, 49/2 (2006), 587; Keith Robbins, *History, Religion and Identity in Modern Britain* (London: Hambledon Press, 1993), 85.

<sup>105</sup> Linda Colley, ‘Britishness and Otherness: An Argument’, *Journal of British Studies*, 31/4 (1992), 309-329; Linda Colley, *Britons: Forging the Nation, 1707- 1837* (London: Yale University Press, 1992).

<sup>106</sup> See Tony Claydon and Ian McBride (eds.), *Protestantism and National Identity: Britain and Ireland, c. 1650- 1850* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2007); Joseph Sramek, ‘Rethinking Britishness: Religion and Debates about the “Nation” among Britons in Company India, 1813–1857’, *Journal of British Studies*, 54/4 (2015), 822-843; Géraldine Vaughan, “‘Britishers and Protestants’: Protestantism and Imperial British Identities in Britain, Canada and Australia from the 1880s to the 1920s”, *Studies in Church History*, 54/1 (2018), 360.

<sup>107</sup> Hilary Carey (ed.), *Empires of Religion* (London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2008); Catherine Hall, *Civilising Subjects: Metropole and Colony in the English Imagination 1830-1867* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2002).

<sup>108</sup> Hilary Carey, *God’s Empire: Religion and Colonialism in the British World, c. 1801-1908* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2011), 9.

<sup>109</sup> See Caitríona Ní Laoire, ‘Discourses of Nation among Migrants from Northern Ireland: Irishness, Britishness and the Spaces In-Between’, *Scottish Geographical Journal*, 118/3 (2002), 183-199; John M. MacKenzie, ‘Irish, Scottish, Welsh and English Worlds? A Four-Nation Approach to the History of the British Empire’, *History Compass*, 6/5 (2008), 1244-1263; Oliver Rafferty, ‘The Catholic Church, Ireland and the British Empire, 1800–1921’, *Historical Research*, 84/224 (2011), 288-309; Keith Robbins, *Great Britain: Identities, Institutions and the Idea of Britishness* (London: Longman, 1998).

difference was maintained as settlers claimed a British identity in a colonial place. As a result, little attention has been given to how a shared sense of connection formed through and across faith denominations, which this thesis contends occurred. In this way, this thesis extends the current scholarly dialogue on religion, settler identities, and colonial Britishness, being both a history of goldfields Jews and of colonial settler experiences. Examining Jewish colonialist responses to the British Empire and the colonial setting can uncover the underlying religious negotiations of Britishness, an area of Jewish history which has only just begun to emerge.

Before the early 2000s, historians researching European Jewry favoured the concept of the nation state over empire, a partiality that has resulted in their late acceptance of the Imperial Turn.<sup>110</sup> Despite this delay, Jewish history has much to offer to the British World project, with a growing area of this literature focusing on Judaism and the emergence of an Anglo identity.<sup>111</sup> Todd Endelman has examined the British imperial relations of Jews in Britain, uncovering the significant means through which Jews in the metropole engaged with the British Empire, yet colonial Jews continue to be marginalised in this literature.<sup>112</sup> Jewish historian Adam Mendelsohn has also made notable contributions to this area, revealing the imperial connections linking colonial Jews to the British Empire in the nineteenth century.<sup>113</sup> The uneven and complex relationship of Jews with imperialism, as shown by their uncertain position in the colonies, provides scholars with the opportunity to explore how groups and individuals who occupied an ‘in-between’ status

---

<sup>110</sup> Ethan B. Katz, Lisa Moses Leff, and Maud S. Mandel, ‘Introduction: Engaging Colonial History and Jewish History’, in Ethan B. Katz, Lisa Moses Leff, and Maud S. Mandel (eds.), *Colonialism and the Jews* (Indiana, United States of America: Indiana University Press, 2017), 1.

<sup>111</sup> For examples, see Abosch, “‘We are Not Only English Jews—We are Jewish Englishmen’”; Calchinsky, ‘Africans, Indians, Arabs, and Scots’; Julia Phillips Cohen, ‘The East as a Career: Far Away Moses & Company in the Marketplace of Empires’, *Jewish Social Studies: History, Culture, Society*, 21/2 (2016), 35-77; David Feldman, ‘Jews and the British Empire c.1900’, *History Workshop Journal*, 63/1 (2007), 70-89; Abigail Green, ‘The British Empire and the Jews: An Imperialism of Human Rights?’, *Past and Present*, 199/1 (2008), 175-205.

<sup>112</sup> See Todd Endelman, ‘Anglo-Jewish Historiography and the Jewish Historiographical Mainstream’, *Jewish Culture and History*, 12/1-2 (2010), 28-40; Todd Endelman, ‘The Frankaus of London: A Study in Radical Assimilation, 1837-1967’, *Jewish History*, 8/1-2 (1994), 117-154; Endelman, *Radical Assimilation in English Jewish History*; Endelman, *The Jews of Britain*.

<sup>113</sup> Adam Mendelsohn, ‘Tongue Ties: The Emergence of the Anglophone Jewish Diaspora in the Mid-Nineteenth Century’, *American Jewish History*, 93/2 (2007), 177-209; Adam Mendelsohn, ‘The Sacrifices of the Isaacs: The Diffusion of New Models of Religious Leadership in the English-Speaking Jewish World’, in Ava Fran Kahn (ed.), *Transnational Traditions: New Perspectives on American Jewish History* (Detroit, Michigan: Wayne State University Press, 2014); Adam Mendelsohn, ‘Not the Retiring Kind: Jewish Colonials in England in the Mid Nineteenth Century’, in Ethan B. Katz, Lisa Moses Leff, and Maud S. Mandel (eds.), *Colonialism and the Jews* (Indiana: Indiana University Press, 2017); Adam Mendelsohn, *The Rag Race: How Jews Sewed Their Way to Success in America and the British Empire* (New York: New York University Press, 2015).



navigated the tensions of colonial societies and imperial categories.<sup>114</sup> The formation and maintenance of Britishness can be questioned through colonial Jewish histories, providing a unique lens into the deeper social and religious complexities surrounding a British identity in a colonial place. This sense of Britishness was, for goldfields Jews, interlaced with desires to reflect specific class ideals and values.

While a middle-class lifestyle became increasingly desirable and attainable in colonial Australia, this ideal relied heavily upon the use and display of specific class markers, requiring colonial Jews to negotiate disparate relations of power and performance.<sup>115</sup> Goldfields Jews at times mediated their middle-class status through Jewish religious practices, as I discuss in the second section of this thesis. As Leonore Davidoff and Catherine Hall demonstrated in their important study *Family Fortunes*, a British middle-class formed through the consumer and industrial revolutions of the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries as common interests drew disparate members together into a new and influential group.<sup>116</sup>

Following Davidoff and Hall, this study recognises the power that this middle-class exercised on social, cultural, and religious realms, with class featuring as a central percept of investigation. Class historian Linda Young argued that knowledge on how to apply cultural capital and consumer goods, underwritten by certain types of income, produced indicators of a genteel lifestyle which were judged by other middle-class observers.<sup>117</sup> Acceptance into this class required the practice and mastery of middle-class cultural capital, its correct usage, and suitable performance, aspects which were best combined with an appropriate family background and kinship networks.<sup>118</sup> If Jews on the Central Victorian Goldfields wanted to *be* middle-class, they had to *act* like the middle-class. Historians suggest that class during the Victorian period should be viewed as a relationship, through which disparities of power, knowledge, correct application, and

---

<sup>114</sup> For research into Jews, empires, and imperialism, see Sarah Abrevaya Stein, 'Protected Persons? The Baghdadi Jewish Diaspora, the British State, and the Persistence of Empire', *The American Historical Review*, 116/1 (2011), 80-108; Feldman, 'Jews and the British Empire'; Green, 'The British Empire and the Jews'.

<sup>115</sup> Linda Young, *Middle Class Culture in the Nineteenth Century: America, Australia and Britain* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2002), 189.

<sup>116</sup> Leonore Davidoff and Catherine Hall, *Family Fortunes: Men and Women of the English Middle Class, 1780- 1850* (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1987), 18.

<sup>117</sup> Young, *Middle Class Culture*, 5; Linda Young, "'Extensive, Economical and Elegant": The Habitus of Gentility in Early Nineteenth Century Sydney', *Australian Historical Studies*, 36/124 (2004), 201.

<sup>118</sup> Young, *Middle Class Culture*, 15.

discipline were mediated.<sup>119</sup> This view is particularly useful when examining the middle-class in colonial Australia, which some scholars have argued as exhibiting more malleable class boundaries compared to Britain.<sup>120</sup> This research aims to explore how goldfields Jewish communities negotiated their faith and cultural practices in response to their middle-class status, and in turn how class shaped their expressions of a British colonial identity. To do so requires the combination of several theories and approaches to gain a more comprehensive understanding of the lived experience of goldfields Jews in the colonial setting.

### **Theory and Approach: Identity, Lived Religion, and Aesthetic Formations**

As Jews on the Central Victorian Goldfields negotiated middle-class ideals, colonial Britishness, and Jewish religious practices, they also mediated their identity. Inspired and developed by master theorists such as Emile Durkheim, Erving Goffman, and Max Weber, identity studies crosses scholarly disciplines to form a significant and influential area of research.<sup>121</sup> According to Richard Jenkins, a sociologist of identity, the identification of a given group is the product of internal definition that outlines a person's place, both individually and collectively, and is maintained through the work of perceived boundaries, known as identity boundaries.<sup>122</sup> Theorists such as Stuart Hall and Charles Taylor viewed difference as intrinsic to this definitional process, with Hall noting that "boundaries of difference are continually repositioned in relation to different points of reference".<sup>123</sup> Both their approaches open up questions on how members of a group place themselves simultaneously as being different and similar, and how understandings of sameness can in turn define boundaries of difference.

---

<sup>119</sup> Edward Palmer Thompson, *The Making of the English Working Class* (London: Victor Gollancz, 1963), 11; William M. Reddy, 'The Concept of Class', in M.L. Bush (ed.), *Social Orders and Social Classes in Europe since 1500: Studies in Social Stratification* (London: Longman, 1992), 16.

<sup>120</sup> Lorinda Cramer, 'Making "Everything They Want But Boots": Clothing Children in Victoria, Australia, 1840-1870', *Costume: Journal of Costume Society*, 51/2 (2017), 193; Jane Elliott, 'The Politics of Antipodean Dress: Consumer Interests in Nineteenth Century Victoria', *Journal of Australian Studies*, 21/52 (1997), 22.

<sup>121</sup> See Erving Goffman, *The Presentation of Self in Everyday Life* (London: Allen Lane, 1969); Erving Goffman, *Stigma: Notes on the Management of Spoiled Identity* (London: Penguin Books, 1968); Robert Nisbet, *The Sociology of Emile Durkheim* (London: Heinemann, 1975); Max Weber, *The Theory of Social and Economic Organization* (New York: Free Press, 1964); Max Weber, *Economy and Society: An Outline of Interpretive Sociology* (California: University of California Press, 1978).

<sup>122</sup> Richard Jenkins, *Social Identity* (London: Routledge, 2014), 5, 13.

<sup>123</sup> Stuart Hall, 'Cultural Identity and Diaspora', in Jonathan Rutherford (ed.), *Identity: Community, Culture, Difference* (London: Lawrence & Wishart, 1990), 227. See also Stuart Hall, 'Introduction: Who Needs Identity?', in Stuart Hall and Paul Du Gay (eds.), *Questions of Cultural Identity* (London: Sage, 1996); Charles Taylor, *Sources of the Self: The Making of the Modern Identity* (Cambridge, England: Cambridge University Press, 1989).

My thesis follows the approach advocated by Frederick Cooper and Rogers Brubaker, who argued that both similarity and difference are central to identity, which affords both equal power in defining identifiable boundaries; just as individuals and groups must know how and to whom they are different, they must also understand and reference how they are similar to form a conception of identity, which includes interpreting and using the symbols held in common with other group members.<sup>124</sup> The way similarity and difference interact to define identities and identifiable boundaries varies, often becoming convoluted and contested as these understandings shift or change, as it did for many colonial Jews. To better aid in describing and understanding these identity processes, the thesis draws in part upon theories of acculturation and assimilation.

This thesis adopts the definitions of acculturation and assimilation as advocated by John W. Berry and Rogers Brubaker respectively. John W. Berry, a frequently cited professor of psychology, defines acculturation as the change that occurs as two or more groups and their individual members come into contact and exchange, potentially leading towards integration.<sup>125</sup> At an individual level, this process of acculturation involves shifts in a person's behaviour and ideas, whilst at a group level, acculturation includes changes in social and institutional structures, as well as in cultural practices.<sup>126</sup> In culturally plural societies, acculturation continues long after the initial contact and can, though not always, lead to assimilation.<sup>127</sup> Roger Brubaker, another often cited professor of sociology, supported a more general use of the term assimilation, noting that "the core meaning is increasing similarity and likeness".<sup>128</sup> This definition of assimilation focuses on the process through which different groups and individuals become similar or, in some cases, the same. In these definitions, acculturation centres on the change which results from contact in a specific place or time, which is more evident in the First Thesis Section, whilst assimilation focuses more on shifts towards greater similarity, a more noticeable process in the Second Thesis Section. Both acculturation and assimilation emerge as multidirectional processes in this thesis, at times occurring simultaneously, as colonial Jews responded to the limitations of the goldfield frontier or altered introduced ideas,

---

<sup>124</sup> Rogers Brubaker and Frederick Cooper, 'Beyond "Identity"', *Renewal and Critique in Social Theory*, 29/1 (2000), 20.

<sup>125</sup> John W. Berry, 'Acculturation: Living Successfully in Two Cultures', *International Journal of Intercultural Relations*, 29 (2005), 698.

<sup>126</sup> Ibid. 698-699.

<sup>127</sup> Ibid. 699.

<sup>128</sup> Rogers Brubaker, 'The Return of Assimilation? Changing Perspectives on Immigration and its Sequels in France, Germany, and the United States', *Ethnic and Racial Studies*, 24/4 (2001), 533-534.

symbols, and practices to fit within Jewish religiosity. These definitions of acculturation and assimilation are also informed by a large body of research which has discussed, refined, and applied these terms.<sup>129</sup>

Beginning in the early twentieth century, the study of acculturation and assimilation has expanded significantly, leading to a range of definitions, applications, and outcomes. Within Jewish Studies, a large proportion of the literature examines questions surrounding acculturation and assimilation for Jews located in a variety of different time periods and countries.<sup>130</sup> Most researchers link the emergence of assimilation scholarship, and later conceptions of acculturation, as a central concern to the Chicago School, which was a group of sociologists working at the University of Chicago, with the key contributor being Robert E. Park.<sup>131</sup> This early literature, however, suffered from confusion as various formulations of assimilation arose, an issue that was not resolved until Milton Gordon's *Assimilation in American Life*, published in 1964.<sup>132</sup> Gordon's research provided a systematic examination of the concept and detailed his multidimensional formulation of assimilation, which included processes of acculturation, though his concept has been criticised for being overly homogenous and static, focusing on changes towards a white, middle-class, and Anglo-Saxon culture.<sup>133</sup> Since Gordon, there has been a plethora of research produced on assimilation and acculturation as

---

<sup>129</sup> For some of this extensive literature, see Richard Alba and Jan Willem Duyvendak, 'What about the Mainstream? Assimilation in Super-Diverse Times', *Ethnic and Racial Studies*, 42/1 (2019), 105-124; John W. Berry, 'Acculturation and Adaptation in a New Society', *International Migration*, 30 (1992), 69-86; Tomás Jiménez, *The Other Side of Assimilation: How Immigrants are Changing American Life* (California: University of California Press, 2017); Andrew Markus and Margaret Taft, 'Postwar Immigration and Assimilation: A Reconceptualisation', *Australian Historical Studies*, 46/2 (2015), 234-251; Colleen Ward and Arzu Rana-Deuba, 'Acculturation and Adaptation Revisited', *Journal of Cross-Cultural Psychology*, 30/4 (1999), 422-442.

<sup>130</sup> For some of this literature, see Jay Berkovitz, 'Acculturation and Integration in Eighteenth-Century Metz', *Jewish History*, 24/3 (2010), 271-294; David Cesarani (ed.), *Port Jews: Jewish Communities in Cosmopolitan Maritime Trading Centres, 1550-1950* (London and New York: Routledge, 2014); Gennady Estraiikh, 'On the Acculturation of Jews in Late Imperial Russia', *La Rassegna Mensile di Israel* 62/1/2 (1996), 217-22; Klaus Hödl, 'From Acculturation to Interaction: A New Perspective on the History of the Jews in Fin-De-Siecle Vienna', *Shofar*, 25/2 (2007), 82-103; Rainer Liedtke and David Rechter (eds.), *Towards Normality?: Acculturation and Modern German Jewry* (London: Leo Baeck Institute, 2003); Erich Rosenthal, 'Acculturation Without Assimilation? The Jewish Community of Chicago, Illinois', *American Journal of Sociology*, 66/3 (1960), 275-288; Stephen Sharot, 'Minority Situation and Religious Acculturation: A Comparative Analysis of Jewish Communities', *Comparative Studies in Society and History*, 16/3 (1974), 329-354; Gerald Sorin, *Tradition Transformed: The Jewish Experience in America* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1997).

<sup>131</sup> Richard Alba and Victor Nee, 'Rethinking Assimilation Theory for a New Era of Immigration', *The International Migration Review*, 31/4 (1997), 827.

<sup>132</sup> Milton Gordon, *Assimilation in American Life: The Role of Race, Religion, and National Origins* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1964).

<sup>133</sup> Alba and Nee, 'Rethinking Assimilation Theory', 829.

scholars have either rejected or championed these concepts, which have come in and out of popularity amongst academics.<sup>134</sup>

Many scholars have come to view acculturation and assimilation as tired theories that impose ethnocentric and often patronising demands upon minority groups as they struggle to preserve their ethnic and cultural integrity.<sup>135</sup> Despite this, some scholars, such as Richard Alba and Victor Nee, recognise the usefulness of acculturation and assimilation, arguing that these concepts “offer the best way to understand and describe the integration into the mainstream experienced across generations by many individuals and ethnic groups”.<sup>136</sup> This research also recognises the usefulness of this concept, moving away from earlier formulations both within Jewish Studies and the wider literature to instead focus on how practice, ideas, and structures were negotiated or could contribute to a shared sense of similarity. While sociological and psychological theories are essentially static, combining them with a historical approach offers a way to test these ideas through time. By introducing the variable of time, we are able to see how ideas are challenged and changed by experience. Through such theories, negotiations in Jewish religiosity emerge as both a response to and a perpetuation of belonging in an imperial and colonial place, providing a means to examine the dialectical process of how faith shaped Britishness in the colonial context. In this thesis, more fluid and open conceptions of acculturation and assimilation were specifically chosen as they allowed for the recognition of both the choices and the unequal power relations that shape these processes of change.

In this thesis, choice, necessity, and power emerge as more complex and nuanced for colonial Jews than earlier and generally more specific conceptions of acculturation and assimilation acknowledge. Often, studies discussing the acculturation and assimilation of nineteenth century Jewish communities in Britain, Europe, and Australia portray this process as being one directional, focusing on how Jews became or adapted to non-Jewish (typically Christian) practices.<sup>137</sup> In this thesis, I wish to move away from this earlier

---

<sup>134</sup> For examples of such research, see Markus and Taft, ‘Postwar Immigration and Assimilation: A Reconceptualisation’; Nathan Glazer, ‘Is Assimilation Dead?’, *The Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science*, 530/1 (1993), 122-136; Kathryn M. Neckerman, Prudence Carter, and Jennifer Lee, ‘Segmented Assimilation and Minority Cultures of Mobility’, *Ethnic and Racial Studies*, 22/6 (1999), 945-965; Rosenthal, ‘Acculturation Without Assimilation? The Jewish Community of Chicago, Illinois’.

<sup>135</sup> Alba and Nee, ‘Rethinking Assimilation Theory’, 827.

<sup>136</sup> Ibid.

<sup>137</sup> For some examples, see Selma Berrol, ‘Class or Ethnicity: The Americanized German Jewish Woman and Her Middle Class Sisters in 1895’, *Jewish Social Studies*, 47/1 (1985), 21-32; Endelman, ‘The Frankaus of London’, 117-154; Sandy Horne, “‘That Isaac Gorta - He was a Good Man’: Reconstructing the History of a Jewish Migrant during Gympie’s Gold Rush Period”, *Queensland History Journal*, 22/5 (2014), 416-422; Ephraim Nissan, ‘What is in a Busby, What is in a Top-Hat: Tall Hats, and the Politics of Jewish

conception and examine how Jews could imbue introduced practices with Jewish religious meaning or how non-Jewish practices were altered to fit within Judaism. To do so required a more fluid conception of acculturation and assimilation, one that allowed the focus to remain on processes of change or negotiation, without restricting this as a one dimensional or one directional process. A more fluid conception of acculturation and assimilation also acknowledges that increasing similarity does not equate with being 'less Jewish'. This thesis does not argue for, nor does it position Jews and Christians as being in all ways distinct or separate groups, noting that understandings of difference and similarity were varied, permeable, and contested. Adopting a more fluid definition of acculturation and assimilation can also provide room for other processes of identity and boundary work to be examined, such as 'blurring'.

This thesis draws upon the theory of identity boundaries as proposed by Aristide Zolberg and Long Litt Woon. Their work builds upon that of social and political theorist Rainer Bauböck, and presents a typology of identity boundaries that reorientates group identifications.<sup>138</sup> In accordance with this theory, Zolberg and Woon refer to a specific type of boundary work known as 'blurring'. Through blurring, understandings of difference become clouded as markers separating specific groups are diminished. This acts to soften identity borders by providing individuals with the opportunity to be members of both sides of the boundary simultaneously or to switch between groups that were previously viewed as incompatible.<sup>139</sup> As Zolberg and Woon outlined, these indistinct borders enabled the "taming or domestication of what was once seen as 'alien differences'" with practices understood as being the custom of the Other incorporated and given meaning.<sup>140</sup> This thesis presents an in-depth examination of Jewish communities and individuals on the Central Victorian Goldfields as they underwent a similar process of 'blurring'. In focusing upon this type of boundary work, this research uncovers how Jews managed and negotiated ideas of difference while developing shared connections with their colonial peers.

---

Identity and Social Positioning', *The Australian Journal of Jewish Studies*, 22 (2008), 129-191; Rosenthal, *Formula for Survival*; Sharot, 'Minority Situation and Religious Acculturation: A Comparative Analysis of Jewish Communities'.

<sup>138</sup> Aristide Zolberg and Long Litt Woon, 'Why Islam Is Like Spanish: Cultural Incorporation in Europe and the United States', *Politics and Society*, 27/1 (1999), 5-38.

<sup>139</sup> Richard Alba, 'Bright vs. Blurred Boundaries: Second-Generation Assimilation and Exclusion in France, Germany, and the United States', *Ethnic and Racial Studies*, 28/1 (2005), 25.

<sup>140</sup> Zolberg and Woon, 'Why Islam Is Like Spanish', 8-9.

This theorisation of identity boundaries was chosen as a framework to understand goldfields Jews as it provided a more complex and subtle means to examine how they navigated their shifting identity and religiosity. Additionally, this framework acknowledges the nuances which surround the creation and maintenance of multiple identities. The blurring of identifiable boundaries was also in part the result of, as well as contributing towards, experiences of acculturation and assimilation for colonial Jewry.<sup>141</sup> A sense of inclusion, which formed through ideas of commonality and connectedness, created a feeling of ‘being at home’.<sup>142</sup> Through such means, individuals and groups feel that they are welcome participants in a collective whose defining principles are accessible, acting to rework identity boundaries as well as understandings of belonging. To further uncover the religious aspect of goldfields Jewish communities, this research has relied upon the Lived Religion approach.

Lived Religion is a powerful and flexible theory through which to analyse religion in society, presenting historians with the opportunity to gain a more in-depth and nuanced history of past religious groups. The pioneering work of Meredith McGuire has seen the Lived Religion approach increase in popularity as a theoretical framework within the last two decades.<sup>143</sup> As a framework, Lived Religion focuses on religious phenomena from the perspectives of lay persons within their everyday lives, centring on the material and embodied aspects of faith, as well as how people use, adapt, and explain these practices.<sup>144</sup> It also includes the spaces that people live within, move through, engage with, and construct which hold a religious or spiritual value. Lived Religion not only uncovers religious and cultural formations but also possible transformations as well. This wide scope provides the necessary framework that this thesis requires to understand and contextualise significant changes in faith without ascribing them a secularising value. Previous histories undertaken into colonial Jewry tend to view shifts in religious practices

---

<sup>141</sup> See Nick Hopkins and Ronni Michelle Greenwood, ‘Hijab, Visibility and the Performance of Identity’, *European Journal of Social Psychology*, 43/5 (2013), 438-447; Raz Schwartz and Germaine R. Halegoua, ‘The Spatial Self: Location-Based Identity Performance on Social Media’, *New Media & Society*, 17/10 (2015), 1643-1660.

<sup>142</sup> Frederick Cooper, *Colonialism in Question: Theory, Knowledge, History* (California: University of California Press, 2005), 76; Michal Kravel-Tovi, ‘As If It Was Ours All Along: Precarious Belonging, Jewish Habitus and the Materialisation of Conversion in Israel’, *Ethnos*, 83/5 (2018), 952.

<sup>143</sup> Meredith B. McGuire, ‘Religion and the Body: Rematerializing the Human Body in the Social Sciences of Religion’, *Journal for the Scientific Study of Religion* 29/3 (Sept. 1990), 283-296; Meredith B. McGuire, ‘Religion and Healing the Mind/Body/Self’, *Social Compass*, 43/1 (1996), 101-116; Meredith B. McGuire and Debra Kantor, *Ritual Healing in Suburban America* (New Jersey: Rutgers University Press, 1988).

<sup>144</sup> Robert A. Orsi, ‘Is the Study of Lived Religion Irrelevant to the World We Live In? Special Presidential Plenary Address, Society for the Scientific Study of Religion, Salt Lake City, November 2, 2002’, *Journal for the Scientific Study of Religion*, 42/2 (2003), 172; Robert A. Orsi, *The Madonna of 115th Street: Faith and Community in Italian Harlem, 1880-1950* (United States of America: Yale University Press, 2010).

as signs of diminishing adherence, a claim this thesis rejects and demonstrates to be inadequate.

The Lived Religion approach offers the ability to focus less on what Jews *should* be doing: to instead ascribe value and meaning to the negotiations enacted, recognising that these adaptations were a response to their colonial and imperial place. This thesis required a theoretical approach that recognised a wide range of religious practices, provided nuanced interpretations, and allowed for in-depth contextualisation, all of which Lived Religion supports. While the Lived Religion approach is gaining in use in North America and Europe, particularly in the discipline of history, its use within Australian historical literature has been negligible.<sup>145</sup> This thesis is the first study to apply a Lived Religion approach to an examination of the Australian colonial Jewish community. Building upon this Lived Religion approach, Birgit Meyer's theory termed 'aesthetic formations' provides an additional interpretive framework to understand the connection between religion and communal membership.

Birgit Meyer's concept of aesthetic formations facilitates a greater understanding of how faith objects, actions, and practices impact the identifications of Jewish communities and individuals through shared styles.<sup>146</sup> The use of shared aesthetic styles, of symbols, words, or images held in common, act to form and bind persons together into a recognisable communal group or to articulate specific group links. Such shared styles also influence individuals. For Meyer, a shared style is "central to processes of subjectivation, in that style involves particular techniques of the self and the body that modulate—and, indeed, 'hone'—persons into a socio-religious formation".<sup>147</sup> Through this theory, shared aesthetic styles act to not only shape religious and social groups and their communal identities, but also the individuals who make up these groups. This approach was chosen as it has provided the ability to conceptualise how shifts in religious forms, symbols, and practices worked to articulate and define a colonial Jewish identity, as well as how such

---

<sup>145</sup> For some of this literature from North America and Europe, see James S. Bielo, *Emerging Evangelicals: Faith, Modernity, and the Desire for Authenticity* (New York: New York University Press, 2011); Nathaniel M. Delsing, Nadia Jeldtoft, and Linda Woodhead, *Everyday Lived Islam in Europe* (New York: Routledge, 2016); Anna Fedele, *Looking for Mary Magdalene: Alternative Pilgrimage and Ritual Creativity at Catholic Shrines in France* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2013); Jörg Rüpke, *On Roman Religion: Lived Religion and the Individual in Ancient Rome* (New York: Cornell University Press, 2016).

<sup>146</sup> See Birgit Meyer, 'Material Mediations and Religious Practices of World-Making', in Knut Lundby (ed.), *Religion Across Media: From Early Antiquity to Late Modernity* (Oxford: Peter Lang, 2013); Birgit Meyer et al., 'The Origin and Mission of Material Religion', *Religion*, 40/3 (2010), 207-211.

<sup>147</sup> Birgit Meyer, *Aesthetic Formations: Media, Religion, and the Senses* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2009), 10-11.



changes impacted individuals. This research required a theory of shared style that recognised the ability of shared interreligious practices, markers, and ideals to act as a means of connection that articulated felt identifications.

In Meyer's conceptualisation, this shared style not only shaped the self into a specific practice, but also reinforced felt attachments and identities by making these groups seem 'real' or tangible. As Meyer argued, this sense of being 'real' is central for an imagined community to exist and thrive, extending Benedict Anderson's well-known theory.<sup>148</sup> In this thesis, Meyer's aesthetic formations guide the interpretation of religious actions, symbols, and expressions as a means for goldfields Jews to practice identity, while also shaping and reinforcing imagined groups or identities, such as Britishness. As such, Meyer's aesthetic formations approach provides a framework to understand how Britishness and class were impacted by the negotiation of Jewish practices. This thesis combines aesthetic formations with the Lived Religion approach to create the necessary interpretive framework needed to uncover the connection between religious practice and shifting identities, between Jewish religiosity, class, and Britishness. To do so also required the use of diverse and divergent sources.

### **Methodology: Historians and the Newspaper**

While this study relies upon a range of material, including diaries, governmental records, inquests, court cases, published memoirs, and archives, newspapers were a crucial source. Newspapers emerge as an important reference in this thesis as Jewish communities in Bendigo and Ballarat lacked other substantial archival, institutional, and communal sources, a result of either misplacement or destruction as congregations and communities moved or were dissolved. Additionally, the confidentiality of private familial collections and institutional barriers in the form of rejected authorisation meant that some communal and institutional sources were inaccessible and therefore could not be used. This access to source material was also greatly impacted by the COVID-19 pandemic and lockdowns; nearly eighteen months of my candidature was completed during widespread lockdowns for metropolitan Melbourne with the closure of archives, libraries, and museums preventing access. The COVID-19 pandemic also greatly limited national and overseas travel to additional archives and libraries as uncertainty surrounded

---

<sup>148</sup> Ibid. 5; Benedict Anderson, *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism* (London: Verso, 2006).

flights and the ability to move between countries and states as a result of travel restrictions. Such barriers in accessing sources shaped this thesis, resulting in a reliance on newspapers and other alternative sources that influenced the range of analysis as certain aspects of the community's inner workings and dialogues remained hidden. Despite this, much remained accessible to pursue and what was available provided a meaningful glimpse into colonial Jewry and into goldfields Jewish communities, particularly in newspapers. Discussion pertaining to the use of newspapers in research has a long history, as scholars have debated both the advantages and weaknesses of this material.<sup>149</sup> In 1923, Lucy Maynard Salmon published her monumental book, *The Newspaper and the Historian*, arguing that newspapers were a useful source for historians to create descriptions of past societies.<sup>150</sup> Salmon's work provoked debate over the place of newspapers in historical research which shifted significantly as the 'cultural turn' occurred in the humanities and social sciences in the 1970s, with newspapers becoming a widely accepted and celebrated source.

As a rising number of studies have demonstrated, newspapers play an important role in setting the agenda for both private and public debates, supplying an interpretative framework through which audiences made sense of their world.<sup>151</sup> Historian Glenn Wilkinson argued that the "consumption of a newspaper is a two-way form of communication", in which audiences can influence newspapers and these papers in turn shape readers.<sup>152</sup> This research endorses and adopts Glenn Wilkinson's conception of newspapers, an approach which demonstrates the deeper complexities that written media can reveal about the past and society.<sup>153</sup> Historical newspapers and the information they convey are reflective of their time period, and therefore present a different relationship to those maintained today. Newspapers are a valuable source for historians, providing significant material for social and cultural studies of the past, and in this research, presents an important opportunity to draw closer to Bendigo and Ballarat Jewry.

---

<sup>149</sup> William D. Hoyt Jr., 'Thomas Donaldson on the Materials of History, 1846: An Early Advocate of Newspapers as Sources', *Mississippi Valley Historical Review*, 21/1 (1945), 82.

<sup>150</sup> Lucy Maynard Salmon, *The Newspaper and the Historian* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1923).

<sup>151</sup> Adrian Bingham, 'Reading Newspapers: Cultural Histories of the Popular Press in Modern Britain', *History Compass*, 10/2 (2012), 142.

<sup>152</sup> Glenn R. Wilkinson, 'At the Coal-Face of History: Personal Reflections on Using Newspapers as a Source', *Media History*, 3/1-2 (1995), 213.

<sup>153</sup> For examples of how this approach has been used in historical research, see Lillooet Nordlinger McDonnell, 'In the Company of Gentiles: Exploring the History of Integrated Jews in British Columbia, 1858-1971', Ph.D. thesis (University of Ottawa, 2011); Maurice Walsh, *The News from Ireland: Foreign Correspondents and the Irish Revolution* (London: Bloomsbury Publishing, 2011).

While this research draws upon a range of newspapers, including *Bendigo Independent*, *Age*, and *Ballarat Courier*, four newspapers were of central interest to this study: *Jewish Herald*, *Bendigo Advertiser*, *Australian Israelite*, and *The Star* (later renamed the *Ballarat Star*).<sup>154</sup> The *Bendigo Advertiser* was one of the earliest newspapers established in Bendigo, when it was launched in 1853 by Robert Ross Haverfield and Arthur Moore Lloyd.<sup>155</sup> The *Ballarat Star*, originally a tri-weekly journal before later becoming a daily, was launched in 1855 by the original proprietors and editors Samuel Irwin and J.J. Ham.<sup>156</sup> Both the *Ballarat Star* and the *Bendigo Advertiser* included advertisements, editorials, local and overseas news, as well as letters to the editor, birth and marriage notices, obituaries, court proceedings, mining activities, soirees, and fines notices. The interests of the *Bendigo Advertiser* and the *Ballarat Star* were geographically specific, so while news from other towns or overseas were published, the focus of the papers was local. Both newspapers were politically and religiously biased.

To ameliorate the impact of this lack of coverage, small-scale Jewish community newspapers emerged. The *Australian Israelite* was established in 1871 as an eight-page weekly under the proprietor and editor Joseph Solomon, an English-born Jew.<sup>157</sup> In 1873, the paper began to suffer from a lack of subscribers and unsuccessful attempts were made to sell shares of the newspaper; in May 1875 the newspaper ceased publication.<sup>158</sup> The *Jewish Herald* was established in 1879, first as a monthly then later a bi-weekly publication. At the time it was the only Jewish newspaper to be produced in any of the Australian colonies. Based and printed in Melbourne, the paper described itself as devoted to the interests of Judaism in the Australian colonies.<sup>159</sup> The main editor of the paper was Elias Blaubaum, who edited the paper from 1879 to 1904, with the assistance of Nahum Barnet and Maurice Benjamin. Large sections of the *Jewish Herald* comprised reader contributions, which were actively encouraged by the paper in the form of letters to the editor, community reports, and advertisements. While the exact number of subscribers and circulation cannot be determined, the spread of agents and range of contributors suggest that the paper enjoyed a wide distribution. Alongside this newspaper

---

<sup>154</sup> Other Jewish newspapers, such as the Hebrew Standard of Australasia (1895-1953) did become available during my research through Trove; however, they were digitised too late to be completely incorporated.

<sup>155</sup> Lishi Kwasitsu, 'Some Aspects of the Printing and Distribution of the "Bendigo Advertiser"', *Bulletin*, 16/2 (1992), 76.

<sup>156</sup> William Bramwell Withers, *The History of Ballarat: From the First Settlement to the Present Time* (Ballarat, Victoria: F. W Niven and Co., 1887), 63.

<sup>157</sup> Alan Crown, 'The Jewish Press in Australia', *Arts: The Journal of the Sydney University Arts Association*, 15/1 (2012), 93.

<sup>158</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>159</sup> 'Terms of Subscription', *Jewish Herald*, 12 Dec. 1879, 6.

material, a dataset was created to help outline the composition and character of the Jewish communities on the Central Victorian Goldfields.

Jewish newspapers were not only significant in uncovering goldfields Jewish communities, but also the wider colonial Jewish discussions that occurred regarding shifting values, ideals, and beliefs, through which I could situate goldfields Jews. Bendigo and Ballarat maintained separate Hebrew congregations, yet they were communities deeply woven into Victorian Jewry as a whole. For many Jewish individuals and families, the Central Victorian Goldfields were often one stop on a longer process of migration, a process of movement that shaped religious communities and groups that stayed, as this thesis will discuss. There was frequent movement for Jewish people between the Central Goldfields regions and other settlements in Victoria as Jews tended to reside on the goldfields temporarily before moving to another colonial town or settlement. Jewish settlers on the goldfields also moved between the goldfields and Melbourne, travelling for business, leisure, and marriage. Jewish communities on the Central Goldfields did not exist independently nor separately from other colonial Jews but were participants in wider colonial and Jewish dialogues regarding communal shifts, reading about such discourses as newspaper subscribers and writing in as affected readers. Alongside this newspaper material, a dataset was created to help outline the composition and character of the Jewish communities on the Central Victorian Goldfields.

A dataset was created containing the names, occupations, marriages, birth rates, and movements of 348 Jewish individuals, the number of persons that I could positively identify as being Jewish, either through descent, adherence, or conversion, who resided on the Central Victorian Goldfields between 1851 and 1901. The main sources used to compile this dataset were naturalisation records, the Census Returns of England and Wales for 1841, 1851, 1861, and 1871, wills from the Public Records Office of Victoria, and the Births, Deaths, and Marriages register of Victoria, as well as those in other states such as Tasmania. Marriage and birth records proved an important source of information on marriage places, birth rates, ages, and residence. This information was further extended and confirmed through obituaries, personal notices, and wills published in newspapers. In many of the official and private records, Jews refer to Germany, Poland, and Prussia to indicate they were born in Eastern and Central Europe. To account for this variance, the thesis incorporates all terms, using where possible the location given in the primary material to ensure a more accurate representation. The data gathered, as well as

the tables and figures extracted, are intended to be suggestive rather than definitive as the data was constrained by the ability to identify Jews through the available sources and to track their movements over time. Not all Jews on the Central Victorian Goldfields were involved in the local synagogues, nor led such public lives that newspapers recorded their actions or life events. Due to a lack of documentation, such individuals are lost, both to the archival record and to this study. Despite this limitation, the dataset enabled the centralisation of meaningful information on the composition of the community. The information gathered from this dataset is presented in Chapters Two and Five, demonstrating how the composition and characteristics of the goldfields Jewish communities were impacted by the goldfields setting.

This thesis is divided into two sections to reflect the primary material, gaps in the current historiography, and the development of the Central Victorian Goldfields, providing a structure that allows for more coherence and cohesion. Each thesis section includes an introduction that contextualises and discusses the goldfields and the Victorian setting. The First Section, set between 1851 and 1870, centres on the frontier stage of the Central Victorian Goldfields and contains the first three chapters. Chapter One examines the ship voyages of Jews to the Australian colonies, revealing how Jewish passengers negotiated both their religious practices and identifications on board migrant ships. For Jewish migrants, the sea voyage shapes how they practice Judaism and their self-perceptions as they navigate the limited space of ships, prejudice, and encounters with the Other. In Chapter Two, the focus centres on the formation and the composition of the Jewish communities on the Central Victorian Goldfields, detailing how Hebrew congregations and Jewish ministers influence the religious trajectory of these communities. As institutions, the synagogue space and the Jewish ministers who led them promote the community's developing British colonial identity, acting as a medium through which Jews practise, maintain, and affirm divergent identifications. Chapter Three investigates how Jews negotiate their Jewish religiosity within the limits of the goldfield frontier. Through their settlement on the goldfields, Jews negotiate how they form Jewish families, observe the Sabbath, and adhere to kosher food consumption, a process that shapes and complicates identity boundaries. The section which follows progresses to the next significant stage of development for Bendigo and Ballarat.

In Section Two, the narrative centres on the more urbanised stage of Bendigo and Ballarat, between 1870 and 1901, and includes four chapters which focus on the negotiation of Jewish religious practices, Britishness, and middle-class ideals. Chapter Four analyses changes to worship practices and material culture in the synagogue and public services, demonstrating how these adaptations connect to and reflect British class ideas of decorum. While this complex term denotes a range of ideals, decorum became the guiding idea through which to refashion Jewish religious services. To achieve a more decorous worship, new items and practices enter congregational services and the synagogue space, a process which some Jews contest and challenge. In Chapter Five, focus turns to the experiences of Jewish women on the goldfields, uncovering how Victorian middle-class conceptions defined the religious, familial, and social expectations surrounding Jewish women. British middle-class ideas of feminine domesticity and public worship enable Jewish women to contribute to services and to refashion the synagogue space through participation in choirs and interior decoration. In the home, British feminine domesticity shifts the responsibilities of Jewish women, who assume the management of familial religiosity and provide a religious education to children. These changing ideas of Jewish women create tensions and involve heavy criticism as women attempt to reconcile their revised religious role with their work practices, the potential limits of their formal Hebrew education, and the multiple demands of running a household.

Chapter Six explores the lives of Jewish children on the goldfields, incorporating both children's experiences and adult perceptions to reveal how Victorian middle-class ideals impact Jewish ideas of childhood faith and maturity. British ideas of childhood innocence are integrated into Jewish ritual as Jews develop conceptions of childhood and gender that correspond with pervasive middle-class ideas regarding age, yet maintain the importance of Judaism. Outside the synagogue, the separation of religious and secular schooling reshapes the Hebrew schools, an alteration from which Jewish girls significantly benefit. Chapter Seven analyses the imperial and international dimensions of goldfields Jewish communities, examining how these spheres of Jewish activity contribute towards the formation and maintenance of Britishness. Jewish international action and 'special worship' services held to acknowledge the British Royal Family extend ideas of Jewish connection while also confirming the imperial place of Jews in the British Empire as subjects and agents. This rich and engrossing history of Jews in Australia begins with

convicts and troops at Sydney Cove, which created a new destination in the Jewish Diaspora.

***Section One: The Emergence of a British Jewish  
Identity on the Central Victorian Goldfields, 1851-  
1870***

## **Section One Introduction**

### **A New Place in the Jewish Diaspora: The Beginnings of Judaism in Australia and the Gold Rush**

The history of Jews in Australia began with the First Fleet, yet it was not until the gold rushes of the 1850s that the Jewish community would strengthen, grow, and thrive, bringing a new expression of Jewishness. The rapid increase in population and wealth that followed the discovery of gold significantly extended the colonial Jewish community as new Hebrew congregations formed inland, spreading Judaism's roots further into Australian soil. Through the process of their settlement on the goldfields between 1851 and 1870, Jews negotiated their cultural and religious practices as they responded to the limitations and the opportunities of settling in a frontier place. At times these practices were a continuation of similar mediations enacted in Britain and Europe, at others they reflect the unique setting of the goldfield frontier in the 1850s. A Jewish presence in Australia, however, can be traced back much earlier.

#### **First Arrival: Jews in Australia from the First White Occupation**

When the First Fleet arrived in Australia in the middle of January 1788, with over 1,000 people on board, a small proportion of the convicts were Jewish.<sup>1</sup> The specific number of Jewish convicts, however, remains uncertain as scholars have debated how many Jewish people arrived on the First Fleet. Australian Jewish historian Hilary Rubinstein estimated the number of Jewish convicts at only seven, one of whom was a baby.<sup>2</sup> William Rubinstein argued that the total number of Jewish convicts transported to Australia between 1788 to 1852 exceeded no more than 1,000.<sup>3</sup> While the exact numbers or even close estimates of Jewish convicts remain contested, scholars concur that there was a Jewish presence from the beginning of Australia's white occupation. In Britain, the changing legal codes prosecuted and sentenced Jews (as well as many non-Jews) with transportation for crimes that tended to stem from poverty. While Jews could be part of organised gangs, most turned to crime only out of dire need.<sup>4</sup> Jews who were sentenced to transportation were largely convicted for what has generally been termed as 'crimes of

---

<sup>1</sup> Mark Peel and Christina Twomey, *A History of Australia* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2011), 26.

<sup>2</sup> Rubinstein, *The Jews in Australia: A Thematic History*, 76.

<sup>3</sup> Rubinstein, *The Jews in Australia*, 22-23.

<sup>4</sup> Endelman, *The Jews of Britain*, 46.



the poor'- for stealing, pickpocketing, and peddling without a license.<sup>5</sup> The transportation of Jewish convicts created another stage in Jewish history as a new distant place in the Jewish diaspora was established on stolen Aboriginal land.

Though Jews were present on the First Fleet, there was a marked delay in the formation of an institutional Jewish community in Australia. Many Jewish convicts arrived without the items and skills needed to perform Jewish rituals and worship. Historian Suzanne Rutland argued that "almost all [Jewish convicts] were poorly educated members of the working class with little or no knowledge of their Jewish traditions or literacy in the Hebrew language".<sup>6</sup> There was also only a small number of Jewish women, meaning that Jewish men often had to seek partners among non-Jewish women, which presented problems for the community. In Judaism, descent follows through the matrilineal line, complicating the identity of interfaith families. As there were no rabbis nor communal boards in the form of a *beth din*, a rabbinical court, in the Australian colonies at this time, non-Jewish wives could not convert to Judaism.

The Jewish communal and religious institutions needed to maintain an Orthodox Jewish lifestyle would not form until well into the nineteenth century, beginning first in Sydney and Van Diemen's Land (later known as Tasmania). The first Jewish space established in Australia was a Jewish burial ground in Sydney. Requests were made by the *chevra kadisha*, a Jewish burial society, for a Jewish cemetery ground in 1820, although this land was not granted until 1832, when the area selected was consecrated.<sup>7</sup> The first Australian synagogue was built on land bought by Moses Joseph with subscriptions from both the Jewish community and sympathetic Christians, opening in 1844 in Sydney.<sup>8</sup> From the 1830s, increasing numbers of free Jewish settlers arrived in Australia, mainly from Britain, bringing with them Anglo-Jewish practices that would endure as the main, and in some areas the only, form of Judaism until the Second World War.<sup>9</sup> In Victoria, Jewish men aided in the establishment of this new colony, ensuring a Jewish presence from the very earliest beginning of invasion and white settlement.

---

<sup>5</sup> Rutland, *Edge of the Diaspora*, 9.

<sup>6</sup> Rutland, *The Jews in Australia*, 14.

<sup>7</sup> Ibid. 14-15.

<sup>8</sup> Ibid. 18.

<sup>9</sup> Ibid. 19.

Jews were active drivers in the colonisation of Victoria, which was colonised by Europeans in the 1830s, before gaining self-government from Sydney in 1851.<sup>10</sup> John Batman and the Port Phillip Association made the first successful (though illegal) attempt in 1835 to settle in Port Phillip Bay, later to become Melbourne, with the association including two Jewish partners, Judah and Joseph Solomon. These two men were closely tied with the venture into Port Phillip, although their names do not appear on the original petition.<sup>11</sup> This absence may have been due to Joseph's official status, which classed him as a convict, despite being a prominent business owner in Hobart Town (Hobart). It was not until 1836, one year after the first attempt, that Joseph received his official pardon.<sup>12</sup> Suzanne Rutland believes that Judah and Joseph Solomon had helped finance the Association, noting that they were the only ones within the venture who had purely commercial goals.<sup>13</sup> A relation of Judah and Joseph Solomon, Joseph Solomon Jnr (an extended family member), was amongst the first to purchase land in Victoria at the second land sales held in the new colony.<sup>14</sup> Like his relative Joseph Solomon, who had given up his Jewish faith, Joseph Solomon Jnr did not practice Judaism religiously, converting with his wife to Anglicanism.<sup>15</sup>

While some Jews in colonial society did convert, there were many who maintained their Jewish faith. In 1840, Jewish services began to be held in private homes in Melbourne with fifty-seven Jews stated as living in Victoria in the 1841 Census. A Jewish burial ground soon followed and was created in 1843.<sup>16</sup> Located in Burke Street, the Melbourne Hebrew congregation built the first synagogue in the colony in 1848.<sup>17</sup> In this emerging community, prominent Jewish men such as Isaac Lincoln performed communal and formal religious rituals. When the Melbourne Jewish community lacked a *mohel*, an individual trained to conduct circumcision ceremonies, Isaac Lincoln learnt how to

---

<sup>10</sup> For histories on the colonisation of Victoria, as well as its impact on First Nations communities, see Atkinson, *The Europeans in Australia*; Thomas Rogers, *The Civilisation of Port Phillip: Settler Ideology, Violence, and Rhetorical Possession* (Carlton, Victoria: Melbourne University Press, 2018); Beverley Nance, 'The Level of Violence: Europeans and Aborigines in Port Phillip, 1835–1850', *Australasian Historical Studies*, 19/77 (1981), 532–552; James Boyce, *1835: The Founding of Melbourne and the Conquest of Australia* (Collingwood, Victoria: Black Inc., 2011); Alan Shaw, *A History of the Port Phillip District: Victoria Before Separation* (Carlton, Victoria: Melbourne University Press, 2003).

<sup>11</sup> Silberberg, *A Networked Community* (2020), 97.

<sup>12</sup> Australian Dictionary of Biography, s.v. 'Joseph Solomon (1780-1851)'.

<sup>13</sup> Rutland, *Edge of the Diaspora*, 36.

<sup>14</sup> Ibid. 37.

<sup>15</sup> Rubinstein, *The Jews in Australia: A Thematic History*, 87; Solomon, 'Joseph Solomon (1780-1851)'; Victoria Births Deaths and Marriages Records, *Death Certificate for Sarah Solomon*, 1881.

<sup>16</sup> Rubinstein, *The Jews in Australia*, 38.

<sup>17</sup> Ibid.

properly perform the ritual.<sup>18</sup> As Lincoln's actions demonstrated, Judaism and Jewish ritual continued to be a highly important aspect of colonial life for many Jews, who sought through their own efforts to meet the demands of the developing community. The recent establishment of Judaism in the Victorian colony shaped how Jews on the goldfields could form congregations, undertake the process of conversions, access kosher foods, and perform religious rituals, as Chapters Two and Three demonstrate. While initially small, the Victorian Jewish community soon experienced a surge of growth following the gold rushes in the 1850s.

### **The Gold Rushes: A Booming Colony for Jewish Migrants**

Gold ignited a rush to Australia, transforming the new colony of Victoria in the mid-nineteenth century. Gold was discovered in the Victorian colony in 1851, first at Anderson's Creek, then at Ballarat and Clunes, with large deposits also found at Castlemaine and Bendigo. News of the gold findings quickly spread. At the beginning of 1851, most Britons had only a vague idea of Australia as a convict colony, yet the colonies had become a familiar topic by the middle of 1852.<sup>19</sup> As historian David Goodman noted, the gold rushes of the 1850s were international in scale, made possible through modern technological advances in communication, transportation, and manufacturing.<sup>20</sup> More intrinsically, the rush for gold relied on the modern ethos that uprooting oneself from home to undertake an arduous journey in the pursuit of wealth was not only viable, but even desirable.<sup>21</sup> The Victorian gold rushes made Melbourne one of the world's fastest growing cities for a time, only matched by Chicago and San Francisco.<sup>22</sup>

The greatest economic contribution to the Victorian colony came in the form of population increases. Through the gold rushes, Australia's settler population nearly tripled from 437,000 in 1851 to 1,152,000 in 1861 as migrants sailed from all parts of the globe to the Australian colonies.<sup>23</sup> This influx of people needed housing, food, manufactured goods, and a range of other services that enabled various sectors of the

---

<sup>18</sup> Goldman, *The Jews in Victoria*, 33.

<sup>19</sup> Robyn Annear, *Nothing But Gold: The Diggers of 1852* (Melbourne: The Text Publishing Company, 1999), 28.

<sup>20</sup> Goodman, 'The Gold Rushes', 172.

<sup>21</sup> Ibid.

<sup>22</sup> Peel and Twomey, *A History of Australia*, 73.

<sup>23</sup> Goodman, 'The Gold Rushes', 181.

economy to flourish. The incoming migrants were overwhelmingly of British birth, even amongst Jews, as Chapter Two will discuss. This predominance of British persons and Christian institutions meant that through all stages of their migration Jews negotiated British Christian, usually Protestant, norms, authority, and ideas. Not all, however, viewed the colony's booming goldfields as a blessing.

Gold settlements such as Castlemaine, Ballarat, and Bendigo became renowned as places of social and political dissent. The early diggings were frontier places, an idea that Chapter Two expands upon. As a frontier space, the early gold settlements contained greater social possibilities and engaged in extensive cross-cultural contact.<sup>24</sup> In these goldfields towns and camps, the ideals and definitions of Australia's national character developed through events such as the Eureka Stockade and Red Ribbon Rebellion.<sup>25</sup> For Jews arriving from Europe and England where full emancipation continued to be denied, the Central Victorian Goldfields opened new opportunities for individuals and congregations, expanding economic, social, and cultural possibilities. These were opportunities that Jews readily seized, becoming integrated members of the wider community who assisted the quick establishment of British institutions. Alongside these increasing opportunities, the gold rushes had significantly stimulated the growth of colonial faith groups.

In the longer term, the influx of migrants and wealth strengthened religious sects, diversified faith communities, and increased the size of minority groups, yet Protestantism maintained its ascendancy.<sup>26</sup> The Jewish community in Victoria experienced significant growth during the 1850s with three new congregations established in Melbourne and dozens of others created in outlying frontier and gold settlements.<sup>27</sup> The initial gold rush witnessed hundreds of Jews migrating further inland; by 1861, 230 Jewish settlers were identified in the Victorian census as living in Bendigo, with an additional 37 living in nearby Castlemaine, whilst 242 Jews resided in Ballarat.<sup>28</sup> The social upheaval associated with gold also attracted more radical religious sects, with groups such as the Christian Israelites growing in popularity in the 1850s, despite their

---

<sup>24</sup> Reeves and Nichols, *Deeper Leads*, 3-4.

<sup>25</sup> Ibid.

<sup>26</sup> Anne O'Brien, 'Religion', in Alison Bashford and Stuart Macintyre (eds.), *The Cambridge History of Australia* (Melbourne: Cambridge University Press, 2013), 425-426.

<sup>27</sup> Ibid.

<sup>28</sup> Victoria Registrar-General's Office, *Census of Victoria, 1861: Population Table, Religions of the People*, (Melbourne: Government Printer John Ferres, 1863-64), in Parliament of Victoria Parliamentary Papers Database [Online Database], accessed 25 Jan. 2020, 24, 31.

decline in England.<sup>29</sup> Whilst faith proved to be a strong guiding force on the Central Victorian Goldfields, religious communities also experienced change as they responded to both modernity and the colonial environment.

This first section of this thesis examines the movement and establishment of Jewish communities on the Central Victorian Goldfields, highlighting how these migration experiences and the frontier setting shaped the identities, institutions, and religious practices of Jewish migrants. Chapter One explores the ship voyages of Jewish migrants to the Australian colonies, noting how experiences of prejudice, exchange, and contact on board impacted Jewish passengers. In Chapter Two, the focus shifts to the communal composition and formation of Jewish institutions, specifically synagogues and Jewish ministers, on the early goldfields of Bendigo and Ballarat. As the chapter argues, the communal structure and Jewish institutions of these frontier Jewish groups further strengthened the British colonial identity and middle-class status of goldfields Jews. Chapter Three will investigate how these Jewish institutions and the frontier setting interacted with individual and familial decisions regarding religious observances, a negotiation which blurred identity boundaries. To reach the Australian colonies, Jewish migrants were required to undertake a ship journey that would not only require a reconsideration of how and when they practiced Judaism, but also of the British Empire they were traversing.

---

<sup>29</sup> O'Brien, 'Religion', 425-426.

# Chapter One

## Prejudice, Contact, and Exchange: Ship Voyages and Jewish Religiosity on the High Seas

Sailing over rough oceans and through stormy weather, Jewish migrants travelling to the Australian colonies not only negotiated their religious practices and ideas, but also how they articulated or performed their identities, self-perceptions, and their sense of Britishness.<sup>1</sup> Sea journeys were a unique part of the migration experience, filled with anxiety and confusion. When Protestant James Ring sailed from London to a distant colonial destination in 1879, he reflected on the strangeness of the seas, noting in his ship diary that,

It is my intention to relate as far as in my power everything of interest. Several things may appear strange & perhaps vulgar but you will agree with me that things happening at sea are different to those that happen on shore.<sup>2</sup>

What happened on the ocean, Ring concluded, was distinct from what was known to happen on land. Modern research on nineteenth century ship voyages supports Ring's statement, highlighting how the distinctive environment of ships and encounters with the racial Other through travel impacted identities and ideas of British imperialism.<sup>3</sup> A growing number of scholars within this literature have demonstrated that religiosity was also practiced differently on the seas.<sup>4</sup> For Jewish passengers travelling to the Australian

---

<sup>1</sup> During the nineteenth century, 'emigrant' referred to an individual who travelled under a Government Assisted Emigration Scheme to Australia, a term adopted by this thesis. Persons who did not travel to Australia through these schemes, who either bought tickets through familial funds, non-government charities, or individual savings, will be referred to as migrants, passengers, or travellers.

<sup>2</sup> The National Library of New Zealand, James Ring, *Transcript Diary of My Voyage from London to Wellington, New Zealand, in the Ship Pleione*, 1879, MS-Papers-7512, in The National Library of New Zealand [Online Database], accessed 15 May 2018, 1.

<sup>3</sup> See Robin Haines, 'Indigent Misfits or Shrewd Operators? Government-Assisted Emigrants from the United Kingdom to Australia, 1831- 1860', *Population Studies*, 48/2 (July 1994), 223-247; Robin Haines, 'The Idle and the Drunken Won't Do There: Poverty, the New Poor Law, and Nineteenth Century Government Assisted Emigration to Australia from the United Kingdom', *Australian Historical Studies*, 27/108 (1997), 223-247; Robin Haines and Ralph Shlomowitz, 'Immigration from the United Kingdom to Colonial Australia: A Statistical Analysis', *Journal of Australian Studies*, 16/34 (1992), 43-52; Robin Haines, *Life and Death in an Age of Sail: The Passage to Australia* (Sydney: University of New South Wales Press, 2003); Andrew Hassam, *Sailing to Australia: Shipboard Diaries by Nineteenth-Century British Emigrants* (Melbourne: Melbourne University Press, 1995); Joachim Schlör, 'Tel Aviv: (With Its) Back to the Sea?', *Journal of Modern Jewish Studies*, 8/2 (2009), 215-235; Joachim Schlör, 'Towards Jewish Maritime Studies', *Jewish Culture and History*, 13/1 (2012), 1-6.

<sup>4</sup> For studies in this area, see Carey, *God's Empire*; Penelope Edmonds, 'Travelling "Under Concern": Quakers James Backhouse and George Washington Walker Tour the Antipodean Colonies, 1832-41', *The Journal of Imperial and Commonwealth History*, 40/5 (2012), 769-788; Andrew R. Holmes, 'Protestants and "Greater Ireland": Mission, Migration, and Identity in the Nineteenth Century', *Irish Historical Studies*, 41/160 (2017), 275-285; Sarah Roddy, *Population, Providence and Empire: The Churches and Emigration*

colonies, sea journeys entailed contact with religiously and nationally diverse persons, most of whom tended to practice a Christian faith and came from the British Isles. While ship voyages did not facilitate the first encounter between Jews and Christianity, they could be amongst the most intense and prolonged zones of contact.<sup>5</sup> In these heightened moments of exchange, Jews shared practices and knowledge with other passengers, contributing towards the maintenance of class and British identities as advocated by Meyer's aesthetic formations, whilst also confronting prejudice and discrimination on board. Through this means, Jewish migrants could maintain strong links with Judaism and communities left behind while affirming connections to a British, English, or class identity.

This chapter investigates how sea voyages influenced the religiosity and identifications of Jewish passengers as they sailed to a British colonial destination. The first section will examine the complexities that surround the decisions of Jewish passengers to migrate to Australia and the ship diaries produced through their journey. This section also highlights how conceptions of Othering dominant in the literature have obscured more nuanced readings of ship diaries and sea travel. The next segment explores incidents of prejudice experienced by Jews, discussing how this shaped their relations on board. The section that follows centres on the contact that occurred between Jewish migrants and fellow passengers, detailing how the Christian worship witnessed by Jews could lead to a reconsideration of their relations to others on board. The last section focuses on the social and religious encounters experienced by Jewish passengers, through which Jews practiced and proclaimed their British or class identity. In highlighting these three aspects, I will argue that sea voyages were a significant period of negotiation for Jewish passengers, who navigated their sense of class and British identification with, and at times against, their Jewish religiosity. Before they even entered the ship space, a variety of factors defined the voyage for Jewish passengers: choices such as when they would sail, where to migrate, or even who would go.

## **From Britain and Europe to Australia: Sailing to the Colonies**

---

*from Nineteenth-Century Ireland* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2019); Rowan Strong, *Victorian Christianity and Emigrant Voyages to British Colonies c. 1840- 1914* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2017); Rowan Strong, 'Pilgrims, Paupers or Progenitors: Religious Constructions of British Emigration from the 1840s to 1870s', *History*, 100/341 (2015), 392-411.

<sup>5</sup> Silberberg, *A Networked Community* (2020), 45.

The motivations that influenced Jewish migrants to travel to the Australian colonies varied and included personal or family decisions as well as economic opportunities. Like many non-Jewish settlers, Jewish migrants usually left Britain and Europe in search of better economic options and living conditions.<sup>6</sup> Some Jewish migrants hoped that resettlement in the developing colonies would provide the opportunity to prosper and, potentially, to return home prosperous.<sup>7</sup> Whether they settled permanently or temporarily, Jewish migrants also encouraged relatives to undertake similar voyages to the colonies, as Louis Monash did when he urged his brother to join him in Melbourne in 1861.<sup>8</sup> Familial and chain migration was common for Jews on the Central Victorian Goldfields as siblings, parents, and children followed relatives to the colony or travelled together, as Chapter Two discusses further, which likely significantly shaped migration decisions. More immediately, these familial relationships and the power with which they were imbued meant that husbands and fathers frequently made migration choices for their wives and children, as was also the case for single women who were dependent on male relatives.<sup>9</sup> Others may have made the decision to migrate following outbursts of antisemitic harassment and violence, particularly from the 1880s, although scholars have challenged this assertion, questioning its place as a primary motivator for European Jewish migration.<sup>10</sup>

Historians Todd Endelman and Gabriel Sivan have called for caution in identifying persecution as a motivation, arguing that this migration was part of a larger and much longer westward movement of Central and Eastern European migrants in the nineteenth

---

<sup>6</sup> For more on the reasons why non-Jewish migrants undertook sea voyages to Australia, see Dudley Baines, 'European Emigration, 1815-1930: Looking at the Emigration Decision Again', *The Economic History Review*, 47/3 (August 1994), 525-544; Dudley Baines, *Emigration from Europe 1815-1930* (Cambridge, England: Cambridge University Press, 1995); Haines, *Life and Death in an Age of Sail*; Hassam, *Sailing to Australia*, 2-3.

<sup>7</sup> Amongst the shipboard diaries of Jewish passengers examined in this chapter, many made allusions to their hope of staying briefly in the colonies before returning to their families overseas with some wealth. For examples, see The State Library of South Australia, Leopold Judell, *Diary of His Voyage from Hamburg to Adelaide May 17th, 1870 – August 18th, 1870*, 1870, D 8257, Geoff Noller (tr.), in The State Library of South Australia [Online Database], accessed 10 Jun. 2018, 6-7; The State Library of Victoria, Nathaniel Levi, *Diary, 1853 Dec. 7- 1854 April 27*, 1853-1854, MS 8021, 3.

<sup>8</sup> Ann M. Mitchell and Peter Fraenkel, 'Louis Monash of Melbourne to his Brother Max Monasch in Krotoschin, Posen Province, 25 May 1861', *Australian Jewish Historical Society Journal*, 20/3 (2011), 420-423.

<sup>9</sup> Emma Curtin, 'Gentility Afloat: Gentlewomen's Diaries and the Voyage to Australia, 1830-1880', *Australian Historical Studies*, 26/105 (1995), 636.

<sup>10</sup> See Lloyd P. Gartner, 'Jewish Migrants en Route from Europe to North America: Traditions and Realities', *Jewish History*, 1/2 (1986), 49-66.



century.<sup>11</sup> A more widespread and pervasive cause of migration from Eastern Europe was the dramatic increase in the Jewish population in an economy that was inadequate to support their rising numbers.<sup>12</sup> Once decisions were made to leave, migrants considered a range of possible destinations, including Australia, yet these voyages to the colonies presented additional difficulties.

While technological advances in transportation improved the ship journeys to Australia, the voyage was longer, harder, and more expensive compared to other contemporary migration destinations.<sup>13</sup> To make the Australian colonies more attractive as destinations, colonial governments enacted Emigration Schemes to facilitate migration.<sup>14</sup> Emigration Schemes included subsidised passage to the colonies, which were funded by the sale of colonial land.<sup>15</sup> America remained the preferred destination despite such aids to migrate to Australia. The overwhelming majority of migrants, particularly Jews, settled in America which had a reputation as being *di goldene medina*, Yiddish for ‘the golden land’, that was cheaper and easier to access for those located in Britain and Europe. In 1854, passage to New York from London could cost as little as £3 10s while fares to Victoria were priced at £13.<sup>16</sup> Voyages to America were also significantly shorter, requiring less food provisions, a considerable deliberation for Jews who wished to observe kosher food practices on board, which will be expanded upon more below.

For Jews coming from Europe, the journey was usually completed in two stages as they first travelled to England before boarding another ship to Australia, mainly stopping

---

<sup>11</sup> Endelman, *The Jews of Britain*, 128; Gabriel A. Sivan, ‘Introduction’, in Gabriel A. Sivan (ed.), *The Jewish Emigrant from Britain 1700-2000: Essays in Memory of Lloyd P. Gartner* (Jerusalem: Israel Branch of the Jewish Historical Society of England, 2013), 13.

<sup>12</sup> Sivan, ‘Introduction’, 13.

<sup>13</sup> Geoffrey Serle, *The Rush to be Rich: A History of the Colony of Victoria 1883-1889* (Melbourne: Melbourne University Press, 1971), 12.

<sup>14</sup> Sivan, ‘Introduction’, 6.

<sup>15</sup> Rowan Strong, ‘Globalising British Christianity in the Nineteenth Century: The Imperial Anglican Emigrant Chaplaincy 1846- 1910’, *The Journal of Imperial and Commonwealth History*, 43/1 (2014), 6. It is important to remember that assisted passage was not one well-shaped, cohesive movement, but rather instead refers to several, discrete periods in which promotion and recruitment were undertaken by voluntary and paid agencies in the colonies and in Britain. Placing Jews within these emigration schemes is, however, difficult. Emigration statistics obtained from Victorian Parliamentary papers between 1850-55 suggest incredibly few non-Christian emigrants received government assistance, except for the latter half of 1851. The greatest difficulty in using these statistics is that no separate category was made for Jewish emigrants, and it can therefore not be definitively ascertained whether any of these assisted ‘other’ emigrants were Jewish. After 1855, no ‘other’ category was included in the statistics.

<sup>16</sup> Colonial Land and Emigration Commissioners, *Information for People Leaving Great Britain 1854* (Victoria, Australia: Macbeth Genealogical Books, 1990), 3.

at the London ports of Grimsby and Hull.<sup>17</sup> Some Jews travelled directly from Hamburg, Germany, though this seemed an uncommon choice and I was unable to find any diaries of Jewish passengers who undertook this route. As a result, this chapter focuses on ship voyages from Britain, though some Jewish diarists were born in Europe. The experiences of Jewish passengers who sailed to Australia from Hamburg under German shipping companies may have diverged from those undertaken from Britain ports. Regardless of where they sailed from, ship voyages were disconcerting periods as migrants had to reorientate themselves to the ship space. Some migrants relied on diaries and the often-cathartic process of writing to better comprehend these bewildering journeys.

Jewish passengers recorded a range of encounters, impressions, and actions in their ship journals, detailing and discussing their engagement with other travellers and their interpretations of on-board experiences. The keeping of a ship diary was common among literate migrants and followed from the widespread use of journal writing established by the Victorian middle-class as a means of self-improvement.<sup>18</sup> The act of writing allowed passengers to make sense of the journey, becoming a means through which, as Andrew Hassam asserted, diarists negotiated sea voyages.<sup>19</sup> Tamson Pietsch expressed a similar view and argued that diaries written on board ships were “ways of composing the self in the context of its erosion”, as being “tools by which passengers sought to impose some control over unruly time and compromised personal space”.<sup>20</sup> The journals written by Jewish travellers detailed a comparable process of composure and reordering as diaries marked the occurrence of Jewish holidays, startling experiences, and felt impressions. While ship journals offer revealing glimpses into the ship-board life of passengers, they are nevertheless a limited source.

The diaries available to scholars are few when compared to the overall numbers of migration, and heavily skewed towards certain groups and individuals. Pietsch estimated that perhaps over 90 per cent of the passengers who arrived in the Australian colonies in the nineteenth century travelled in steerage class, yet most diaries which exist today are of second- or first-class passengers.<sup>21</sup> On ship journeys,

---

<sup>17</sup> Nicholas J. Evans, ‘Work in Progress: Indirect Passage from Europe Transmigration via the UK, 1836–1914’, *Journal for Maritime Research*, 3/1 (2001), 71.

<sup>18</sup> Hassam, *Sailing to Australia*, 37.

<sup>19</sup> *Ibid.* 3.

<sup>20</sup> Pietsch, ‘A British Sea’, 218.

<sup>21</sup> *Ibid.* 212.

migrants were separated into cabin classes based upon their fare price, with those in the saloon (first class) enjoying the most luxurious lodgings on board, followed by intermediate (second class), and lastly by steerage, which contained some of the poorest lodgings.<sup>22</sup> The lack of steerage diaries is an unavoidable limitation of this research, one that restricts the range of analysis in this chapter to concentrate mainly upon middle-class or lower middle-class experiences.

This chapter relied upon the original diaries written by migrants when available, however, in certain cases transcriptions of the original diary (produced by volunteer transcribers) were used as the original diary was unavailable. All transcriptions represent an interpretation of the original work undertaken by a scholar or community member, which holds possibilities that some meanings and words were lost or mistranslated.<sup>23</sup> One of the diaries used in this chapter is a translation of the original diary, which was written in German. Similar to transcriptions, translated diaries are open to misinterpretation, yet incorporating such sources into historical discourse is important in order to present a wider range of on-board experiences. The diaries written by Jewish migrants are complex and multifaceted, layered with meanings that reflect their unique social, religious, and communal positions on-board. As a result, a more nuanced approach than the framework that currently predominates in the literature is required to properly contextualise and understand these journals.

While research on sea travel, identity, and the British Empire has increased in the last two decades, heavily racialised frameworks predominate, which can obscure the experiences of Jewish migrants. Angela Wollacott's innovative 1997 article is often cited as one of the first studies to examine how ideas of race, 'whiteness', and imperialism were shaped by sea migration.<sup>24</sup> Since the publication of her landmark article, studies on Australian transnational mobility have burgeoned, with numerous studies uncovering how the motivations for and experiences of sea journeys shaped, informed, and reinforced imperial ideologies and identities as well as national difference.<sup>25</sup> Most of this literature

---

<sup>22</sup> There was some difference between certain ships; however, they tended to be slight or were unavoidable, the result of accident or tragedy.

<sup>23</sup> Hassam, *Sailing to Australia*, 18.

<sup>24</sup> Angela Wollacott, 'All This is the Empire, I Told Myself: Australian Women's Voyages "Home" and the Articulation of Colonial Whiteness', *The American Historical Review*, 102/4 (1997), 1003-1029.

<sup>25</sup> See Ann Curthoys and Marilyn Lake (eds.), *Connected Worlds: History in Transnational Perspective* (Canberra: Australian National University Press, 2005); David Fitzpatrick, *Oceans of Consolation: Personal Accounts of Irish Migration to Australia* (Carlton, Victoria: Melbourne University Press, 1995); Glen O'Hara, 'The Sea is Swinging into View: Modern British Maritime History in a Globalised World', *English Historical Review*, 124/510 (2009), 1109-1134; Malcolm Prentis, 'Haggis on the High Seas:

has focused on coloniser/colonised binaries to reveal how white, British, and typically Christian passengers encountered the racialised and non-Christian 'Other'.<sup>26</sup> Othering is a multidimensional process that touches upon several forms of social differentiation, which include class and gender as well as race. This conceptualisation portrays the Other as both different and inferior as more powerful groups define those deemed to be subordinate in a reductionist way, usually ascribing problematic characteristics to the group.<sup>27</sup>

Such focus obscures interactions and meanings within, as opposed to across, groups, which was also a significant part of the sea voyage for passengers.<sup>28</sup> For example, when Anglican Samuel Laver travelled from Somerset, England to New Zealand, he encountered a variety of persons on board his ship. As he noted in his diary,

We have people of all kinds of religion on board, Roman Catholic, Methodists, Presbyterians, Jews, and Church of England. This sermon was a Church of England sermon, but previously we have had one preached by a Methodist. There are English, Irish, Scotch, Welsh, Manx, Yankees, Poles and Germans on board, so that we have a real mixture of countries and religions.<sup>29</sup>

While migrants understood that they were part of a single British political entity, like Laver, they also recognised that there were regional, cultural, and religious differences between travellers.<sup>30</sup> Therefore, understandings of both difference and similarity suffused

---

Shipboard Experiences of Scottish Emigrants to Australia, 1821–1897', *Australian Historical Studies*, 36/124 (2004), 294–311; Frances Steel, 'Anglo-Worlds in Transit: Connections and Frictions across the Pacific', *Journal of Global History*, 11/2 (2016), 251–270; Frances Steel, 'Re-Routing Empire? Steam-Age Circulations and the Making of an Anglo Pacific, c.1850–90', *Australian Historical Studies*, 46/3 (2015), 356–373.

<sup>26</sup> For examples, see Tony Ballantyne and Antoinette Burton (eds.), *Moving Subjects: Gender, Mobility and Intimacy in the Age of Global Empire* (Chicago: University of Illinois Press, 2009); Judith Jensen, 'Unpacking the Travel Writers' Baggage: Imperial Rhetoric in Travel Literature of Australia 1813–1914', Ph.D. thesis (James Cook University, 2006); Pietsch, 'A British Sea';.

<sup>27</sup> Sune Q. Jensen, 'Othering, Identity Formation and Agency', *Qualitative Studies*, 2/2 (2011), 65.

<sup>28</sup> See Australian National Maritime Museum, Mary Armstrong, *Diary of Mary Armstrong, Matron on the Emigrant Ship SEVERN in 1863*, 1863, 00018289, in Australian National Maritime Museum [Online Database], accessed 20 Jul. 2018; Museum Victoria, Walter Dutton, *Diary - Liverpool to Melbourne, Onboard Ship 'Sarah Dixon'*, 1858, HT 23918, in Museums Victoria [Online Database], accessed 20 Jul. 2018; The State Library of Victoria, Samuel Laver, *Diary, 1859 July-1859 September*, 1859, MS 10961, in The State Library of Victoria [Online Database], accessed 20 Jul. 2018; Museum Victoria, M. P. O'Shea, *Diary - M.P. O'Shea, Onboard Clipper Ship 'Eastern City', Liverpool-Melbourne, 1857*, 1857, HT 15834, in Museums Victoria [Online Database], accessed 20 Jul. 2018.

<sup>29</sup> The State Library of Victoria, Laver, *Diary, 1859 July-1859 September*, 12.

<sup>30</sup> See also The State Library of Victoria, Fanny Davis, *Diary, 3 June 1858- 10 Sept. 1858, Written aboard the Conway*, 1858, MS 10509, in The State Library of Victoria [Online Database], accessed 20 Jul. 2018, 1; Museum Victoria, Dutton, *Diary*, 2; Museums Victoria, Ally Heathcote, *Diary - Ally Heathcote, England to Melbourne, Victoria, Onboard 'SS Northumberland', 1874*, 1874, HT 1104, in Museums Victoria [Online Database], accessed 20 Jul. 2018, 16; The State Library of Victoria, Mrs William Graham, *Diary, 1863, Written Aboard the Ship Marco Polo*, 1863, MS 10438, in The State Library of Victoria [Online Database], accessed 20 Jul. 2018, 5; Museum Victoria, O'Shea, *Diary*, 59–60.

interactions and exchanges between passengers, a conception of imperial voyages that historian Jeffrey McNairn has promoted.<sup>31</sup> This dualism was particularly notable for Jewish passengers for whom power played a much more varied role than ascribed to Othering processes.

Social, economic, and cultural power varied for Jewish passengers across their sea voyage. Their repositioning was dictated by understandings and hierarchies of religion, class, gender, and wealth. Othering as a concept does not adequately demonstrate how similarity and difference worked to shape understandings of the British Empire, nor how practices, symbols, and ideas could be used to articulate and define identities in transit for Jewish passengers. As I demonstrate below, these more nuanced ideas of similarity and difference were reworked through the sea voyage in complex and dynamic ways. At times this process worked to affirm their Britishness or to distance them through discrimination.

### **‘I Regret that I Revealed Myself to be One too’: Jewish Religiosity and Experiences of Prejudice and Discrimination**

As they sailed to distant colonial destinations, Jews continued to observe a range of religious practices, though often in modified ways. To account for any potential and actual limitations of lifestyle on the ship, passengers often made religious allowances that were unthinkable on land. Mary Armstrong, a Protestant matron who sailed on a government emigrant ship in 1863,<sup>32</sup> recorded in her ship diary that “the Preists [sic] gave [the Catholics] leave to eat meat every day no day excepted”.<sup>33</sup> In Catholicism, a set of fasting and abstinence practices prohibits the consumption of meat on Fridays and special holidays, and yet on the space of the ship, such observances were not possible due to the rationing of provisions on board.<sup>34</sup> The ship voyage was not only a time of physical, social, and emotional confusion, but also of religious disordering, an issue Jews likewise confronted. While the potential for discrimination held considerable influence regarding the religious behaviour of Jews, the on-board observances of Jewish passengers also interacted with a variety of other factors as individuals contemplated economic, social,

---

<sup>31</sup> Jeffrey McNairn, “‘Everything was New, yet Familiar’: British Travellers, Halifax and the Ambiguities of Empire”, *Acadiensis*, 36/2 (2007), 52.

<sup>32</sup> Mary Armstrong was working on the ship as a matron, a woman who oversees the single women on board, ensuring not only that order was kept, but that single women remained separated from the male crew and passengers.

<sup>33</sup> Australian National Maritime Museum, Armstrong, *Diary of Mary Armstrong*, 3.

<sup>34</sup> *New Catholic Encyclopedia*, s.v. ‘Fast and Abstinence’.

physical, and religious consequences. Additionally, the detail provided on individual adherences on board varied in diaries and is likely the result of their different views regarding practice. For some Jewish diarists, observances that were central to Judaism may have been assumed to be occurring or viewed as commonplace and therefore did not warrant description. Despite this, journals reveal that Jewish migrants sought to adapt their faith practices to account for the difficult environment of the ship.

Jewish passengers commemorated Jewish holidays on board ship, as well as Sabbath rest, which often acted to confirm their familial and religious connections. Whilst Sunday was considered the day of rest amongst Christians, Jews held Saturday as the Sabbath. *Halachah* (Jewish religious law) surrounding the Jewish Sabbath is complex and specifies that no work is to be performed between dusk on Friday until dusk on the following Saturday.<sup>35</sup> On board ships, the different Sabbath observances of passengers could produce moments of exchange and learning. During his voyage from London to New Zealand, James Ring frequently discussed religion with two Jewish brothers on board, E. Myers and J. Myers, who migrated together with their wives. After becoming acquainted, the Jewish brothers invited Ring to their cabin to explain the Jewish Sabbath. Ring noted that on Saturdays the Jewish brothers “read novells [sic] till about sunset when they begin to play cards”.<sup>36</sup> The Sabbath practiced by the Jewish brothers included confining themselves to their cabin and dedicating the day to religious study and the avoidance of work, similar to traditional observances. Communal religious worship was also initiated when a sufficiently large number of Jewish passengers travelled together for a minyan to form, which is the presence of ten men over the age of thirteen needed for public worship in Judaism.<sup>37</sup> Not all Jewish passengers were able to enjoy the presence of other Jewish travellers.

Some celebrated Jewish holidays alone, reading religious material and engaging in private prayers.<sup>38</sup> In these solitary moments of religious celebration, Jewish migrants often recalled memories of home and family in their diaries, expressing feelings of homesickness that worked to shrink imperial distances between families, as Laura

---

<sup>35</sup> *Encyclopaedia Judaica*, s.v. ‘Sabbath’.

<sup>36</sup> The National Library of New Zealand, Ring, *Transcript Diary of My Voyage from London to Wellington*, 33.

<sup>37</sup> ‘The Great Britain’, *Jewish Chronicle*, 23 Sept. 1853, 406/404.

<sup>38</sup> The State Library of Victoria, Levi, *Diary*, 63, 83.

Ishiguro has demonstrated.<sup>39</sup> While Ishiguro's argument pertained to letters, it can be applied to ship diaries, many of which were later sent home to loved ones and therefore acted in a similar capacity. Reminiscences shared through journals produced a space in which those separated were imagined as together, working to re-confirm belonging to families and communities as well as to the faith and rituals they were articulated through. Alongside religious holidays, Jewish passengers also observed a range of Jewish dietary laws and practices.

Jewish passengers often kept the laws of *kashrut* (kosher food practices) and fasted for specific holidays, requirements that became increasingly difficult to observe as the voyage progressed. In the ship board diary of Solomon Joseph, who sailed on the *Morning Star* from Liverpool to Melbourne in 1859, Joseph noted that he fasted for Tisha B'Av (the Ninth of Av).<sup>40</sup> On Tisha B'Av, a fast is held to commemorate the destruction of the First Temple by the Babylonians and the Second Temple by the Romans.<sup>41</sup> Joseph did not provide many details concerning his fast, only stating that he had found it "trying".<sup>42</sup> The confined space of the ship, coupled with the hot weather and the continued provision of poor food leading up to the fasting may have exasperated Joseph's attempt to fast. As difficult as fasting was on board, ensuring an adequate supply of appropriate foodstuff could be just as challenging as Jewish migrants sought to maintain *kashrut* against limited provisions and unsympathetic passengers. The diary of Joseph Sams, who sailed from Gravesend, England to Melbourne in 1874, identified another passenger on board as Jewish, David Benjamin. As two young men on a long and often boring sea voyage, they spent considerable time together, holding long talks in their cabins and playing pranks. On one occasion, Sams placed pork rind in Benjamin's breakfast, which Benjamin then refused to eat, declaring it as no longer kosher.<sup>43</sup> Pork is prohibited under *kashrut* as the animal does not chew its cud. The steward had provided Benjamin his breakfast, which was usually served in his cabin, an attempt possibly to ensure no other migrants tampered with the food. Even when kosher diets were arranged on board, Jewish passengers could experience additional difficulties in keeping *kashrut* as they contended with the bias or ignorance of other migrants.

---

<sup>39</sup> Laura Mitsuyo Ishiguro, 'Relative Distances: Family and Empire between Britain, British Columbia and India 1858-1901', Ph.D. thesis (University College London, 2011), 93.

<sup>40</sup> *Encyclopaedia Judaica*, s.v. 'Passover'.

<sup>41</sup> *Encyclopaedia Judaica*, s.v. 'Av, The Ninth of'.

<sup>42</sup> The State Library of Victoria, Solomon Joseph, *Jews in Australia: Manuscript, Photocopies, Photographs- Shipboard Diary of Solomon Joseph, 1859*, 1859, MS 8553, 10.

<sup>43</sup> Joseph Sams, *The Diary of Joseph Sams: An Emigrant in the 'Northumberland'*, 1874 (London: Her Majesty's Stationery Office, 1982), 48.

Jewish transatlantic passengers could request provisions of bread and herrings as an alternative to the usual shipboard diet, which was often filled with pork-based products or puddings.<sup>44</sup> To supplement their rations, Jewish passengers could bring their own supply of kosher foods. Self-supplying kosher reserves for the shorter voyage to America was certainly achievable; however, for migrants undertaking the three-month journey to Australia or New Zealand it would have almost been impossible. The rough seas encountered during voyages, the extremes of weather, and the theft of food meant that even if passengers had a complete supply at the beginning of the journey, there was no guarantee their food would last. As a result, Jewish migrants may have made difficult decisions concerning their food consumption that Jews travelling to America did not. Whilst negotiating food practices on board, Jewish passengers could also face discrimination from other passengers who felt uncomfortable with noticeable differences.

Some passengers could encounter prejudice and discrimination during sea voyages, particularly if these migrants were from a minority group or were Irish Catholics.<sup>45</sup> Following a long tradition of anti-Catholicism in England, Catholic migrants were often a target of discrimination, resulting in a number of fights and disputes on board.<sup>46</sup> When M.P. O'Shea, an Irish Catholic, sailed in 1857, he recorded repeated instances in his ship diary of prejudice from Protestants, noting in one entry "a great hubbub in the evening in consequence of an Englishman having mocked the Irish when saying the Rosary".<sup>47</sup> While migrants may have shared an overarching identity as British, perceived differences and prejudices remained.<sup>48</sup> Jewish migrants were at times the target of discrimination, though for very different reasons to Irish Catholics. In his examination of Christianity and sea voyages, Rowan Strong admitted that identifying the precise nature of this prejudice against Jews was difficult due to the limited information provided in ship diaries. As Strong noted, "Jews were a target for Christian prejudice, though whether this was a racial antisemitism, or a religious anti-Judaism ... is not clear".<sup>49</sup> Most likely, the

---

<sup>44</sup> Evans, 'Indirect Passage from Europe Transmigration', 71.

<sup>45</sup> Strong, *Victorian Christianity and Emigrant Voyages*, 110; Marjorie Morgan, *National Identities and Travel in Victorian Britain* (New York: Palgrave, 2001), 63.

<sup>46</sup> See Morgan, *National Identities and Travel*, 109.

<sup>47</sup> Museum Victoria, O'Shea, *Diary*, 7-8, 46, 47.

<sup>48</sup> English Protestant discrimination towards Irish Catholicism has a long and intricate history. For more on the history of Catholic discrimination in Britain, see Donald M. MacRaild, *The Irish Diaspora in Britain, 1750- 1939* (Hampshire, England: Palgrave Macmillan, 2011), 161-183; Michael A. Mullett, *Catholics in Britain and Ireland, 1558-1829* (London: Macmillan, 1998); Roger Swift and Sheridan Gilley (eds.), *The Irish in Britain, 1815- 1939* (Totowa, New Jersey: Rowman & Littlefield, 1989).

<sup>49</sup> Strong, *Victorian Christianity and Emigrant Voyages*, 165.



prejudice experienced by Jews included degrees of both, with passengers drawing from older ideas of anti-Judaism while also incorporating emerging ideas of racial distinction. Discrimination and racial stereotypes against Jews were transported onto ships from the land to the sea, finding expression in a smaller, more liminal space.

Jewish migrants and crew experienced prejudice that shaped their shipboard life, leading to reflections on their faith, identities, and positions on board. The impact of this intolerance was significant, even for passengers who witnessed rather than directly experienced this discrimination, as was the case for Leopold Judell. Born in 1848, Leopold Judell was the youngest son of a prominent merchant in Altona, Schleswig-Holstein (Germany). In 1870, he sailed from Hamburg to London and there took a ship to Adelaide, South Australia, occupying the second-class cabin. On boarding the *City of Adelaide*, a Christian Missionary presented Judell with Christian religious texts, which he refused to accept, stating that it was not his religion. Judell described this act as having “shown [him]self” to be Jewish.<sup>50</sup> Research undertaken by Rowan Strong asserted that interactions between Jews and Anglican chaplains held an element of proselytism, most often in the form of pressure to accept Christian bibles.<sup>51</sup> While Strong considered the viewpoint of chaplains, arguing that such encounters were not always layered with a sense of Christian superiority, Judell’s situation revealed the emotional and social impact such attempts could have on Jewish passengers who could agonise over such displays.<sup>52</sup>

Judell also noticed that he was not the only Jewish passenger on board. The second steward, Mr Lyon, his wife and two children, were also Jewish and sailed in the same cabin class as Judell. At the beginning of the voyage, Mrs Lyon discussed her family’s identity with Judell and asked him to keep their Jewish faith a secret, though Judell noted that he could easily determine that they were Jewish “at first glance”.<sup>53</sup> The Lyon’s attempt to conceal their Jewish identity follows a centuries old practice in which individuals or groups hid their Jewish faith as a means to escape discrimination and persecution.<sup>54</sup> This strategy proved ineffective in shielding the Lyons from rebuke.

---

<sup>50</sup> The State Library of South Australia, Judell, *Diary*, 8.

<sup>51</sup> Strong, *Victorian Christianity and Emigrant Voyages*, 68.

<sup>52</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>53</sup> The State Library of South Australia, Judell, *Diary*, 8.

<sup>54</sup> This is often referred to as Crypto-Judaism, persons who remained faithful to Judaism while they practiced another religion which was forced upon them. In such instances, revealing their Jewish faith would have often resulted in persecution and discrimination. *Encyclopaedia Judaica*, s.v. ‘Crypto-Jews’.

During the journey, the Lyons family came into increasing conflict with other passengers. Arguments among migrants were a common occurrence as close contact for extended periods with others often caused discontent.<sup>55</sup> What was uncommon, however, was for this discord to last over extensive periods, as it did for the Lyons. This quarrel worsened over the voyage and eventually included the whole cabin class, even Judell, who initially tried to distance himself from this conflict. While Judell could not directly ascertain the reasons for the arguments, he is clear on why he believed they intensified. On reflecting upon an incident, Judell observed,

Lyon [the wife] is a quarrelsome, common person. It is even worse because the Lyons are Jews. As a result the passengers have even more against them. I regret that I revealed myself to be one too.<sup>56</sup>

For Judell, there was a clear connection between a Jewish identity and the conflict experienced by the Lyon family, though the negative inferences made by the other passengers are unknown. Judell was apprehensive about this link, frequently returning to the subject even once the Lyons were removed from the cabin class, indicating that this was a continuing source of concern.<sup>57</sup> While Judell enjoyed cordial relations with the other passengers, setting the table for dinner and engaging in conversation, he also often referred to time he spent alone, describing himself in one entry as being a “loner” on board.<sup>58</sup> The incident with the Lyons likely caused Judell to consider his own identifications on board as well as his position in relation to the other passengers, leading to a heightened consciousness of his actions for the rest of the journey.

Experiences of discrimination could remind Jewish passengers of their perceived difference, becoming a means through which boundaries were maintained rather than broken down. These boundaries were permeable and contentious as behaviour varied on board. While shipboard encounters could be expressions of bias and intolerance, they also included moments of learning and interest.

### **‘Clergyman Walking the Decks’: Contact and Encounter on the Seas**

---

<sup>55</sup> For examples, see Museum Victoria, Dutton, *Diary*; The National Library of Australia, Annie Gratton, *Diary, 1858 June 5-Sept. 18*, 1858, NLA MS 3304, in The National Library of Australia [Online Database], accessed 16 May 2018; Museum Victoria, O’Shea, *Diary*; The National Library of New Zealand, Ring, *Transcript Diary of My Voyage from London to Wellington*. Also see, Curtin, ‘Gentility Afloat’, 639.

<sup>56</sup> The State Library of South Australia, Judell, *Diary*, 14.

<sup>57</sup> *Ibid.* 16, 17, 18, 20.

<sup>58</sup> *Ibid.* 20, 10, 26, 21.

Ship voyages entailed intense and protracted contact with different religions as migrants continued to pray, worship, and study on board, facilitating encounters that had the potential to shape understandings of Britishness and faith. This contact with the religious practices of others was hard to avoid on the limited space of ships. Sailing to Australia in 1851, Protestant Annie Gratton recounted in her diary the multiple and simultaneous practices that occurred within the ship space, a phenomenon she found to be comical. As Gratton wrote,

it is very amusing to see the different groups assembling for prayers. As we have no fixed prayers we all have our own, the Catholics in one part, the Methodists in another and the Protestants ... whilst those who profess no religion talk laugh sing and make much noise as ever they can to annoy us.<sup>59</sup>

While religious separation could occur, the lack of space meant that passengers heard and learnt about the practices of other migrants. On ships, spaces merged to provide an arena in which several opposing activities could occur simultaneously, turning them into what Michael Foucault termed as heterotopia spaces.<sup>60</sup> The combination of these incompatible spaces into heterotopias, of which the ship was Foucault's ideal example, meant that Jewish travellers often came into closer contact with Christianity. British Jews were likely to be already familiar with Protestant and Catholic society; however, ship voyages provided the opportunity to witness different Christian faiths more directly and often in a more intimate setting, an opportunity that arose even before ships had set sail.

Ship ports and docks were places saturated with the religious, where various services, sermons, and rituals took place before passengers sailed. Clergymen and ministers from various, mostly Christian, faiths often roamed the ports, as did members from associations such as the Society for Promotion of Christian Knowledge, which hoped to disseminate religious material and gain Jewish converts.<sup>61</sup> Roving salesmen also provided fearful travellers with the opportunity to purchase religious items and books for the journey ahead. Before their departure, the single Catholic women under matron Protestant Mary Armstrong's care participated in a Mass, where they "gave all they [sic] money they had for holy water and holy councils and a Rosary".<sup>62</sup> Religious items and sermons offered passengers some comfort for the journey ahead; however, this was an industry

---

<sup>59</sup> The National Library of Australia, Gratton, *Diary, 1858 June 5-Sept. 18*, 8.

<sup>60</sup> Michel Foucault, 'Of Other Space: Utopias and Heterotopias', *Architecture /Mouvement/ Continuité*, 16/1 (1967), 6.

<sup>61</sup> Strong, *Victorian Christianity and Emigrant Voyages*, 1, 13.

<sup>62</sup> Australian National Maritime Museum, Armstrong, *Diary of Mary Armstrong*, 3.

open to exploitation. Other passengers viewed the presence of such clergymen and salesmen more favourably than Mary Armstrong, who maintained a sense of judgemental suspicion common amongst Protestants regarding the perceived idolatrous attachment of Catholics to objects other than the bible.<sup>63</sup>

While waiting on the deck for other passengers to board, Solomon Joseph, who was discussed earlier, discerned that a “Clergyman [was] walking the decks- general idea that he is to go with us: not so”.<sup>64</sup> Instead, the clergyman declared that he would hold a service before the ship departed. Psalm singing ensued, as did a long sermon on the text “Go Boldly unto the Lord”.<sup>65</sup> Afterwards, the clergyman announced his intention to publish the sermon and that “he would be ready to take the address of friends that we desired sending them to”, an offer Joseph readily accepted.<sup>66</sup> While Joseph was born in England and had likely encountered Christianity before, his migration had placed him on the outskirts of a Christian service, bringing him closer to these practices. His family was also brought into closer contact; they may have been quite surprised to find the pamphlet among their letters. The pamphlet may indicate that this type of contact was an expected part of such a voyage. Passengers may have understood that sailing on British ships entailed a degree of novel exchange with others and therefore this pamphlet may have taken on the status of a souvenir. Sailing to become a settler in a British colonial destination required observing, engaging in, and even being a peripheral part of Christian practices, a process of witnessing that had the potential to shape understandings of the self.

Interfaith observation could have an important impact on Jews as they attempted to comprehend and place their experiences within larger narratives of the self and their imperial journey. Leopold Judell, who was introduced earlier, excused himself from attending the Church of England worship on board, although there was at least one instance in which he witnessed a service. As he wrote in his diary, “divine service took place today in the evening. I listened to it from outside. It was most solemn. The hymns were accompanied on the piano”.<sup>67</sup> It is highly unlikely that this contact with the Church of England would have occurred in Altona, a German centre of Jewish life at the time,

---

<sup>63</sup> Timothy Willem Jones, ‘Introduction’, in Timothy Willem Jones and Lucinda Matthews-Jones (eds.), *Material Religion in Modern Britain: The Spirit of Things* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2015), 3.

<sup>64</sup> The State Library of Victoria, Joseph, *Jews in Australia*, 2.

<sup>65</sup> Ibid.

<sup>66</sup> Ibid.

<sup>67</sup> The State Library of South Australia, Judell, *Diary*, 17.

although Judell may have encountered Catholicism and/or Lutheranism.<sup>68</sup> Through his voyage, Judell was provided with the opportunity to learn about Christian practices, to shape his ideas and conceptions of how these migrants worshiped and what this meant. Scholar Gabriel Ricci argued that when people travelled, they engaged in processes of connection making and social adjustment, which included simple acts of familiarisation.<sup>69</sup> In such instances, the traveller can appear as a stranger and become disorientated, requiring the person to make sense of their surroundings and experiences.<sup>70</sup> Judell's position outside the cabin reflects his peripheral place, almost as an outsider, which may have promoted a consideration of his relations to the current setting and the people who populated this space. If diaries acted to re-orientate passengers, as discussed previously, then the entry written by Judell on the service may indicate that he had attempted to rework his understandings and conceptions, possibly even his eroded sense of self, through this interfaith experience. For most Jewish passengers, this type of exchange was unavoidable.

Christian practices occurred frequently on ships, providing Jewish passengers with multiple and recurring opportunities to encounter various Christian denominations over the long voyage. During her journey from England to Melbourne in 1874, Protestant Ally Heathcote noted in her diary how Christian religious activities were held every day; on Sunday alone there was a service, a bible class, and a bible meeting.<sup>71</sup> Contemporary ideas abounded on how the 'true' Christian emigrant devised and kept uplifting rules for themselves throughout the journey, one of which included the improving use of their free time on board.<sup>72</sup> Passengers who did not sail under emigration schemes seem to have maintained a similar ethos, using the lengthy periods of free time to engage in religious devotion and study. On British ships, services tended to be in the Church of England tradition, though worship for other faiths, usually Catholicism and Methodism, could be organised if a sufficiently large number of migrants were on board.<sup>73</sup>

---

<sup>68</sup> *Encyclopaedia Judaica*, s.v. 'Altona'.

<sup>69</sup> Gabriel Ricci, 'Introduction', in Gabriel Ricci (ed.), *Travel, Tourism, and Identity* (New Jersey: Transaction Publishers, 2015), vii.

<sup>70</sup> Ibid.

<sup>71</sup> Museums Victoria, Heathcote, *Diary*, 16.

<sup>72</sup> Strong, *Victorian Christianity and Emigrant Voyages*, 91.

<sup>73</sup> See Museum Victoria, Dutton, *Diary*; Australian National Maritime Museum, Armstrong, *Diary of Mary Armstrong*; The National Library of Australia, Gratton, *Diary, 1858 June 5-Sept. 18*; Museum Victoria, O'Shea, *Diary*; The State Library of Victoria, Laver, *Diary, 1859 July-1859 September*; The State Library of Victoria, Davis, *Diary*.

For Jews such as Judell, Christian forms of worship could be more easily observed, a form of religious contact that did not require movement into a consecrated Christian space as none existed on board.<sup>74</sup> Most of the journals written by Jewish passengers noted that they excused themselves from ship-board services, though not all of these diaries discuss or even mention on board services. Augusta Jacobs, a Jewish woman born in Poland, made no mention of Christian worship in the published diary extracts that accompanied her memoirs on her husband, Hyman Levinson.<sup>75</sup> Though Jewish migrants excused themselves from Christian services, it should not be assumed that they did not witness Christian worship, an assumption which the Lived Religion approach contested with the experiences of Jewish passengers revealing close interfaith encounters occurred. Whilst the ship space could require Jewish passengers to observe the worship and rituals of Christian migrants, Jews were also provided with opportunities to practice and confirm their class and imperial identifications.

### **‘A Very Different Appearance to Our English’: Confirming Britishness and Class**

Throughout the voyage, Jewish passengers negotiated their ideas of a shared British identity and their attachment to a larger British, at times more narrow English, group. While this British identification came naturally to some, the nature of sea voyages and the ship space further eased this practicing of identifications. Historian Marjorie Morgan argued that as people travelled, they stepped outside their routine cultural and social milieu, which worked to put “one’s own identity temporarily in limbo by estranging one from oneself”.<sup>76</sup> In doing so, Morgan attested, travellers became “more free to fashion any identity he or she chooses”.<sup>77</sup> Away from family and communal institutions, Jewish passengers were disconnected in ways that provided the possibility to redefine and strengthen their felt identifications through encounters with both fellow passengers and the stigmatised Other.

As Jewish passengers sailed to colonial destinations, ideas of gentility and social conduct influenced their experiences of voyages, particularly for women. British middle-class social and cultural mores imbued the interactions of passengers, becoming important

---

<sup>74</sup> Offer, ‘High Holidays on the High Seas’, 13.

<sup>75</sup> Augusta Jacobs, *Hyman Levinson 1833-1905: A Record of Some Memories* (England: Knapp Drewett & Sons Ltd., 1920).

<sup>76</sup> Morgan, *National Identities and Travel*, 10.

<sup>77</sup> Ibid.

markers of inclusion and identification that ship spaces tended to intensify rather than diminish.<sup>78</sup> Sailing to Australia in 1853, Anglican Annie Henning frequently noted in her diary her attempts to maintain respectability on board. Henning travelled in first-class cabins, enjoying dinner at the captain's table, a luxury that may have contributed to her heightened sense of class maintenance.<sup>79</sup> These efforts included wearing formal dresses to dinner, a fashion feat which only Henning seemed to indulge in at first, writing, "until yesterday, I was the only lady on board who wears a low dress for dinner".<sup>80</sup> Henning's persistence affected the other passengers, including Mrs Cohen, a young Jewish passenger. Mrs Cohen did not pack a low-cut dress and instead altered a garment to wear to dinner after several other ladies in the first-class cabins adopted the practice.<sup>81</sup> As the first-class ladies increasingly wore low dresses to dinner, Mrs Cohen may have felt excluded, her high neck dresses marking her as being outside the social boundary Henning was steadfastly maintaining on board. As Leonore Davidoff and Catherine Hall demonstrated in *Family Fortunes*, dress in nineteenth century Britain was an important social and class marker for women.<sup>82</sup> Low cut dresses, however, were attributed contested meanings. While etiquette manuals from the 1840s decried low necklines as presenting a moral danger and signs of indecorum, fashionable ladies continued to wear them in the evenings.<sup>83</sup> The connection between dress and identity for Jews was a particularly fraught link.

Historically, dress has often acted as a marker of oppression and segregation for Jews as they were forced to wear specific clothing.<sup>84</sup> As these repressive laws were lifted from the Early Modern Period and as Jews increasingly migrated to Britain and America, Jewish migrants began to adopt the clothing of their non-Jewish neighbours. Mrs Cohen likely identified as middle-class and adopted the low-cut dress to affirm rather than establish her class status, to demonstrate and practice through an external marker her class inclusion and identity. Throughout the sea voyage, Jewish passengers confirmed their social and cultural attachments, using perceivable markers to demonstrate their communal and collective place in a specific middle-class group. For other Jewish passengers, connections to Britishness occurred through comparison and racialised discourses.

---

<sup>78</sup> Curtin, 'Gentility Afloat', 634-652.

<sup>79</sup> Joan Thomas, *The Sea Journals of Annie and Amy Henning* (Sydney: Halstead Press, 1984), 13.

<sup>80</sup> Ibid. 20.

<sup>81</sup> Ibid.

<sup>82</sup> Davidoff and Hall, *Family Fortunes*, 398.

<sup>83</sup> Curtin, 'Gentility Afloat', 644.

<sup>84</sup> See Eric Silverman, *A Cultural History of Jewish Dress* (London: Bloomsbury Academic, 2013).

Jewish migrants could draw upon specific imperial and national dialogues to frame and confirm identities in transit. Nathaniel Levi, the son of a manufacturer, was born in 1830 in Liverpool, England. Levi arrived at Hobson's Bay, Victoria, in 1854 on the *Matilda Wattenbach*, travelling in the first-class cabins.<sup>85</sup> Soon after setting sail, the *Matilda Wattenbach* was caught in a violent storm and sustained substantial damage, which required the ship to dock at Portugal to undertake repairs. While docked, the passengers toured parts of Portugal, visiting the local landmarks and attractions. As Levi engaged in sightseeing, he frequently referred to English practices, places, and persons, such as Lord Bryon, with the English often portrayed as superior. In one journal entry, Levi noted, "the place is guarded by soldiers which have a very different appearance to our English [soldiers]", further claiming that "one Englishman could thrash half a dozen of them".<sup>86</sup> Levi repeatedly referred to the English, England, and the British, though the last term appeared less often. These designations were used interchangeably by Levi in his diary, which was a common practice for British passengers who adopted a variety of terms to refer to peoples from the United Kingdom that differed by nationality and location.<sup>87</sup>

The process of imagining larger national and international identities was highly ambiguous and contradictory for British travellers which resulted in their varied use of terms.<sup>88</sup> Levi's reference to England and the English was also the result of felt personal ideas. In her research on empire and travel, Marjorie Morgan has shown how "expressions infused with affection, emotion or patriotism almost always inspired the use of 'England' and 'English' if the travellers were from England".<sup>89</sup> The nationalistic and imperial terms used by Levi were layered with emotional and loyal sentiments that spoke of deeper understandings of identity. Englishness, and its narrower sense of race and civility, suffused Levi's voyage experiences and his self-conceptions through his encounters and portrayal of the local community.

When Levi referred to or used 'English', he relied upon perceived racial hierarchies and ideas that perpetuated unequal power relations and worked to affirm his sense of

---

<sup>85</sup> The State Library of Victoria, Levi, *Diary*.

<sup>86</sup> *Ibid.* 20-21.

<sup>87</sup> Morgan, *National Identities and Travel*, 196.

<sup>88</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>89</sup> *Ibid.* 207.



Englishness through the negation of a negative Jewish stereotype. Englishness by the mid-nineteenth century developed to become more closed and xenophobic as racialised discourses of the nation predominated.<sup>90</sup> While scholars tend to agree that Englishness and Britishness were not the same, they were deeply interrelated terms that have a complex relationship.<sup>91</sup> For Levi, English was used as a means to denote superiority to the local Portuguese people and their habits. Though Levi noted that the local Portuguese population wore handsome clothes, he described them as “an indolent race of people” and as a “timid race”, who could not compete with the achievements and strength of the English and the British Empire.<sup>92</sup> Levi described the Portuguese women as “pretty good looking rather dark complexion”, while the men were “mostly of an effeminate appearance ... the principle portion as though from Jewish descent”.<sup>93</sup> This note on their Jewish descent recalls Levi’s own ethnicity and faith, but rather than forming as a means of similarity between himself and the Portuguese, it acted as means of negative transfer, recalling an old stereotype of Jewish males.

The discriminatory stereotype of the feminised Jewish male in European history stretches back into the Middle Ages and acted as a means of disempowerment.<sup>94</sup> During the nineteenth century, developing nationalist discourses feminised Jewish males by claiming that their bodies were too weak for them to act as soldiers or citizens.<sup>95</sup> The effeminate stereotype ascribed to Portuguese men directly contrasted with Levi’s self-portrayal in the ship diary as having “never looked better than at this time”.<sup>96</sup> This contrast of the feminine male against the prime, youthful male body defined the borders of Levi’s identity. Exchanges and observations made through travel impacted personal and imperial identities by providing people with the opportunity to navigate the boundaries of an increasingly changing world. Levi’s diary also suggested a more complicated phenomenon than Othering for Jewish passengers. This process acted to

---

<sup>90</sup> David Higgins, *Romantic Englishness: Local, National, and Global Selves, 1780- 1850* (Hampshire: Palgrave Macmillan, 2014), 11-12.

<sup>91</sup> See Colley, ‘Britishness and Otherness’; Eric Evans, ‘Englishness and Britishness: National Identities, c.1790- 1870’, in Alexander Grant and Keith J. Stringer (eds.), *Uniting the Kingdom? The Making of British History* (London: Routledge, 2003); Higgins, *Romantic Englishness*.

<sup>92</sup> The State Library of Victoria, Levi, *Diary*, 42.

<sup>93</sup> Ibid.

<sup>94</sup> Sarah Imhoff, ‘The Myth of American Jewish Feminization’, *Jewish Social Studies*, 21/3 (2016), 129. For more on the history of the feminised Jewish male, see Daniel Boyarin, *Unheroic Conduct: The Rise of Heterosexuality and the Invention of the Jewish Man* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1997); Daniel Boyarin, ‘Homotopia: The Feminized Jewish Man and the Lives of Women in Late Antiquity’, *Differences: A Journal of Feminist Cultural Studies*, 7/2 (1995), 41-82.

<sup>95</sup> Gilman, *The Jew’s Body*, 63, 99; Imhoff, ‘The Myth of American Jewish Feminization’, 129.

<sup>96</sup> The State Library of Victoria, Levi, *Diary*, 21.

distance Levi from harmful and negative stereotypes that may have barred access to an English or British identity. Alongside this racialised repositioning, Levi also defined his English identity through his abhorrence of Catholicism.

As Levi toured the Portuguese countryside, he encountered Catholicism, the established religion of Portugal, a faith and religiosity that confirmed his English preferences. During his stay, Levi visited a local Catholic church, as most British travellers did, a sojourn into unfamiliar religious territory that shocked him. Levi noted in his journal how he “saw some extraordinary things done in church such as paying money and kissing the toes of an image of the Christian Saviour, kissing other bronze images of the Saints ... This could hardly be believed if not witnessed”.<sup>97</sup> Levi’s reaction, and his focus on money and iconolatry rather than on Jesus, who Jews do not view as the messiah, recalls English Protestant abhorrence towards the perceived romanticism and idolatry of Catholicism. Historian Marjorie Morgan has described the contact that occurred between Catholic Europe and the British Protestant traveller, who viewed Catholic worship as “very strange, more like commercial transactions, theatrical performances, and operatic evenings than religious experiences”.<sup>98</sup> The imagery present within Catholic churches in the form of statues, dolls, paintings, and shrines was particularly shocking to Protestants, as well as to other faiths, as Levi’s response demonstrated. Pervasive English ideas of Protestant understandings of rationality clearly influenced Levi’s ideas of Catholic worship, confirming his bias and attachment to Judaism and Englishness, which in turn strengthened his British identification.

In transatlantic and imperial encounters, Jewish migrants articulated and defined their class and imperial identifications, developing a sense of inclusion through their use of markers, symbols, and ideas that relied on their shared nature, often against a perceivable Other. Jewish passengers could utilise processes of Othering to focus not on their own differences, but on those of others. This interplay was complex, at times relying on clearly understood conceptions of the racial and religious Other to shape inclusive boundaries that affirmed the British or English identification of Jews. In this way, Jews contributed towards the formation and maintenance of Britishness, which acted, as Meyer’s concept of aesthetic formations argues, to practice and imagine larger social and imperial communities which they could situate themselves within. The understandings

---

<sup>97</sup> Ibid. 37-38.

<sup>98</sup> Morgan, *National Identities and Travel*, 93.

formed about and through ideas of Britishness, as well as the links and attachments to this identity, were long-lasting, reshaping identifications that continued as Jewish migrants settled on colonised land.

As Jewish passengers sailed to the distant colonial settlements of Australia, they negotiated their social, religious, and imperial identifications. Sea voyages were unique periods of migration for Jewish migrants, who adapted their religious observances and learnt of British or Christian practices whilst navigating prejudice and encountering imperial Others. As a result, ship journeys could require Jewish travellers to articulate and practice both their developing middle-class identification and their Britishness (for some their narrower sense of Englishness). In this chapter, identity boundaries in transit proved to be more permeable for Jewish passengers as power and access shifted in different directions for Jewish migrants, who at times wielded more power and at others had less. These voyages acted to perpetuate the 'in-between' status of Jews, that could alternate to either confirm or deny their imperial identifications. By including Jewish experiences, a more nuanced history emerges on imperial voyages and British identities in the nineteenth century, revealing how this identity formed through more nuanced means of articulating similarity and difference than ascribed by Othering. Once they reached colonised soil, Jewish migrants continued to negotiate their class and British identifiable boundaries. The following chapter presents a closer examination of Jewish communities and Hebrew congregations in Bendigo and Ballarat, revealing how these important institutions formed and thrived on the early goldfields.

## Chapter Two

### The Synagogue and Jewish Ministers: The Formation of Jewish Institutions on the Central Victorian Goldfields

Once Jewish migrants arrived in the Victorian colony, many travelled further inland to the goldfields of Bendigo and Ballarat. As Jews settled on the goldfields, they encountered the frontier setting, and in the process, negotiated their communal practices and Jewish institutions, as Benjamin Farjeon likely did. Born in 1838, Benjamin Farjeon grew up on the poor streets of Whitechapel in East London, a first-generation migrant of Orthodox Jewish parents, Jacob Farjeon and Dinah Levy, who operated a second-hand clothing business. Farjeon's daughter, Eleanor, later noted in a family biography that Judaism was observed with "absolute strictness" in Benjamin's childhood home, which led to discord between Farjeon and his father.<sup>1</sup> When matters came to a head in the early 1850s, Farjeon decided to sail to Australia. He arrived penniless in Melbourne and worked for a month before setting off for his great adventure on the Central Victorian Goldfields.<sup>2</sup> After Benjamin prospected for some time, his brother, Israel Farjeon, made his way to Australia and the two set up a business in Pall Mall, a major shopping precinct in Bendigo's central business district.<sup>3</sup> Settling into life on the goldfields, the brothers became part of the newly formed Bendigo Hebrew congregation, where they attended worship and joined the synagogue choir.<sup>4</sup> The Bendigo and Ballarat Jewish communities formed at a time when the character of the new goldfields society was emerging alongside a strong middle-class and British identification for Jews, both in Britain and the colonies. Such aspects defined the future trajectory of the Jewish institutions that settlers like Farjeon attended and contributed towards, and with it, significantly shaped colonial Jewish identities.

This chapter examines and contextualises the formation of Hebrew congregations and synagogues on the Central Victorian Goldfields, investigating how and why goldfields Jewish communities and congregations developed Anglo forms of Orthodox Judaism. The first section of the chapter discusses where Jewish settlers on the goldfields migrated from, their occupational pursuits whilst on the goldfields, the frontier setting, and the high

---

<sup>1</sup> Eleanor Farjeon, *A Nursery in the Nineties* (London: V. Gollancz, 1935), 26.

<sup>2</sup> Ibid. 30.

<sup>3</sup> 'Advertisement', *Bendigo Advertiser*, 29 Dec. 1855, 3. The advertisement is the store of the Farjeon Brothers called the Pall Mall Emporium.

<sup>4</sup> 'Opening of the Jewish Synagogue', *Bendigo Advertiser*, 14 Jul. 1856, 2.

mobility of Jews, detailing how these aspects impacted communities. The next section investigates the establishment of organised Hebrew congregations and the building of synagogues in Bendigo and Ballarat. In doing so, this section also analyses the impact of the goldfields setting on the performative and identifiable value of the synagogue space. The last section considers the role of the Jewish minister, whose altered function at the synagogue was connected to wider transformations in Judaism, both in Britain and Europe. This chapter will argue that from their formation, Hebrew congregations in Bendigo and Ballarat established significant social and British connections, with institutions becoming a means through which ideas of class, Britishness, and Jewishness were negotiated. The British and middle-class aspects of these Hebrew congregations were defined in part through the composition of the Jewish community.

### **From Britain and Europe to the Goldfields: Establishing a Jewish Community**

The majority of identified Jews on the Central Victorian Goldfields were born in the United Kingdom, mainly in England, with the second most significant group arriving from Central and Eastern Europe, mostly from Poland, Prussia, and Germany (Table 2.1). This data contrasts the statistical analysis undertaken by Sue Silberberg, who found that while those from the German provinces (including Prussia) comprised the largest non-English speaking population of Melbourne, they were only approximately eight per cent of the total Jewish community.<sup>5</sup> Among those who could be identified, Jews born in either Poland, Prussia, and Germany constituted nearly 37 per cent, meaning that Eastern and Central European Jews were attracted in greater numbers to the goldfields than to colonial cities. For those born in Europe, a minority had spent time in England before migrating to the colonies, and like those born in Britain, mainly resided in industrial, commercial, or port towns, revealing the highly urbanised composition of goldfields Jews (Table 2.2).

This initial migration to England meant that a small portion of European-born Jews were exposed to and possibly began acculturating socially and culturally to British or English ideals before arriving in Australia (Table 2.2). The prevalence of British Jews, who were either born in England or former residents, meant that most Jews on the Central Victorian Goldfields arrived from communities with significant British attachments. From about the mid-nineteenth century, Anglo-Jewry began to include British identifications, becoming noticeably different from other diaspora communities in terms of ideas,

---

<sup>5</sup> Silberberg, 'A Networked Community' (2015), 13.

practices, and felt loyalties.<sup>6</sup> This British dominance in the early configuration of the community, as well as their continued ascendancy, provided the foundation needed for Anglo forms of Judaism to develop and persist through the rest of the century. The goldfields Jewish communities also comprised a range of familial relationships, complicating communal and religious ties.

Table 2.1: Country of Birth for Identified Jews residing on the Central Victorian Goldfields between 1851 and 1901

<b>Place of Birth</b>	<b>Number Identified</b>
Australia	55
Britain	131
Poland	52
Prussia	52
Germany	24
Other European Countries	10
Other	3
<b>Total</b>	<b>327</b>

Source: Births, Deaths, and Marriages Victoria; *Bendigo Advertiser*; *Ballarat Star*

Table 2.2: Place of Birth Compared to Last Place of Residence in Britain for Identified Jews on the Central Victorian Goldfields between 1851 and 1901

---

<sup>6</sup> Endelman, *The Jews of Britain*, 67; Rubinstein, 'The Decline and Fall of Anglo-Jewry?', 13.

Last Place of Residence in Britain	Place of Birth			
	Britain	Germany	Poland	Prussia
	London and Home Counties	67	4	5
	Liverpool	1	4	3
	North West of England	1	2	
	North East of England	1	6	
	South East of England	5		
	South West of England	7		
	West Midlands		2	
	East Midlands	1		
	Other	2		2

Source: Births, Deaths, and Marriages Victoria; Census Returns of England and Wales 1841, 1851, 1861, and 1871; *Bendigo Advertiser*; *Ballarat Star*

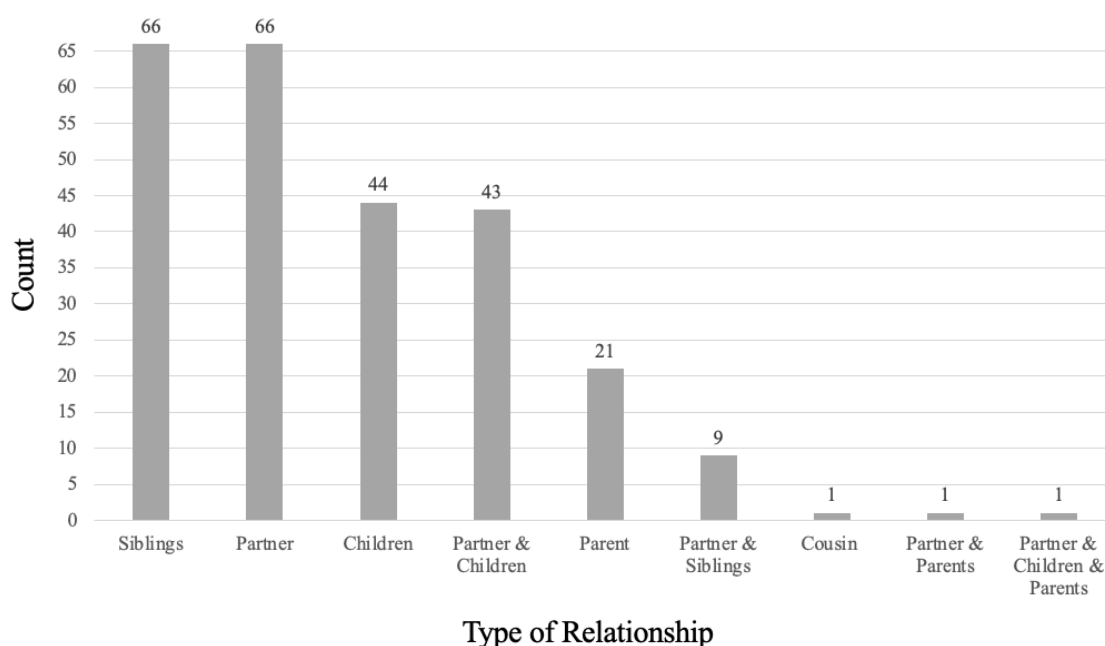
Note: The groupings for the last place of residence in Britain used in Table 2.2 were based on the regions of each town, or the Government Office Regions they are classified under, which are the highest tier of sub-national division in England.

Jewish migrants on the Central Victorian Goldfields demonstrated a strong preference for movement as a familial group, reflecting wider communal trends, which suggests that a wealth of family bonds existed on the early diggings.<sup>7</sup> Amongst identified Jews, just over 56 per cent of recorded individuals either travelled with or later followed siblings, parents, or partners to the colonies (Figure 2.1). The most frequent type of relations were siblings and partners, demonstrating the importance of the close ties that bound individuals together as well as suggesting a youthful composition of the community. Jews who were born in Britain, Poland, or Prussia demonstrated the strongest familial migration (Table 2.3). This chain migration meant that Jewish communities and congregations manifested additional ties; Jewish settlers were linked not only through a shared identity and religion, but also by familial bonds that became more complex as single individuals began to marry on the goldfields and in the colonies. Familial migration also provided some stability for Jewish migrants as these important relationships were transformed into colonial networks that provided necessary support and assistance. Whilst the composition of Jewish communities strongly supported Anglo forms of Judaism, this

<sup>7</sup> Charles Fahey and Alan Mayne, “‘All that Glitters...’: The Hidden History of Victoria’s Central Goldfields Region”, in Charles Fahey and Alan Mayne (eds.), *Gold Tailings: Forgotten Histories of Family and Community on the Central Victorian Goldfields* (Melbourne: Australian Scholarly Publishing, 2010), 30.

British predominance was further strengthened by the frontier setting of the early Central Victorian Goldfields.

Figure 2.1: Familial Migration to the Australian Colonies for Identified Jews on the Central Victorian Goldfields between 1851 and 1901



Source: Births, Deaths, and Marriages Victoria; *Bendigo Advertiser*; *Ballarat Star*

Table 2.3: Place of Birth for Identified Jews who engaged in Familial or Chain Migration between 1851 and 1901

Place of Birth	Count of Jews who engaged in Familial or Chain Migration
Britain	53
Poland	27
Prussia	25
Germany	9
Other European Countries	3
Other	1

Source: Births, Deaths, and Marriages Victoria; *Bendigo Advertiser*; *Ballarat Star*

The frontier setting of the Central Victorian Goldfields required additional adaptations to Jewish institutions and communities, changes that tended to strengthen British and



colonial connections. During the early 1850s, the goldfields of Bendigo and Ballarat were frontiers, places that fostered religious, economic, and social transformation. The term 'frontier' was coined by Frederick Jackson Turner, a concept developed with the American West in mind. First outlined in an address presented in 1893, Turner's frontier thesis claimed the American frontier as the birth place of democracy, American egalitarianism, and liberty, an influential ideal that shaped later histories.<sup>8</sup> More recently, scholars have critically re-examined Turner's thesis, some of whom have rejected the term as a useful means to understand the American West, whilst others have sought to add nuance to the subject.<sup>9</sup> Comparatively, a smaller body of literature also exists on Australian frontier experiences, which focuses on violence between white colonisers and Indigenous populations or on gender and religion.<sup>10</sup> A wealth of material on Judaism and American frontiers exists, revealing narratives of adaption and modification that interact with American notions of egalitarianism and manifest destiny.<sup>11</sup> The limited literature on the Australian colonies and Judaism reflects a similar process of adaption, yet defining the goldfields frontier can be difficult.<sup>12</sup> Frontiers were both transitional and translational,

---

<sup>8</sup> John B. Boles, 'Turner, the Frontier, and the Study of Religion in America', *Journal of the Early Republic*, 13/2 (1993), 206.

<sup>9</sup> For some of this extensive literature, see Patricia Nelson Limerick, *The Legacy of Conquest: The Unbroken Past of the American West* (New York: WW Norton & Company, 1988); Patricia Nelson Limerick and Richard White, *The Frontier in American Culture* (Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1994); Michael Steiner, 'From Frontier to Region: Frederick Jackson Turner and the New Western History', *The Pacific Historical Review*, 64/4 (1995), 479-501.

<sup>10</sup> See David Carment, 'The Wills Massacre of 1861: Aboriginal-European Conflict on the Colonial Australian Frontier', *Journal of Australian Studies*, 4/6 (1980), 49-55; Carey, 'Death, God and Linguistics'; John Connor, *The Australian Frontier Wars, 1788-1838* (Sydney: UNSW Press, 2002); Robert Foster, Amanda Nettelbeck, and Rick Hosking, *Fatal Collisions: The South Australian Frontier and the Violence of Memory* (Kent Town, South Australia: Wakefield Press, 2001); A. Dirk Moses (ed.), *Genocide and Settler Society: Frontier Violence and Stolen Indigenous Children in Australian History* (New York: Berghahn Books, 2004); Marilyn Lake, 'Frontier Feminism and the Marauding White Man: Australia, 1990s to 1940s', in Ruth Pierson and Nupur Chaudhuri (eds.), *Nation, Empire, Colony: Historicising Gender and Race* (Indiana: Indiana University Press, 1998); Henry Reynolds, *The Other Side of the Frontier: Aboriginal Resistance to the European Invasion of Australia* (New South Wales: University of New South Wales Press, 2006); Lynette Russell (ed.), *Colonial Frontiers: Indigenous-European Encounters in Settler Societies* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2017); Myrna Tonkinson, 'Sisterhood or Aboriginal Servitude? Black Women and White Women on the Australian Frontier', *Aboriginal History*, 12/1/2 (1988), 27-39.

<sup>11</sup> See Jeanne E. Abrams, *Jewish Women Pioneering the Frontier Trail: A History in the American West* (New York: New York University Press, 2006); Robert Scott Cline, 'Community Structure on the Urban Frontier: The Jews of Portland, Oregon, 1849-1887', M.A. thesis (Portland State University, 1982); Max I. Dimont, *The Jews in America* (New York: Simon and Schuster, 1978); Sander L. Gilman, *Jewish Frontier: Essay on Bodies, Histories, and Identities* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2003); Harriet Rochlin and Fred Rochlin, *Pioneer Jews: A New Life in the Far West* (New York: Mariner Books, 2000); Moses Rischin and John Livingston (ed.), *Jews of the American West* (Michigan: Wayne State University Press, 1991); Shari Rabin, *Jews on the Frontier: Religion and Mobility in Nineteenth Century America* (New York: New York University Press, 2017); I. Harold Sharfman, *Jews on the Frontier: An Account of Jewish Pioneers and Settlers in Early America* (Wisconsin: Pangloss Press, 1977); William Toll, 'Fraternalism and Community Structure on the Urban Frontier: The Jews of Portland, Oregon: A Case Study', *Pacific Historical Review*, 47/3 (1978), 369-403.

<sup>12</sup> For examples, see Rubinstein, *The Jews in Australia*; Rutland, *Edge of the Diaspora*; Rubinstein, *The Jews in Australia: A Thematic History*.

playing an important role in creating new identities through sexual interactions, exchange, and trade, most often between colonisers and colonised.<sup>13</sup> Placing the colonised in the goldfields context is more complicated.

Gold miners were not the first white Europeans to colonise the Bendigo and Ballarat areas as pastoralists first dispossessed and displaced the Traditional Owners long before the gold rushes.<sup>14</sup> This history, coupled with the early presence of regulation and the quick establishment of British institutions, means the goldfields were not frontiers in the usual sense of the term. Miners were, however, establishing an urban society inland which contained greater transformative potential and increased cross-cultural contact. As such, a more open definition of the frontier is needed. In her frequently cited book, *Imperial Eyes*, Mary Louise Pratt viewed frontiers as contact zones, emphasising frontier relations as being understood, “not in terms of separateness, but in terms of co-presence, interaction, interlocking understandings and practices, and often within radically asymmetrical relations of power”.<sup>15</sup> Contact zones were spaces where colonial culture was defined, articulated, and negotiated, leading to the (albeit uneven) hybridity of identities, practices, and ideas. Understanding the goldfields frontier as a shared contact zone emphasises the importance of exchange and interaction in shaping identifications whilst acknowledging uneven relationships of power, both of which significantly shaped goldfields Jewish communities and institutions.

---

<sup>13</sup> Barbara Bush, *Imperialism and Postcolonialism* (Oxon, England: Routledge, 2014), 116; Nigel Penn, ‘The Northern Cape Frontier Zone in South African Frontier Historiography’, in Lynette Russell (ed.), *Colonial Frontiers: Indigenous-European Encounters in Settler Societies* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2001), 27.

<sup>14</sup> For more literature on the early relations between the Traditional Owners and European settlers in colonial Victoria, see Bain Attwood, *The Good Country: The Djadja Wurrung, the Settlers and the Protectors* (Clayton, Victoria: Monash University Publishing, 2017); Robert Kenny, ‘Broken Treaty: Taungurung Responses to the Settler Revolution in Colonial Victoria’, in Kate Fullager and Michael A. McDonnell (eds.), *Facing Empire: Indigenous Experiences in a Revolutionary Age* (Baltimore, Maryland: John Hopkins University Press, 2018).

<sup>15</sup> Mary Louise Pratt, *Imperial Eyes: Travel Writing and Transculturation* (New York: Routledge, 2008), 8. Pratt’s work connects with a large body of literature which uses this concept of contact zones. The concept of ‘contact zones’ has generated a significant amount of study, both within and outside of Jewish Studies, which draws on Gloria Anzaldúa’s foundational book *Borderlands/La Frontera*. For some of this non-Jewish literature, see Gloria Anzaldúa, *Borderlands/La Frontera: The New Mestiza* (San Francisco: Spinsters, 1987); Matthew H. Edney, *Mapping an Empire: The Geographical Construction of British India, 1765-1843* (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1997); Inderpal Grewal, *Home and Harem: Nation, Gender, Empire and the Cultures of Travel* (London: Duke University Press, 1996); Ussama Makdisi, *The Culture of Sectarianism: Community, History, and Violence in Nineteenth-Century Ottoman Lebanon* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2000); Thomas A. Tweed, *Our Lady of the Exile: Diasporic Religion at a Cuban Catholic Shrine in Miami* (Oxford, England: Oxford University Press, 1997). For Jewish Studies literature drawing upon this idea, mainly with the diaspora, see Boyarin and Boyarin, ‘Diaspora: Generation and the Ground of Jewish Identity’; William Safran, ‘The Jewish Diaspora in a Comparative and Theoretical Perspective’, *Israel Studies*, 10/1 (2005), 36-60; Ben-Moshe and Segev, *Israel, the Diaspora and Jewish Identity*.

Jewish migrants experienced the frontier in both its physical and conceptual sense, as spaces at the margin of colonial settlement and as a contact zone. As a physical place, the goldfields frontier required Jews to delay, suspend, or adapt their religious observances and institutions, necessitating a certain type of religious permissiveness that influenced how certain religious markers were practiced, as Chapter Three expands upon. Conceptually, the increased interactions, laissez faire attitude, and greater social mobility facilitated by the goldfield frontier shaped Jewish religiosity and institutions in ways that reflected the evolving class and cultural ideas of Jews. For instance, it was common for Jews on the goldfields, particularly for men, to join a range of associations and committees, becoming an active and often visible part of society, as Benjamin and Israel Farjeon did. As the Farjeon brothers settled into Bendigo, they participated in a range of societies that increased their contact with British institutions and frameworks. Benjamin became the secretary of the W.E. Bachelor Brotherhood,<sup>16</sup> while Israel sat on the committee of the Mechanics Institute and was a member of the Bendigo Fire Brigade, an association Benjamin later joined as well.<sup>17</sup> Jewish men may have joined these societies to extend their economic contacts and positions, yet they also enlarged their social and communal networks beyond their religious community.

Through such means, Jews contributed to the processes which saw the quick establishment of British institutions and frameworks on the goldfields. As a result, Jewish settlers became deeply entangled within the social, communal, and economic fabric of goldfields societies. The frontier setting of the Central Victorian Goldfields encouraged processes of change to continue rather than become fixed or stagnant, which Jews utilised to become further integrated into colonial society. These social and communal interactions also spoke to the middle-class desires of Jewish individuals, aspects defined in part through the occupations of Jews on the goldfields.

Jewish settlers engaged in a range of occupations and professions on the Central Victorian Goldfields; however, the majority entered mercantile and commercial businesses or areas of skilled labour (Table 2.4). To better understand the labour of

---

<sup>16</sup> Little information could be gathered about the W. E. Bachelor Brotherhood. The group may have been a branch of the Freemasons, a form of 'secret' society which was popular on the goldfields amongst both Jewish and non-Jewish men.

<sup>17</sup> 'Advertising', *Bendigo Advertiser*, 12 Jan. 1857, 3; 'Mechanics Institute', *Bendigo Advertiser*, 17 Jul. 1856, 2; 'The Fire Brigade', *Bendigo Advertiser*, 12 Apr. 1860, 2.

identified Jews, this chapter has relied upon the guide on classifying occupations developed by Ann Larson.<sup>18</sup> Using the work of M.B. Katz, Larson developed a guide to conceptualise the occupations of Melbourne settlers in the second half of the nineteenth century. According to Larson's guide, there were six occupational categories: Professionals, Business, White-Collar, Skilled Manual, Semi-Skilled, and Labourer. While a broad group, Professionals refers to persons engaged in law and medicine as well as high ranking civil servants and the clergy, but also other professions such as teachers, reporters, and accountants. The Business group denotes proprietors of retailing, wholesale, or manufacturing concerns, though they could vary widely on the scale of their businesses. The White-collar group were modestly paid or commissioned employees, generally being clerks, salespeople, and agents. Skilled Manual refers to skilled trades and includes virtually all manual workers involved in some form of production, although persons with a skilled trade, such as watchmakers, could also own and operate businesses. The Semi-skilled group contains labour in which fewer skills were required such as hawking, while the last group, Labourers, refers to persons engaged in ill-defined manual work who did a range of heavy unskilled labour.

Most Jews on the goldfields congregated in smaller businesses and trades, in the Business or Skilled Manual group. Amongst goldfields Jews, pawnbrokers, storekeepers, and publicans were the most popular occupations, reflecting the commercial and business backgrounds of British and European Jewry.<sup>19</sup> Hawking was also common on the goldfields and was particularly prevalent in the 1850s and amongst those recently arrived, poor, or experiencing illness. Writing on peddlers in the American South, Hasia Diner argued that peddling was a common occupation among Jewish migrants as it was in some ways a familiar trade. While the Jewish peddlers of the New World may never have themselves peddled before, Diner noted, "they would have known in their immediate families and in their villages many peddlers whose experiences and skills they could draw on".<sup>20</sup> Jewish women could also participate in Victoria's booming gold rush economy,

---

<sup>18</sup> Ann Larson, 'Growing Up in Melbourne: Transitions to Adulthood in the Late Nineteenth Century', Ph.D. thesis (Australian National University, 1986), 225-239. Larson's thesis was later published as a book in 1994, becoming a well-known work in the field. The use of Larson's thesis rather than her book was a result of the 2020 COVID-19 shutdowns, when her thesis was able to be obtained online yet her book was not.

<sup>19</sup> Endelman, *The Jews of Britain*, 73; Silberberg, *A Networked Community* (2020), 22.

<sup>20</sup> Hasia R. Diner, 'Entering the Jewish Mainstream of Modern Jewish History: Peddlers and the American Jewish South', in Marcie Cohen Ferris and Mark I. Greenberg (eds.), *Jewish Roots in Southern Soil: A New History* (Massachusetts: University Press of New England, 2006), 93.

with storekeeping, tailoring, and hotel-keeping proving viable occupations.<sup>21</sup> This concentration in commercial trades, however, may have complicated both group and individual ideas of social class.

Table 2.4: Classification of Major Occupations for Identified Jews on the Central Victorian Goldfields between 1851 and 1901

Occupational Classification	Count
Professional	19
White Collar	5
Business	89
Skilled Manual	22
Semi-Skilled	13

Source: Births, Deaths, and Marriages Victoria; *Bendigo Advertiser*; *Ballarat Star*

Individuals and families engaging in commercial and trade occupations maintained an uncertain social position in terms of middle-class respectability, particularly for those engaging in small retail trade.<sup>22</sup> Most persons in retail were likely looking for an independent business which would accumulate wealth, although many small businesses did not achieve this, nor did they often provide the desired social approval. Contemporary author Ada Cambridge remarked in her novel, *The Three Miss Kings*, published in 1883, that there was an “obscure line which divides the wholesale merchant’s social acceptability from the lost condition of the retail trader”.<sup>23</sup> Some Jewish traders were recorded as being a ‘merchant’ as opposed to a ‘storekeeper’, indicating their perceived middle-class status. As Jews concentrated in commercial trade, the class ambiguity which could surround their occupational status may have contributed to communal or individual anxiety to demonstrate their Victorian respectability, which is evident through the rest of the century. Some Jewish settlers moved through a range of occupations, becoming

<sup>21</sup> For example, Ann and Elizabeth, two single Jewish sisters who sailed under Caroline Chisholm’s famous Jewish female emigration scheme, opened a business along the road to the goldfields. Both were trained in sewing. ‘Jewish Emigration Society’, *Jewish Chronicle*, 26 Feb. 1858, 84. Esther Jonas was a female Jewish hotel-keeper in Ballarat; she will be discussed more in Chapter Five. ‘No Title’, *Ballarat Star*, 4 Apr. 1890, 2; ‘No Title’, *Ballarat Star*, 22 Nov. 1889, 2.

<sup>22</sup> Serle, *The Rush to be Rich*, 87.

<sup>23</sup> Ada Cambridge, *The Three Miss Kings* (London: Virago, 1987), 124.

hawkers before owning stores and hotels, movement which also impacted their social class, displaying how the differences between classes in the colonies could be ambivalent and relational, as discussed in the Introduction.<sup>24</sup> Alongside this developing class status, Jews on the goldfields were often highly mobile.

The Central Victorian Goldfields were often one stop on a longer journey of migration for many Jewish individuals and families. The cause for this mobility for Jewish migrants on the goldfields varied, with some moving for familial, social, cultural, religious, or economic reasons. Movement often followed business failures and insolvency, as Benjamin and Israel Farjeon demonstrated. The Farjeon brothers began to encounter financial difficulties late in 1856, when they appeared in court for unpaid wages owed to their employees.<sup>25</sup> Afterwards, the brothers began to sell their mining claims, but this merely delayed their foreclosure.<sup>26</sup> By August 1857, the brothers were declared insolvent.<sup>27</sup> Engaging in business and commercial trade in a goldfield town was risky as declining mining areas, bad debts, and a reliance upon credit could lead to ruin. Across the 1850s, the steady decline in alluvial gold in the Bendigo area, as well as the increasing price for store licenses, likely contributed to many businesses foreclosing. Benjamin Farjeon remained in Bendigo for a short period of time following his insolvency, whereupon he joined a dramatic club and began to write and publish literary works. He later travelled to New Zealand before settling in England to pursue a writing career. Soon after their insolvency, Israel Farjeon and his wife, Bessie Cohen, whom he married in 1857,<sup>28</sup> migrated to America, where he established a new, more successful business.<sup>29</sup> Mobility provided a number of advantages to Jewish migrants, giving many the opportunity to start anew elsewhere, though it also created difficulties. As congregational and communal members moved, they could carry with them important knowledge on Jewish rituals and religious law, which not only limited locally available options to continue Jewish practices but also impacted the congregations that formed.

### **To Build a Sanctuary: Establishing Congregations and Synagogues**

---

<sup>24</sup> Serle, *The Rush to be Rich*, 90.

<sup>25</sup> 'Municipal Police Court', *Bendigo Advertiser*, 31 Dec. 1856, 2.

<sup>26</sup> 'Advertising', *Bendigo Advertiser*, 23 Dec. 1856, 1.

<sup>27</sup> 'Law Report Supreme Court Old Court Criminal Sessions', *Argus*, 21 Aug. 1857, 6.

<sup>28</sup> Victoria Births Deaths and Marriages Records, *Israel Farjeon and Bessie Cohen*, 1857, in Victoria Births Deaths and Marriages Records [Online Database], accessed 20 Oct. 2018. The exact date was not available.

<sup>29</sup> In her book on her father, Benjamin Farjeon, Eleanor Farjeon noted that Israel was in New York by the 1880s, however, Israel's watchmaking business appears in the New York city directories as early as 1867. John F. Troy, *Wilson's Business Directory 1867-68*, 1867, in U.S. City Directories, 1822-1995 [Online Database], accessed 2 Jan. 2020, 604.

As Jews on the goldfields gathered to worship and pray, their thoughts quickly turned to the formation of Hebrew congregations and the building of synagogues. In Judaism, building a synagogue for adherents to assemble, pray, and learn is considered a *mitzvah*. A *mitzvah* is commonly translated as a good deed, although its meaning extends further to include a religious duty or precept.<sup>30</sup> While holding religious connotations, the establishment of faith institutions also plays an important role in the maintenance of a collective identity. As Sue Silberberg argued, “ritual and religious space create a symbolic place of belonging”.<sup>31</sup> The establishment of faith organisations and spaces assisted Jewish communities to define and negotiate their identifications and felt attachments.<sup>32</sup> In the synagogue space, British links were expressed and performed alongside Jewish interconnection, defining the communal, social, and faith ties of the community. The Hebrew congregations in Bendigo and Ballarat developed at the height of the gold rush; however, setting exact dates for their creation is challenging.

While the exact date is unknown, an organised Hebrew congregation with an acting committee developed in Bendigo by 1855, a date which early histories support.<sup>33</sup> In his 1891 history of Bendigo, George Mackay placed the earliest organised gatherings for Jewish worship as 1854.<sup>34</sup> These early gatherings for worship likely occurred in the stores and hotel dining rooms of adherents, which soon prompted the congregation to build a synagogue. The synagogue ground was obtained through a government land grant, which included £100 to construct a building.<sup>35</sup> In Victoria, religious communities could apply to the colonial government for a grant of land and funds to build structures for religious purposes.<sup>36</sup> Larger Hebrew congregations in the Victorian colony did access land grants and funds through these schemes, including those located in Ballarat and Bendigo, indicating that colonial governments recognised the religious rights of Jews to reserves and assistance. This allowance may also reveal the perceived need for colonial governments to appear even handed as settlers of various Christian denominations sought

---

<sup>30</sup> *Encyclopaedia Judaica*, s.v. ‘Mitzvah’.

<sup>31</sup> Silberberg, *A Networked Community* (2020), 3.

<sup>32</sup> Alejandro Portes and Josh DeWind, ‘A Cross- Atlantic Dialogue: The Progress of Research and Theory in the Study of International Migration’, in Alejandro Portes and Josh DeWind (eds.), *Rethinking Migration: New Theoretical and Empirical Perspectives* (New York: Berghahn Books, 2007), 19.

<sup>33</sup> ‘Advertising’, *Bendigo Advertiser*, 8 Sep. 1855, 1. The copies available of the local newspaper, the *Bendigo Advertiser*, only date as far back as September 1855, despite the newspaper being created in 1853.

<sup>34</sup> George Mackay, *The History of Bendigo* (Melbourne: Fergusson & Mitchell, 1891), 171.

<sup>35</sup> Davidson, *Jewish Worship in Bendigo*, 3.

<sup>36</sup> Stephen A. Chavura, John Gascoigne, and Ian Tregenza, *Reason, Religion, and the Australian Polity: A Secular State?* (Oxon, England: Routledge, 2019), 42-45.

state support for religion.<sup>37</sup> Late in November of 1855, calls for tenders were placed in the local Bendigo newspapers for the building of a weatherboard structure, with work beginning shortly afterwards on Bendigo's first synagogue.<sup>38</sup>

The congregational committee met irregularly while construction on the wooden synagogue was underway.<sup>39</sup> Congregational committees encompassed a variety of roles, including synagogue president, treasurer, and secretary, all of which were usually filled by laypersons, who oversaw the management of the synagogue and the congregation. To be part of the institutional framework of the synagogue committee, persons not only had to be paying members, but also esteemed by the community. The congregation likely had similar rules to other colonial Hebrew congregations, where each position was subject to election, although some occupied the same role for multiple years.<sup>40</sup> In addition to the committee, there were officers of the synagogue. The first officers elected for the Bendigo synagogue were David Heckscher, Israel Moses, and Joseph Josephs.<sup>41</sup> David Heckscher had aided the Hebrew congregation in Tasmania to establish a synagogue, subsequently forging links that connected Jewish institutions across colonial Australia.<sup>42</sup> Construction of Bendigo's weatherboard synagogue proceeded smoothly, soon becoming the formal centre of the Jewish community.

From the opening of the Bendigo synagogue, this space emerged as a means for Jews to express both their British connection and their distinct ties with Judaism. On 13 July 1856, the Bendigo Hebrew congregation celebrated the opening of their first synagogue, located in Dowling Street, with a ceremony taking place to mark this momentous occasion. The opening ceremony, which differed from ordinary weekly services, began with the officers of the synagogue, Heckscher, Moses, and Josephs, walking around the interior three times while carrying the Tables of the Law.<sup>43</sup> Afterwards, Moses delivered a moving address, claiming that the synagogue was not only "a temple of prayer, but ... a schools [sic], to teach us our duties as a portion of the great family of mankind".<sup>44</sup> Moses'

---

<sup>37</sup> For more on this, see Melleuish, 'A Secular Australia?'.  
<sup>38</sup> 'Advertising', *Bendigo Advertiser*, 27 Nov. 1855, 3.  
<sup>39</sup> 'Advertising', *Bendigo Advertiser*, 24 Jan. 1856, 1.  
<sup>40</sup> Geelong Community, Rules and Regulations Geelong Synagogue, *Australian Jewish Historical Society Sydney Archive*, 1854, File 24  
<sup>41</sup> 'Opening of the Jewish Synagogue', *Bendigo Advertiser*, 14 Jul. 1856, 2.  
<sup>42</sup> 'Classified Advertising', *Courier*, 1 Sep. 1843, 1; 'Hobart Town: July 8, 1845', *Colonial Times*, 8 Jul. 1845, 2.  
<sup>43</sup> Tablets of the Law refers to the stone tablets inscribed with the Ten Commandments which are usually displayed in synagogues.  
<sup>44</sup> 'Opening of the Jewish Synagogue', *Bendigo Advertiser*, 14 Jul. 1856, 2.



address referenced international places and groups, referring to the Jewish people as “our nation” whilst also acknowledging a connection to “our native England” and his co-religionists in Europe.<sup>45</sup> Focusing on the lived religious experience of Jewish space, as advocated by the Lived Religion approach, reveals the Bendigo community’s dual identification and sense of connection to both Britain and the Jewish diaspora. Collective and individual identities can affix to overseas places or groups, providing multiple ‘homelands’ or communities that people identify with, usually referred to as a diaspora, a normative experience for Jews which is the focus of a large amount of literature.<sup>46</sup> By referring to England and to a larger international Jewish group, Jews in Bendigo portrayed both as a common identity reference, affirming the identifications of this developing community as Anglo Jews. The formation of a Hebrew congregation in Ballarat followed a similar path to Bendigo.

The Ballarat Hebrew congregation was established in the early to mid-1850s, with a synagogue built soon afterwards. In an address presented in 1861, Charles Dyte dated the early beginnings of the congregation to 1854, in which year gatherings for worship occurred in the Clarendon Hotel.<sup>47</sup> Dyte had arrived in Ballarat in 1853, although for the first few years he moved between Melbourne and Ballarat to conduct business, further highlighting the mobile nature of the community as discussed previously.<sup>48</sup> Dyte quickly became an influential figure both within the congregation and in wider Ballarat society, occupying such roles as the congregational president, magistrate, and a member of the Legislative Assembly.<sup>49</sup> Within a year of their formation, services for the Ballarat Hebrew congregation moved from hotel dining rooms to consecrated ground with a synagogue opened in Ballarat in June 1855, located in Barkley Street, near the Wesleyan Chapel.<sup>50</sup> While a dedicated space for religious worship held social and communal benefits, it also likely became more pressing as various Christian churches were constructed on the

---

<sup>45</sup> Ibid.

<sup>46</sup> For more on the deep connection between the Jewish diaspora and a Jewish identity, see Boyarin and Boyarin, ‘Diaspora: Generation and the Ground of Jewish Identity’. For examples of this literature that examines the Jewish diaspora, see Ben-Moshe and Segev, *Israel, the Diaspora and Jewish Identity*; Docker, 1492; Mendelsohn, ‘Tongue Ties’; Leslie Stein and Sol Encel, *Continuity, Commitment, and Survival: Jewish Communities in the Diaspora* (Westport, Connecticut: Praeger, 2003); Wettstein (ed.), *Diasporas and Exiles*.

<sup>47</sup> ‘Hebrew Synagogue’, *Star*, 26 Jan. 1861, 4.

<sup>48</sup> Parliament of Victoria, *Report from the Select Committee upon Ballarat Riots- Bentley’s Hotel* (Melbourne: John Ferres Government Printer, 1857-8), in Parliament of Victoria [Online Database], accessed 20 Nov. 2018, 24.

<sup>49</sup> ‘News and Notes’, *Ballarat Star*, 12 Apr. 1870, 2; ‘News and Notes’, *Ballarat Star*, 18 Apr. 1871, 2; ‘Presentation to Mr Charles Dyte’, *Ballarat Star*, 28 May 1872, 3.

<sup>50</sup> ‘Ballarat’, *Geelong Advertiser and Intelligence*, 11 Jun. 1855, 2.

goldfields. In Ballarat alone, thirty-six churches were built between the 1850s and 1870s as the unearthed gold was directed into the local community.<sup>51</sup> Jewish settlers may have felt that an established space of Jewish worship would confirm their place as part of the rising Christian milieu. Whilst the land was legally and religiously recognised as a Jewish reserve, the Ballarat Hebrew congregation soon encountered issues over the use of the land.

Soon after its completion, the Ballarat Hebrew congregation engaged in a lengthy legal and municipal battle over their reserve of land. In 1856, the Ballarat Hebrew congregation began to receive letters from the local municipal council requesting their removal as the land was required for a government building.<sup>52</sup> The Ballarat Hebrew congregation initially denied the request on the grounds that the land had been consecrated. The conversion of consecrated ground for a public civil building seemed not to be a problem for the council, who continued to make demands for the land. The Minister of Lands was contacted regarding the issue and replied to requests for assistance by the Ballarat Hebrew congregation with “the public weal must prevail over any private rights”.<sup>53</sup> It seems that the dedicated land of a minority faith community was of little concern to the council, a group of men who were likely to have been of a different faith and held no connection to this consecrated ground. These requests for removal were later accepted by the Ballarat Hebrew congregation on the condition that another section of land be allocated to the Jewish community before their departure. The lack of sympathy demonstrated by colonial governments and the Ballarat municipal council may have raised fears that once the Hebrew congregation had removed from the location, there would be considerable delays in the allocation of a new reserve. In 1859, another section of land was granted to the Hebrew congregation for a synagogue, as well as for a Hebrew school, located further down Barkley Street. While the Hebrew congregation were granted a new reserve of land, they faced some difficulty acquiring it.

The second reserve of land was on Crown Lands and occupied by brothers, Frederick and Benjamin Lloyd, who refused to vacate. Once it became known that the Lloyd brothers occupied this land reserve, compensation was discussed, with the Hebrew congregation offering to pay for the value of the tents, though Benjamin Lloyd claimed

---

<sup>51</sup> O’Brien, ‘Religion’, 425-426.

<sup>52</sup> Australian Jewish Historical Society Sydney Archive, Nathan Spielvogel, *Annals of the Ballarat Hebrew Congregation* 1927, AB 175 Ballarat Community, 5.

<sup>53</sup> Ibid. 6.

the recompense was too small. Numerous court cases followed, mainly for trespassing, with the Lloyd brothers serving time in prison.<sup>54</sup> This dispute over the reserved land was not settled until late in 1860, and only after a physical altercation occurred.<sup>55</sup> The incident stands in stark contrast to the Minister of Lands' earlier claim of public weal over personal rights.

The argument over the Crown Lands received negative commentary in the local Ballarat papers, with readers often siding with the Lloyd brothers. In one angry letter published in the *Star*, the author, J.T. Warren, felt that "the purpose to which the ground is to be devoted should surely suggest a more Christian-like spirit than that shown".<sup>56</sup> The author's use of the term 'Christian-like' to denote the deeds of a Hebrew congregation perhaps reveals the underlying hostility directed to the Jewish community when they were perceived as stepping outside proscribed bounds. It could, however, just as likely be a display of ignorance by the writer regarding his knowledge of Judaism, a characteristic which could likewise be harmful to the Jewish community. The affair suggests that while Jews had gained emancipation in the colonies, certain bars to their inclusion could remain, along with the perception amongst some colonialists that Judaism was a subsidiary faith in the colony. Across the rest of the century, goldfields Jewish communities demonstrated a consciousness that they were expected to act within certain social, civil, and religious bounds as set by the wider colonial society, which Chapter Three further expands upon. Soon after the removal of the Lloyd brothers, the Hebrew congregation began preparations for the building of a synagogue, determined to not lose any more time.

The Ballarat synagogue, like the Bendigo synagogue, emerged as an important space that affirmed the felt belongings of the Jewish community, with specific rituals and customs adopted to assert their local and colonial place. In the early hours of January 25, 1861, a consecration ceremony occurred for the laying of the synagogue's first foundation stone. Gathering at the home of Charles Dyte, the congregation's president at the time, the trustees of the synagogue and the congregational committee then proceeded to the building site. In their possession were a number of items, such as corn, wine, and oil,

---

<sup>54</sup> 'Eastern Police Court', *Star*, 17 Sep. 1859, 2; 'Eastern Police Court', *Star*, 29 May 1860, 3; 'News and Notes', *Star*, 4 Oct. 1859, 2; 'News and Notes', *Star*, 27 Feb. 1860, 2; 'News and Notes', *Star*, 23 Mar. 1860, 2; 'News and Notes', *Star*, 9 Apr. 1860, 2; 'News and Notes', *Star*, 13 Aug. 1860, 2; 'News and Notes', *Star*, 30 Oct. 1860, 2.

<sup>55</sup> 'News and Notes', *Star*, 6 Dec. 1860, 2.

<sup>56</sup> 'The Lloyd's Case', *Star*, 2 Mar. 1860, 3.

representing “the corn of nourishment, the wine of refreshment, and the oil of joy”, all of which were ceremoniously used in the ritual.<sup>57</sup> Through this consecration ceremony, the synagogue was intended to be set apart from its surroundings and ascribed as a sacred Jewish space. As Kim Knott argued, “sacralisation (or ritualization) produces distinctive spaces”.<sup>58</sup> After the difficulty experienced in securing the land reserve, the place of the synagogue may have heightened in significance, though the ceremony would have likely occurred regardless. It also increased the claim of the Jewish community on this land; the reserved land was not only legally theirs, but also religiously inscribed. In this way, this consecration also contributed to processes of colonialism deeply entangled with their position as colonialists, claiming stolen land for alternative religious purpose. The consecration ceremony demonstrated the importance attributed by the Ballarat Hebrew congregation on securing and affirming their place within the local religious society. This link was further strengthened as the congregation celebrated the opening of the completed synagogue two months later.

Once completed, the Hebrew congregation celebrated the opening of the new brick synagogue in Ballarat, holding a consecration service on March 17, 1861, on a Sunday afternoon. The newly built synagogue was constructed in the style of classical and Egyptian revival, with its front columns framing the doorway and painted cream facade, as seen in Figure 2. 2. After Napoleon’s campaigns into Egypt, the Egyptian revival became a popular architectural style across the British Empire and in America, with synagogues in Hobart and Sydney built in the same style.<sup>59</sup> With no proscribed architectural style of their own, Jewish communities could construct synagogues according to their own tastes, with particular styles often chosen for their associational qualities.<sup>60</sup> The Egyptian revival style may have recalled the Eastern origins of Jews, however, Napoleon had reversed certain aspects of Jewish emancipation, which had occurred during the French Revolution.<sup>61</sup>

The opening of the Ballarat synagogue was a large communal event. As one local newspaper commented, “Jews from all parts of the world, and Christians of all

---

<sup>57</sup> ‘Hebrew Synagogue’, *Star*, 26 Jan. 1861, 4.

<sup>58</sup> Kim Knott, *The Location of Religion* (London: Equinox Publishing, 2005), 122.

<sup>59</sup> Diana Muir Appelbaum, ‘Jewish Identity and Egyptian Revival Architecture’, *Journal of Jewish Identities*, 5/2 (2012), 7.

<sup>60</sup> Lee Shai Weissbach, ‘Buildings Fraught with Meaning: An Introduction to a Special Issue on Synagogue Architecture in Context’, *Jewish History*, 25/1 (2011), 3.

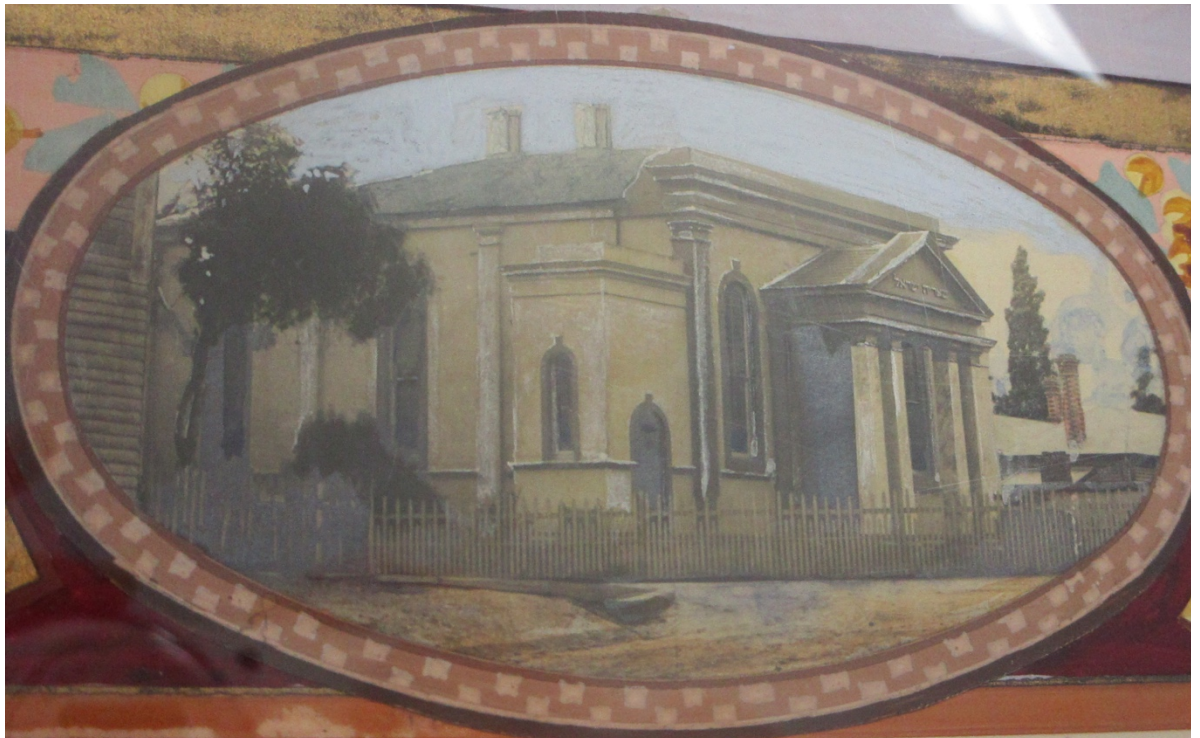
<sup>61</sup> Appelbaum, ‘Jewish Identity and Egyptian Revival Architecture’, 6. For more on Jewish emancipation in France, see Paula Hyman, *The Jews of Modern France* (Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1998).

denominations” had gathered at the synagogue for its opening.<sup>62</sup> Christian attendance at Jewish religious services was not uncommon, as Anglican, Catholic, and Methodist laymen and even clergymen visited the synagogue, imbuing these spaces with performative value that extended beyond the Jewish community. At times, this Christian audience was considered as congregations sought to shift worship practices, as Chapter Four examines. Throughout the rest of the century, the synagogue space acted to negotiate identifications and felt attachments through the shift in worship practices towards a shared ‘style’ of aesthetic formations, as the Second Thesis Section demonstrates. This aspect of the synagogue was entangled with the transformed role of the Jewish minister.

Figure 2.2: Ballarat Synagogue in 1877

---

<sup>62</sup> ‘The Hebrew Synagogue’, *Star*, 18 Mar. 1861, 4.



Source: Close up image of the Ballarat Synagogue from 'Illuminated Address presented for Hyman Levinson from the Ballarat Hebrew Congregation', W.N. Lansley, 1877, accessed from the Jewish Museum of Australia

### **From the Many to the One: The Centralised Role of the Jewish Minister**

Across the nineteenth century, religious duties that were usually assigned to a range of people became centralised as the domain of one individual, the Jewish minister, an institutional model adopted by Jewish communities on the Central Victorian Goldfields. The Bendigo and Ballarat Hebrew congregations aligned with the Chief Rabbi of the British Empire, also known as the Chief Rabbi of the United Hebrew congregations, a London-based institution which acted as the religious leader of Orthodox Jewish communities throughout the British Empire. The office of the Chief Rabbi was a significant guiding force for colonial Jewish communities and congregations, which acted at times to interview and send potential Jewish ministers, to decide in contested cases of conversion, and to order imperial services.<sup>63</sup> During Nathan Adler's tenure as Chief Rabbi of the British Empire (1845-1890), a new kind of religious leader was introduced into Anglo-Judaism, the pastoral preacher.<sup>64</sup>

<sup>63</sup> Silberberg, *A Networked Community* (2020), 51, 53, 63, 81; Rubinstein, *The Jews in Australia: A Thematic History*, 278.

<sup>64</sup> Mendelsohn, 'The Sacrifices of the Isaacs', 12.

The Jewish ministerial model transformed the synagogue *chazan* or Reader, who leads group prayers through his melodic chanting, into a ‘proper minister’ that guided the congregation by acting as pastor, preacher, and public figurehead.<sup>65</sup> Historian Adam Mendelsohn identified this new ministerial model as being influenced by the Christian milieu and by innovations made in Central Europe, such as Reform Judaism.<sup>66</sup> From the Early Modern Period, rabbis serving European Jewish communities were beginning to lose their power as an increasing number of Jews privileged lay authority over religious command.<sup>67</sup> The term ‘Jewish minister’ derived from external sources and was a Christian construct, yet it was widely employed by contemporaries. In Bendigo and Ballarat, the Hebrew congregations and the wider non-Jewish society referred to those employed by the synagogue as reverend or minister, demonstrating how this new ministerial model was used on the goldfields and recognised by the local society. Later in the century, Jewish ministers were referred to as rabbi within newspapers, demonstrating the shift away from this term and model that is no longer used today.<sup>68</sup> To avoid confusion, this thesis will adopt the term used by early contemporaries, referring to those employed by the synagogue who may have lacked the education of a rabbi as a ‘Jewish minister’. Jewish ministers maintained an important position in the Hebrew congregations in Bendigo and Ballarat, acting to endorse or resist changes in worship and ritual practice, as the Second Thesis Section demonstrates. In doing so, Jewish ministers significantly shaped Hebrew congregations and Jewish religious practice, negotiating between continuity and modernity whilst also responding to the limitations of the physical frontier.

Located in the distant reaches of the British Empire, Jewish ministers were hard to secure and even harder to retain. The impact of imperial distance on colonial ministers was also felt by Christian faiths; Presbyterians were reliant on Scotland for ministers, whilst Catholic priests were predominately imported from Ireland, demonstrating the dependence of colonial faiths on the metropole.<sup>69</sup> On the Central Victorian Goldfields, the birthplaces of Jewish ministers tended to be more diverse, with most either born in England or Eastern or Central Europe. Jewish ministers moved frequently, shifting from

---

<sup>65</sup> Ibid.

<sup>66</sup> Ibid.

<sup>67</sup> Ruderman, *Early Modern Jewry*, 58; Marc Saperstein, “‘Rabbis, Stay Out of Politics’: Social Justice Preaching and its Opponents, 1848-2014”, *Jewish Culture and History*, 16/2 (2015), 127-141.

<sup>68</sup> See ‘No Title’, *Ballarat Star*, 21 Jul. 1891, 2; ‘The Record Reign’, *Bendigo Advertiser*, 21 Jun. 1897, 3.

<sup>69</sup> John Luttrell, “‘Australianizing’ the Local Catholic Church: Polding to Gilroy”, *Journal of Religious History*, 36/3 (2012), 340; Ruth Schumann, ‘The Catholic Priesthood of South Australia, 1844- 1915’, *Journal of Religious History*, 16/1 (1990), 53; Welch, ‘Constructing Colonial Christianities’, 247.

one congregation to the next within more populated colonial centres such as Melbourne, making it difficult for regional congregations to recruit.<sup>70</sup> The small Jewish population in outlying communities and the expectation that Jewish ministers would perform multiple roles, which will be discussed in detail below, likely made these positions less attractive options.

While a synagogue was opened in Bendigo in 1856, it was not until late in 1859 that the Hebrew congregation employed their first Jewish minister, Isaac Friedman. Born in Hungary in 1805, Isaac Friedman arrived in Australia in the early 1830s with his wife, Rebecca Netto, whom he married in London before migrating. Rebecca died in 1835 while the couple resided in Sydney. In the same year, Friedman married Maria Nathan. By 1838, the couple had made their way to Tasmania, where Friedman first worked as a hawker before obtaining a publican's license for the Kensington Inn.<sup>71</sup> Friedman soon sold the Inn and opened a kosher butcher shop, indicating that he was recognised as a *shochet*, a person trained to prepare meat according to *shehitah*, the Jewish laws surrounding ritual slaughter, which was a significant skill for a colonial minister.<sup>72</sup> For a brief time between 1851 and 1852, the Friedman family moved back to New South Wales.<sup>73</sup> Friedman's stay in New South Wales was short and he returned to Hobart by the end of 1852, where he opened a pawn-broking business.<sup>74</sup> Inaccurate information persists regarding Friedman's position as Bendigo's Jewish minister. In Suzanne Rutland's *Edge of Diaspora*, a sweeping history of Jewish settlement in Australia, Friedman was recorded as being in the employ of the Bendigo Hebrew congregation from 1853 to 1863; however, primary evidence suggests otherwise.<sup>75</sup> Friedman and his family were located in Hobart in 1853, where they remained until 1859, when Maria Friedman auctioned their household furniture and the family removed to Bendigo.<sup>76</sup> Once the Friedman family

---

<sup>70</sup> The Jewish ministers employed in Bendigo and early Ballarat moved often, traveling between colonial congregations. In Bendigo, at least five Jewish ministers were employed between 1855 and 1900. In order, they were: Isaac Friedman employed until 1868, Isaac Stone between 1870-1874 and then again between 1876-1880, Isidore Myers between 1880-1885, D. H. Harris from 1885-1888, and J. D. Goldstein from 1890. Adam Mendelsohn also discussed the imperial mobility of Jewish ministers in Mendelsohn, 'The Sacrifices of the Isaacs'.

<sup>71</sup> 'From the Hobart Town Gazette', *Launceston Advertiser*, 24 May 1838, 4; 'List of Applications for Licenses Granted for the District of Hobarton', *Courier*, 3 Sept. 1841, 4.

<sup>72</sup> 'Advertising', *Hobart Guardian, or, True Friend of Tasmania*, 12 Sept. 1849, 1.

<sup>73</sup> Ibid. Isaac Friedman's kosher butcher shop was opened late in 1849; Tasmania Births Deaths and Marriages, *Birth Certificate for Ann Friedman*, in Tasmania Births Deaths and Marriages [Online Database], accessed 15 May 2012.

<sup>74</sup> 'Advertising', *Tasmanian Colonist*, 30 Nov. 1854, 1.

<sup>75</sup> Rutland, *Edge of the Diaspora*, 56.

<sup>76</sup> 'Classified Advertising', *Hobart Town Daily Mercury*, 12 Sept. 1859. In the Birth, Deaths, and Marriages Tasmania Register, several birth registrations can be found for the children of Isaac Friedman and Maria Nathan between 1852 and 1858, including Ann, Abraham, and Henry Friedman.



arrived in Bendigo, they resided in Dowling Street, most likely in a minister's residence. Friedman likely had little time to settle down into his new role at the Bendigo Hebrew congregation as the increasing demands of this position required a significant amount of his attention.

On the Central Victorian Goldfields, a Jewish minister was expected to perform an ever-increasing number of religious services, potentially creating gaps in ritual and faith practices when ministers were absent or positions vacant. In Bendigo, Friedman occupied a range of roles within the Jewish community, leading worship, advising the community on *shehitah*, and conducting marriages. The role of the Jewish minister on the goldfields often also included teaching children Hebrew, delivering sermons, acting as *shochet* (ritual slaughterer), and performing life cycle rituals such as a *bar mitzvah* (coming of age ceremony for Jewish boys) and *brit milah* (circumcision ceremony). This centralised ministerial role may have been the result of a shortage of trained people and a lack of colonial resources. The small size of goldfields Jewish communities coupled with the high mobility of adherents may have meant that Jewish ministers were left with little choice but to take up these numerous functions to fill recurring gaps in the congregation. Recognising the limited availability of resources, Jews may have adopted the model after seeing the response of their Christian neighbours to the frontier setting, although the use of the model in more populated colonial areas such as Melbourne suggests that it was more likely influenced by Reform Judaism and contained elements of acculturation.<sup>77</sup>

Isaac Friedman remained with the Bendigo Hebrew congregation until 1868, when he removed to Melbourne with his family.<sup>78</sup> After his departure, the Bendigo Hebrew congregation remained without a Jewish minister until the early 1870s, when Isaac Stone was employed. In the interim, the congregation was left without a reader for worship, a minister to perform life cycle rituals, and later, without a teacher for the Hebrew school. In these intervals, practices could be either delayed, suspended, or discontinued if communities and individuals were unable to find adequate alternatives. Laypersons could

---

<sup>77</sup> The Jewish ministerial model, which required Jewish ministers to teach Jewish children the Hebrew language and preach sermons as part of synagogue worship amongst their various other duties, was also used in Adelaide, Melbourne, Sydney, and Tasmania, 'Adelaide Jewish Sabbath School', *South Australian Register*, 7 Nov. 1862, 3; 'The Hebrew Congregation', *Mercury*, 28 May 1868, 2; 'The Jewish Minister', *Jewish Herald*, 25 Oct. 1889, 7. Adam Mendelsohn also makes a similar argument, stating that this Jewish ministerial role used in the British Empire was influenced by Reform Judaism in Europe and by the nearby Christian Churches. See Mendelsohn, 'The Sacrifices of the Isaacs'.

<sup>78</sup> 'Advertising', *Bendigo Advertiser*, 23 Jun. 1868, 3; 'Family Notices', *Bendigo Advertiser*, 11 Jul. 1871, 2.

fill the ritual and communal needs of the congregation, with members such as G.P. Joseph, A. Sternberg, and Solomon Herman aiding in services or performing certain religious ceremonies, such as a *brit milah*.<sup>79</sup> The Ballarat Hebrew congregation likewise experienced some initial difficulty in finding and keeping a Jewish minister.

In the early decades, the Ballarat Hebrew congregation relied upon and employed multiple Jewish ministers. The Ballarat Hebrew congregation hired their first minister, David Isaacs, in 1855 as their synagogue neared completion. Before arriving in the Victorian colony, Isaacs first travelled to New Zealand to help settlers form strict Orthodox Hebrew communities before sailing to the Australian colonies. Initially, he settled in Geelong, setting up a business as a shoemaker before acting as the Jewish minister for the Geelong Hebrew congregation.<sup>80</sup> Once employed in Ballarat, Isaacs remained with the Hebrew congregation until the early 1860s. After his departure, ministers from the Melbourne Hebrew congregation conducted ceremonies in the Ballarat synagogue, fulfilling any ritual and worship needs left unattended following the departure of the minister.<sup>81</sup> For a short period, the Samuel Herman was employed as Ballarat's Jewish minister, although when his term expired in 1868, the congregational committee selected the Israel Goldreich as the new minister.<sup>82</sup> Goldreich was born in Poland in 1834. Before settling in Ballarat, Goldreich acted as the minister for the Hebrew congregation in Hobart, Tasmania. While no shipping records have been discovered for Goldreich, newspapers evidence detailed his first service in the Hobart synagogue in April 1864, for Passover, suggesting that he arrived around this time in Tasmania.<sup>83</sup> Goldreich migrated to the Central Victorian Goldfields when he became the Jewish minister for the Ballarat Hebrew congregation in 1868.<sup>84</sup> He returned to Hobart briefly in 1869 to marry Priscilla Levy, before the couple returned to Ballarat.<sup>85</sup> With only a few absences, Goldreich maintained the position of Jewish minister for the Ballarat Hebrew congregation into the

---

<sup>79</sup> 'The Bendigo Advertiser', *Bendigo Advertiser*, 4 Oct. 1881, 2; 'New Year at the Synagogues', *Jewish Herald*, 10 Sep. 1880, 2; 'Sandhurst', *Jewish Herald*, 12 Oct. 1888, 6.

<sup>80</sup> 'Advertising', *Geelong Advertiser and Intelligencer*, 10 Jul. 1854, 7.

<sup>81</sup> See 'Family Notices', *Star*, 9 May 1863, 2; 'Family Notices', *Star*, 20 Feb. 1863, 2; 'Family Notices', *Star*, 23 May 1863, 2.

<sup>82</sup> The earliest evidence of Samuel Herman acting as Jewish minister in Ballarat is dated 1865, although Sue Silberberg states an earlier date, 'Family Notices', *Ballarat Star*, 12 Aug. 1865, 2; Silberberg, *A Networked Community* (2020), 55. While in a letter to the editor written in 1868, Samuel Herman noted that his term as Jewish minister in Ballarat had expired, 'Letter to the Editor', *Ballarat Star*, 15 Jan. 1868, 3. Goldreich was employed in 1868, officiating for the first time on the 13 July 1868, 'Advertising', *Ballarat Star*, 12 Jul. 1868, 3; 'Social', *Ballarat Star*, 19 Jun. 1868, 4.

<sup>83</sup> 'The Havilah's Mail', *Mercury*, 28 Apr. 1864, 2.

<sup>84</sup> 'News and Notes', *Ballarat Star*, 25 May 1868, 2.

<sup>85</sup> 'Family Notices', *Ballarat Star*, 20 Feb. 1869, 2.

next century, actively shaping the future of the congregation and the community in Ballarat.<sup>86</sup>

The ministerial model adopted by the Hebrew congregations on the goldfields placed the minister in a precarious position, in some ways conferring power, but in others diminishing their authority. The transformation to a ministerial model increased the influence of Jewish ministers, as it centralised what was once the role of a range of people into the responsibility of one person. As a congregational leader, the Jewish minister could, and at times did, resist shifts to ritual, even when adaptations were desired by congregants and the synagogue committee.<sup>87</sup> Jewish ministers did not, however, have complete authority over the synagogue and the congregation. The synagogue president and the congregational committee wielded considerable power. It was the committee who selected prospective ministers and paid their wage while also making decisions regarding the synagogue grounds, who was converted, and who could practice important life cycle rituals.<sup>88</sup> Regardless, the Jewish minister played a leading role in shaping goldfields Hebrew congregations, which included using the synagogue sermon to expound certain ideas, beliefs, and ideals. The decisions and actions of the minister were frequently and publicly debated in newspapers, and often involved the minister, Jewish congregants, and even non-Jews.<sup>89</sup> As public figureheads for the local Jewish community, who were recognised by the wider society, Jewish ministers were often at the centre of communal discussions and decisions on religious worship, making them central to this research. Both Jewish ministers and the synagogue space grew in importance across the century, influencing the community and their identifications in both subtle and obvious ways.

---

<sup>86</sup> Goldreich was absent for short periods as a result of ill health, 'Ballarat Star', *Ballarat Star*, 3 Jul. 1893, 2; 'Ballarat Star', *Ballarat Star*, 1 Aug. 1895, 2; 'News and Notes', *Ballarat Star*, 28 Jul. 1881, 2; 'No Title', *Ballarat Star*, 29 Apr. 1890, 2. He also spent about two years as Jewish minister to a Hebrew congregation in Sydney, though he soon returned to Ballarat, 'News and Notes', *Ballarat Star*, 13 Jan. 1874, 2. He appears again in the local Ballarat newspapers in 1876 with the title of Ballarat's Jewish minister, 'News and Notes', *Ballarat Star*, 11 Sep. 1876, 2.

<sup>87</sup> For an example of this, see Australian Jewish Historical Society Sydney Archive, Spielvogel, *Annals of the Ballarat Hebrew Congregation*, 36. In Ballarat, congregational members and even synagogue committee members desired to make changes to the *bar mitzvah*, to remove the vow promised by boys, but this was resisted by Goldreich. As a result, no changes were made. This will be discussed further in Chapter Six.

<sup>88</sup> Meetings were held half-yearly, though a general meeting could be called to discuss certain issues, such as overseas events. See 'Advertising', *Bendigo Advertiser*, 8 May 1856, 1; 'Advertising', *Bendigo Advertiser*, 15 Jul. 1856, 3; 'Advertising', *Bendigo Advertiser*, 23 Sep. 1856, 3; 'Advertising', *Bendigo Advertiser*, 22 Apr. 1857, 3; 'News and Notes', *Ballarat Star*, 6 May 1872, 2; 'Personal', *Ballarat Star*, 20 May 1872, 4.

<sup>89</sup> For examples, see 'Ballarat Chronicles and Pictures', *Ballarat Star*, 18 May 1888, 4; 'The Ballarat Hospital To the Editor', *Ballarat Star*, 10 Aug. 1887, 4; 'The Dean and Jewish Philanthropy', *Ballarat Star*, 7 Dec. 1898, 4; 'The Dean and Jewish Philanthropy', *Ballarat Star*, 8 Dec. 1898, 4; 'The Rev. I. M. Goldreich in Explanation', *Ballarat Star*, 3 Mar. 1887, 4; 'The Rev. I. M. Goldreich', *Ballarat Star*, 4 May 1887, 4.

As Jewish migrants journeyed from Britain and Europe to the Central Victorian Goldfields, they established institutions and congregations, rebuilding religious organisations in meaningful ways. The Jewish communities and Hebrew congregations formed in a unique time and setting which significantly influenced these groups and their future direction in the colonies. Jewish institutions were undergoing change as they formed on the goldfields, responding to the frontier setting and colonial frameworks, yet they also reflected earlier attachments and negotiations. Public worship, ritual, and religious institutions did not arrive on the Central Victorian Goldfields static as a form somehow ‘broken off’ and simply replanted, as other scholars have suggested.<sup>90</sup> Instead, the transformative potential of the goldfield frontier provided communities, individuals, and institutions with the opportunity to develop in ways that reflected their personal values and identities. As Jewish individuals and families settled on the early goldfields, their personal and familial religious practices also underwent negotiation, a shift which complicated identity boundaries. The next chapter will examine how Jews in early Bendigo and Ballarat negotiated their religious practices with, and at times against, Jewish institutions and the frontier setting, and in the process, complicated understandings of a Jewish identity.

---

<sup>90</sup> Daniel J. Elazar, ‘Jewish Frontier Experiences in the Southern Hemisphere: The Cases of Argentina, Australia, and South Africa’, *Modern Judaism*, 3/2 (1983), 132.

## Chapter Three

### Intermarriage, Sabbath, and *Kashrut*: Negotiated Markers and Identity Boundaries

As Jews settled on the Central Victorian Goldfields, they negotiated their communal, personal, and familial faith observances. This process occurred as Jews acted to overcome the scarcity of Jewish materials and religious professionals. These colonial limitations became known even in the metropole. In 1857, a letter published in a Jewish newspaper in England, *Jewish Chronicle*, deplored the lack of sorely needed persons and articles necessary for Judaism in the Victorian colony. The writer, a Jewish colonialist, lamented,

We need married men to act as readers and killers [*shochet*], and perform circumcisions, marriages, funerals and such duties as devolve on the pastor of a congregation. The want of single females of the Hebrew faith is much to be deplored... A supply of prayer books is needed in all those places mentioned above as having, or being about to have, congregations.<sup>1</sup>

Despite the insufficiency of resources, religious life continued on the Central Victorian Goldfields, though often in modified ways. Not all changes, however, resulted from religious privation.

In Bendigo and Ballarat, Jews also negotiated their religious practices to account for their social and cultural position, responding to pervasive British colonial authority and the contested power conferred to local Jewish institutions. These mediations were often like those enacted before their migration to the colonies, replicating similar religious negotiations practiced in Britain and Europe. Historically, cultural and religious survival for Jews, as well as their group cohesion, was grounded in the familial unit and sustained through communal institutions.<sup>2</sup> On the goldfields, both institutional reconstructions and familial negotiations shaped the religious practices of the community, working in tandem and at times against each other to mediate the religiosity and identity boundaries of Jews as they settled in a frontier place.

Whilst the previous chapter discussed Hebrew congregations and Jewish ministers, this chapter argues that these institutions interacted in complex ways with personal choices

---

<sup>1</sup> 'Jewish Emigration', *Jewish Chronicle*, 15 May 1857, 1002.

<sup>2</sup> Silberberg, 'A Networked Community' (2015), 106.

and colonial pressures to negotiate Jewish religious practices. The first section examines the associations between religious observance and identifiable markers for the colonial Jewish community, discussing the connections made by contemporaries that linked practice with identity. The rest of the chapter focuses on three religious observances: familial formations through intermarriage, Sabbath observance, and *kashrut* (kosher) food consumption.<sup>3</sup> These three practices provide a lens to examine the intersection of choice, necessity, and colonial compliance for colonial Jews.<sup>4</sup> The adaptations made to faith practices could mediate the perceivable differences between Jews and their colonial Christian peers, and as a result, likely contributed to the ‘blurring’ of identity boundaries, as discussed in the Introduction. This blurring of identity boundaries ensured that introduced practices found expression in individual and communal lives, which enabled the demonstration of a middle-class status or Britishness without diminishing Jewish religiosity or identifications, a central premise of the Second Thesis Section. For colonial Jews, the symbolic and performed relationship of practices could diverge, complicating the place of religious markers.

### **Religious Practices as Identity Markers**

In colonial Victoria, religious and cultural markers of a Jewish identity could be disputed and moderated by other members of the colonial Jewish community, complicating how these signifiers defined identifiable boundaries.<sup>5</sup> This renegotiation occurred as colonial Jews adapted their faith practices and the meanings assigned to these customs, a process that dates back to antiquity. Across history, Jews have modified their religious practices as they moved or migrated,<sup>6</sup> which required them to actively reshape their self-definitions, reference markers, and their behaviour.<sup>7</sup> The negotiations that Jews on the Central Victorian Goldfields engaged in reflect this long history as practices often resembled similar mediations in Britain and Europe. While adjustments were made, these markers remained

---

<sup>3</sup> A note on terms- In Judaism, the Saturday Sabbath is often referred to as ‘shabbat’, however, contemporaries in this study usually used the word ‘Sabbath’, a term this thesis will adopt for consistency.

<sup>4</sup> On the Central Victorian Goldfields, Jews observed a range of Jewish religious practices; however, due to both the constraints of the primary material as well as chapter space, only three will be examined in depth in this chapter.

<sup>5</sup> Emile Durkheim first discussed collective symbols as making and maintaining group identity, Emile Durkheim, *The Elementary Forms of Religious Life* (New York: Free Press, 1995). See also the study by Erving Goffman, who discussed symbolic acts and modern dress. Erving Goffman, ‘The Nature of Deference and Demeanor’, *American Anthropologist*, 58/3 (1956), 473-502.

<sup>6</sup> See David Biale (ed.), *Cultures of the Jews: A New History* (New York: Schocken Books, 2002).

<sup>7</sup> Kay Deaux and Kathleen A. Ethier, ‘Negotiating Social Identity’, in Janet K. Swim and Charles Stangor (eds.), *Prejudice: The Target’s Perspective* (California: Academic Press, 1998), 301.

central in supporting a Jewish communal, individual, and familial identification. Modern scholars have demonstrated how observances associated with *kashrut*, Sabbath, and the life cycle were, and continue to be, central to articulating a Jewish identity.<sup>8</sup> Colonial Jews expressed a similar attachment to these religious observances; however, the performance and symbolic aspect of these practices could diverge as self-definitions clashed with communal ideas regarding what constituted an Orthodox Jewish identity.

In the colonies, shifts in Jewish practice negotiated identifiable markers, what this identity meant, and who would be included, revealing the conflicting contemporary values ascribed to faith boundaries.<sup>9</sup> For example, in an anonymous letter to the editor of the *Jewish Herald*, the writer, who signed his name as ‘an Observer of the Sabbath’, deplored the state of Sabbath observance amongst Jews in the colonies. As the author remarked, “it is a most strange thing, but nevertheless a fact, that where the most Orthodox congregations exist there you will find the greatest number of Sabbath-breakers”.<sup>10</sup> For the author, this lack of observance by individuals and Hebrew congregations who identified as being Orthodox was indefensible, noting that,

if any one takes a glance at the so-called Sydney Orthodox congregation, he will find its President keeping his business place open on a Sabbath, and most of the congregation following his

---

<sup>8</sup> See Andrew Buckser, ‘Keeping Kosher: Eating and Social Identity among the Jews of Denmark’, *Ethnology*, 38/3 (1999), 191-209; Linda A. Bennett, Steven J. Wolin, and Katherine J. McAvity, ‘Family Identity, Ritual, and Myth: A Cultural Perspective on Life Cycle Transitions’, in Celia Jaes Falicov (ed.), *Family Transitions: Continuity and Change over the Life Cycle* (New York: Guilford Press, 1988); David Dee, ‘Sport or Shul? Physical Recreation, Anglo-Jewry and the Jewish Sabbath, ca. 1890-1939’, *Jewish Historical Studies*, 44/2012 (2012), 7-26; Irit Dekel, Bernhard Forchtner, and Ibrahim Efe, ‘Circumcising the Body: Negotiating Difference and Belonging in Germany’, *National Identities*, (2019), 1-19; Maria Diemling and Larry Ray, “‘Where do you Draw the Line?’: Negotiating Kashrut and Jewish Identity in a Small British Reform Community’, *Food, Culture & Society*, 17/1 (2014), 125-142; Robert Gordis, ‘The Sabbath- Cornerstone and Capstone of Jewish Life’, *Judaism*, 31/1 (1982), 6-11; Carol Harris-Shapiro, ‘Bloody Shankbones and Braided Bread: The Food Voice and the Fashioning of American Jewish Identities’, *Food & Foodways*, 14/2 (2006), 67-90; Robin Judd, *Contested Rituals: Circumcision, Kosher Butchering, and Jewish Political Life in Germany 1843-1933* (London: Cornell University Press, 2007); Sarah Mass, ‘Sunday Rites or Sunday Rights? Anglo-Jewish Traders and the Negotiability of the Mid-Century Sabbath’, *History of Retailing and Consumption*, 2/1 (2016), 68-83; Annie Polland, ‘Working for the Sabbath: Sabbath in the Jewish Immigrant Neighborhoods of New York’, *Labor: Studies in Working-Class History of the Americas*, 6/1 (2009), 33-56.

<sup>9</sup> See ‘Sabbath Observance’, *Jewish Herald*, 17 Dec. 1880, 3; ‘On the Sabbath’, *Jewish Herald*, 13 Feb. 1880, 2; ‘Mixed Marriages’, *Jewish Herald*, 13 Aug. 1880, 2; ‘Mixed Marriages- I’, *Jewish Herald*, 13 Jan. 1882, 6.

<sup>10</sup> ‘Sabbath Observance’, *Jewish Herald*, 17 Dec. 1880, 3.

example. This is the state of the *Orthodox* congregation! [emphasis in original]<sup>11</sup>

The writer considered that this Sabbath breaking was being committed mainly by “foreigners” who arrived as strict observers of Judaism but once “they are here for some time and are settled, keep their business places open on a Sabbath”.<sup>12</sup> For the author, Sabbath observance was a defining marker of Judaism, particularly Orthodox Judaism, with deviance away from this practice acting to not only diminish Jewish adherence, but to also define identity boundaries.

In Judaism, the Sabbath holds an important place in both Jewish adherence and in supporting a communal religious identity.<sup>13</sup> The Jewish Sabbath, which occurs from sunset on Friday to sunset the following Saturday, involves family and ritual meals and synagogue worship, whilst also prohibiting a number of activities, including a complete abstinence from work.<sup>14</sup> Others within colonial Jewish society agreed with ‘an Observer of the Sabbath’, as the editor of the newspaper added the side note, “no man has a right to call himself an Orthodox Jew, if at the same time he breaks the Sabbath”.<sup>15</sup> The Sydney Hebrew congregation referred to by ‘an Observer of the Sabbath’ evidently did not feel likewise, as they continued to identify with Orthodox Judaism whilst altering their Sabbath practice. Individuals and families could identify as being Orthodox Jews, yet communal perceptions based upon ideas of acceptable observance could allocate them a different position inside and even outside this Jewish identity, as the following sections in this chapter examine. While performance was perceived by some Jews as being central to identity markers, the symbolic role of these practices could be detached and used separately to define a Jewish identification.

The semblance of observance could hold a symbolic significance that extended beyond practice, further complicating the relationship between religious adherence and identity. In a letter to the editor published in the *Jewish Herald*, the author, A. Yehudah (meaning ‘A Jew’ as Yehudah refers to Judah who was the founder of the Israelite tribe of Jews), wrote,

---

<sup>11</sup> Ibid.

<sup>12</sup> Ibid.

<sup>13</sup> Gordis, ‘The Sabbath’, 6.

<sup>14</sup> *Encyclopaedia Judaica*, s.v. ‘Sabbath’.

<sup>15</sup> ‘Sabbath Observance’, *Jewish Herald*, 17 Dec. 1880, 3.



As one who respects the holy Sabbath, though at the same time no strict Sabbatarian, I ask you to use your influence in reviving the Sabbath Observance Association of Melbourne, which, if I remember rightly, was a duly constituted institution (before it dropped out of existence), with an influential committee.<sup>16</sup>

While the writer did not physically adhere to the Sabbath and it was not therefore a consistent practiced marker of his Jewish identity, the writer did symbolically ascribe to this signifier and it could still work to mark him as 'A. Yehudah'. The Saturday Sabbath was understood as a powerful signifier that found meaning even for individuals who defied its strictures, revealing how these symbols could be detached and used to denote identifications while practices themselves were adapted. Additionally, this curious admission of the writer who advocated for an observance he did not himself keep, may suggest expression of a deeper anxiety. Perhaps the author was concerned about the state of colonial religiosity which stricter Sabbath observance might have reaffirmed.

The significance of Jewish symbols and practices did not decrease for colonial Jews, who continued to view them as central and defining observances, but their actual practice could change. Through this means, difference was managed, allowing for the perceivable identity boundaries between Judaism and wider colonial society to 'blur', an important process that contributed to shifts in identity as Jews sought to overcome the limitations of the goldfield frontier.

### **More than a Family Affair: Intermarriage and the Formation of Jewish Families**

In colonial Victoria, interfaith couples formed Jewish families against Orthodox Jewish laws and institutional opposition, and in the process, negotiated the identifiable boundaries marking a Jewish familial identity. The place of converts in the colonial Jewish community, as well as the Jews who married them and the children born of these unions, was a contentious issue that drew upon historical precedents and modern developments. Before the modern period, intermarriage was viewed as drawing Jewish individuals as well as their children away from the community, many of whom became disconnected from congregations and formal Jewish institutions.<sup>17</sup> These ideas were refashioned in the modern period as the

---

<sup>16</sup> 'Correspondence', *Jewish Herald*, 13 Feb. 1880, 3.

<sup>17</sup> *Encyclopaedia Judaica*, s.v. 'Mixed Marriage, Intermarriage'. A large body of literature in Jewish Studies examines the intermarriage between Jews and non-Jews. For some of this literature, see Eleanore

increasing availability of civil law marriages allowed intermarriages to occur without conversion, and by extension, without movement away from the Jewish community.<sup>18</sup> Intermarriages influenced the religious observances and identity of families who were required to make active decisions concerning their family's religiosity, at times in direct contrast to organisational decrees. Most Jews on the Central Victorian Goldfields continued to marry within their faith, yet a small proportion sought partners outside their religious community, unions influenced by a range of factors and colonial conditions.

Jewish intermarriages were shaped in various degrees by both personal and wider colonial society, defined in part by community compositions and changing ideals of marriage. At the mid-century, marriages between persons of different faiths or nationalities were common in the Victorian colony, which likely encouraged Jewish intermarriage. For the years 1855 and 1860, an estimated 43.5 per cent of marriages in Victoria were between persons of a different national or religious background; for 1866 to 1871, this number increased to 51.6 per cent.<sup>19</sup> Alongside this growing social acceptance of intermarriage, the Jewish community in Victoria at the mid-century suffered from a significant gender imbalance where men greatly outnumbered women, restricting the available options for Jewish males.<sup>20</sup> While the limited availability of sources have made gathering precise numbers on intermarriage rates among Jews on the Central Victorian Goldfields impossible, intermarriage in the Jewish community seems to have occurred most often between Jewish men and Christian women originally from the British Isles, who later converted to Judaism.<sup>21</sup> This disparity complies with statistics gained from other countries in a similar time period which show markedly more Jewish men marrying

---

Judd, 'Intermarriage and the Maintenance of Religio- Ethnic Identity A Case Study: The Denver Jewish Community', *Journal of Comparative Family Studies*, 21/2 (1990), 251; Matthijs Kalmijn et al., 'The Family Factor in Jewish-Gentile Intermarriage: A Sibling Analysis of The Netherlands', *Social Forces*, 84/3 (2006), 1347-1358; Steven M. Lowenstein, 'Jewish Intermarriage in Germany and Austria', *Modern Judaism*, 25/1 (2005), 23-61; Shulamit Reinharz and Sergio DellaPergola (eds.), *Jewish Intermarriage Around the World* (New Brunswick, New Jersey: Transaction Publishers, 2009); Peter Tammes, 'Jewish-Gentile Intermarriage in Pre-War Amsterdam', *The History of the Family*, 15/3 (2010), 298-315.

<sup>18</sup> Egon Mayer, *Love and Tradition: Marriage between Jews and Christians* (United States of America: Plenum, 1985), 43.

<sup>19</sup> Pauline Rule, 'Women and Marriage in the Irish Diaspora in Nineteenth-Century Victoria', *The Australasian Journal of Irish Studies*, 8 (2008/2009), 51.

<sup>20</sup> Silberberg, *A Networked Community* (2020), 52.

<sup>21</sup> See 'Family Notices', *Bendigo Advertiser*, 11 Dec. 1879, 2; 'Lawlessness', *Jewish Herald*, 9 Apr. 1880, 6; Silberberg, *A Networked Community* (2020), 52; Australian Jewish Historical Society Sydney Archive, Spielvogel, *Annals of the Ballarat Hebrew Congregation*, 35.

out than women.<sup>22</sup> Evidence has been found of Jewish women who married non-Jewish men on the Central Victorian Goldfields, such as Elizabeth Jacobs, who was born to Jewish parents in Bendigo, and married John Conway, a Methodist, in 1883.<sup>23</sup>

It is significant that the non-Jewish partners chosen by Jews were white, British, and from a Christian denomination, with no recorded instance available of goldfield Jews marrying into any other group or race. While such partners may have been chosen from demographic and economic circumstances, as was the case for other colonialists, it also suggests that Jews felt that they had more in common with this group.<sup>24</sup> Similarities in cultural traits, a colonial white status, and a shared social class may have become a basis for their marriage, rather than religion. Unions likely formed through ideas of compatibility and affinity which Jews had more recently adopted into their matrimonial beliefs. From the mid-eighteenth century, individuals increasingly selected their partners (so-called ‘love matches’), at times against parental wishes.<sup>25</sup> This evolving form of marriage selection affected Jewish unions slightly later than more dominant Christian groups, only becoming more noticeable after the French Revolution, when Jewish liberties increased.<sup>26</sup> Though their reasons for intermarrying were likely diverse, these interfaith unions frequently pushed communal and organisational limits of colonial Judaism.

As Jewish men formed Jewish-centred families with Christian wives, identifications and Jewish practice could directly oppose Orthodox beliefs and institutional decrees. Born in Russia and raised in Jerusalem, Rabbi Jacob Levi Saphir toured the Australian colonies in the early 1860s.<sup>27</sup> While in Bendigo, Rabbi Saphir was approached by a Jewish man married to a Christian woman, who had originally been his servant.<sup>28</sup> The couple had two sons who had been circumcised and given Hebrew names, yet the wife had not converted.<sup>29</sup> They informed Rabbi Saphir that her conversion could be obtained in

---

<sup>22</sup> Diner, *A Time for Gathering*, 140; Mayer, *Love and Tradition*, 83; Peter Y. Medding et al., ‘Identity in Conversionary and Mixed Marriages’, *American Jewish Year Book*, 92 (1992), 10; Rutland, *The Jews in Australia*, 302.

<sup>23</sup> ‘Family Notices’, *Bendigo Independent*, 4 Apr. 1908, 4.

<sup>24</sup> Rule, ‘Women and Marriage in the Irish Diaspora’, 54.

<sup>25</sup> Mayer, *Love and Tradition*, 75.

<sup>26</sup> *Ibid.* 64.

<sup>27</sup> Rev. Raymond Apple, *Rabbi Jacob Levi Saphir and His Voyage to Australia* (Sydney: Australian Jewish Historical Society, 1968), 1.

<sup>28</sup> *Ibid.* 13.

<sup>29</sup> *Ibid.*

Melbourne though they lacked the funds to travel. In response to the peddler's appeal, Saphir agreed to perform the ceremony, forming a *beth din* (a rabbinical court) with Isaac Friedman, the Bendigo Jewish minister, initiating the peddler's wife into Judaism.<sup>30</sup> When Saphir later travelled to Melbourne, the Jewish minister for the Melbourne congregation, Moses Rintel, accused Saphir of interfering in his religious prerogative.<sup>31</sup> Rintel notified the Chief Rabbi of the British Empire, who declared Rabbi Saphir's actions void and the conversion false; the poor peddler's wife and their two children remained non-Jews in the eyes of the highest Jewish officials in the British Empire.<sup>32</sup> Efforts to form the desired Jewish family were at times hampered by the authority conferred to Jewish ministers of more powerful congregations which could leave families in a precarious and indeterminate position between a Jewish self-identification and an institutional non-Jewish status. The family's performance of certain rituals and identifiable markers had to be negotiated against Orthodox views and the contested prerogatives assigned to Jewish ministers, complicating the family's identity as Jews. This institutional regulation was tested further as interfaith families attempted to secure Jewish identities for their children.

Jewish interfaith families often sought to raise their children in Judaism and practice Jewish life cycle rituals. Jewish children constituted a relatively small portion of the overall population of the Central Victorian Goldfields in the early decades. The available register for the Ballarat Jewish community records 50 births between 1851 and 1870, while from 1870 to 1880, 105 births were noted.<sup>33</sup> The birth of Jewish children created a demand for certain Jewish life cycle rituals, such as a *brit milah* or circumcision ceremonies for infant boys. A *brit milah* marks the covenant established between the individual and God, acting to welcome the child into the Jewish community and physically marking him as Jewish. The rite of circumcision is commanded by a number of passages in the Tanakh, such as Genesis 17: 11-12, which outlines the age at which males are to be circumcised and specifically states eight days, though there could be some variance in individual observance.<sup>34</sup> A person trained to perform the ceremony is called a *mohel* (plural *mohalim*). Formal accreditation as a *mohel* in the colonies required first undergoing a personal examination by the Chief Rabbi of the British Empire; colonial

---

<sup>30</sup> Ibid.

<sup>31</sup> Ibid.

<sup>32</sup> Ibid.

<sup>33</sup> Australian Jewish Historical Society Sydney Archive, *Ballarat Register*, AB 175.

<sup>34</sup> *Encyclopaedia Judaica*, s.v. 'Circumcision'. The Tanakh, also known as the Hebrew Bible or the Mikra, is the canonical collection of Hebrew scriptures.

Hebrew congregations could issue certificates of competency, though it is unclear how common this practice was.<sup>35</sup> It is traditionally considered the duty of the father to ensure a *brit milah* is performed, but if he neglects to do so, it is devolved on to the *beth din*.<sup>36</sup> As no *beth din* was organised in the Victorian colony until 1864, the performance of this rite fell completely on the father and the family.<sup>37</sup> While this increased the pressure on fathers to ensure its practice, it also freed families to vary aspects of the ritual.

Whilst Jews in Melbourne usually found little difficulty in securing a *brit milah* for their sons, Jewish families located in rural or frontier settlements that lacked a Jewish minister and a synagogue likely experienced some difficulty in procuring the services of a *mohel*, which delayed observance. Benjamin Aaron Selig, a *mohel*, arrived in Melbourne from Britain in the early 1850s with his family. In his possession was a journal in which he detailed the funeral rites and rituals of circumcision he performed in Britain, Australia, and eventually in New Zealand. Recorded in the diary were children who had been circumcised and resided in Bendigo, with one, Joseph Singer, dated for as early as 1855, which predates the local synagogue or the arrival of a Jewish minister in the area.<sup>38</sup> While Selig's journal demonstrated that such ceremonies continued, it also highlighted that they did so with some adaption. The age of infants from Bendigo who received a *brit milah* ranged from four to six months, and not the prescribed eight days.<sup>39</sup> In Melbourne and its nearby areas, no such noticeable trend was noted in the diary. In Selig's journal, the majority of entries in Melbourne did not state the age of the infant, suggesting that they were conducted on or near the eighth day.

The postponement of a *brit milah* was likely the result of the limitations of the goldfields, which often lacked the knowledgeable persons and resources needed for a timely performance of circumcision ceremonies. Once synagogues were built and ministers hired, the delay in the performance of a *brit milah* was likely diminished, though travel could still be required if parents lived significant distances from the synagogue. A similar delay in infant religious ritual was noted amongst Christian communities in Castlemaine, where baptism was postponed often for months after the

---

<sup>35</sup> Silberberg, *A Networked Community* (2020), 51.

<sup>36</sup> *Encyclopaedia Judaica*, s.v. 'Circumcision'.

<sup>37</sup> Rutland, *The Jews in Australia*, 265.

<sup>38</sup> State Library of Victoria, Benjamin Aaron Selig, *Circumcision Book, 1849-1862*, 1849-1862, MS 13693, in State Library of Victoria [Online Database], accessed 23 Jun. 2019, 83.

<sup>39</sup> *Ibid.* 83, 93.

birth.<sup>40</sup> Baptism not only welcomed an infant into the religious community but also inferred that one was cleansed of original sin and the impurities associated with birth, combined with the fear that upon death an unbaptised child was condemned to hell, making it a highly significant ritual.<sup>41</sup> Such ideas were particularly strong within Catholic, Anglican, and Lutheran communities, with other non-conformist denominations remaining divided on whether infant baptism was essential for salvation.<sup>42</sup> For colonial Jews, the performance of a *brit milah* also required a high level of trust in the *mohel*, a sense of confidence which some colonialists challenged.

In the colonies, the vast distances between towns and settlements, coupled with the insufficiency of overarching and localised organisational committees, resulted in travelling *mohalim*, men who could assume titles and roles they were not authorised to undertake. In his letter to *Empire*, a Sydney based newspaper, Samuel Cohen discussed his confusion over the credentials of a practicing *mohel*, Morris Cohen. Whilst employed as the *mohel* for the York Street Synagogue, Morris had improperly performed a *brit milah* on Samuel's nephew. Morris Cohen failed to pronounce the usual prayers, nor did he name the child. Instead, the form of prayer uttered was for illegitimate offspring, which was used by Morris as he claimed the mother to be a Christian.<sup>43</sup> A former minister of the synagogue had married the parents with the unanimous consent of both the synagogue president and the presiding board of management, meaning that the mother had been accepted into the community by the congregational committee. When the Chief Rabbi was later consulted on the matter regarding the unprofessional performance of the *brit milah*, he agreed that the infant "ought to have been named".<sup>44</sup> Though Morris had lost his position as *mohel* of the York Street Synagogue, he continued to adopt the title 'Reverend', a title of veneration that conferred power and religious license; however, as Samuel noted, "I don't know by what authority he claims that title".<sup>45</sup> At the time, Samuel noted that Morris had "become an itinerant priest, performing marriages and circumcisions throughout the colony, the legality of which I much question as he holds no clerical appointment in this or any other colony".<sup>46</sup> While unaffiliated with a synagogue,

---

<sup>40</sup> Patricia Grimshaw and Charles Fahey, 'Family and Community in Nineteenth-Century Castlemaine', in Patricia Grimshaw, Chris McConville, and Ellen McEwen (eds.), *Families in Colonial Australia* (Sydney: George Allen & Unwin, 1985), 92.

<sup>41</sup> Colin Heywood, *A History of Childhood: Children and Childhood in the West from Medieval to Modern Times* (Cambridge, England: Polity Press, 2001), 60.

<sup>42</sup> *Ibid.* 61.

<sup>43</sup> 'To the Editor of the Empire', *Empire*, 1 Feb. 1860, 3.

<sup>44</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>45</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>46</sup> *Ibid.*

Morris continued to use the title of Reverend to perform important religious ceremonies and rituals that defined the institutional status and identification of Jews. Morris' high mobility in a colony that lacked a local and unified Jewish authority meant that he could continue to perform Jewish religious ceremonies uncontested.

Intermarried couples continued to seek a *brit milah* for their sons, yet institutions in the colony demonstrated mixed feelings in performing these ceremonies, leading to accidental performances. In 1870, Mr Greenbaum informed the committee of the East Melbourne Hebrew congregation that he had unwittingly circumcised the son of a Jewish father and non-Jewish mother, a ceremony that was conducted following the inducement of the synagogue committee president.<sup>47</sup> The incorrect performance of a *brit milah* demonstrates the presence of religious dissensions within colonial communities and congregations, and how important religious life rituals could be impacted as a result. The power conferred on committee members, particularly on men who occupied high positions such as president, could be used to decide who could observe certain practices. Through these means, members of the community could break down institutional boundaries.

Communal and organisational beliefs about who could and who could not receive the rite of *brit milah* varied, providing interfaith parents with additional opportunities to circumcise their sons. It could, however, place them in a more uncertain position as a *brit milah* did not ensure their families nor their sons a Jewish status. Jewish children born before a Christian wife was converted were often required to undergo conversions as well, as stipulated by the Chief Rabbi of the British Empire, which included ritual immersion in a *mikvah* (ritual bath).<sup>48</sup> The meaning of this important Jewish marker was disputed as families actively opposed Orthodox beliefs and colonial Jewish institutions, who often fought back. Familial identifications and institutional decisions were interrelated, placing Jewish families formed through intermarriage in an uneasy position between a Jewish and a non-Jewish status.

The formation of a Jewish family did not become a choice between the rejection of or commitment to Judaism on the Central Victorian Goldfields, but rather indicated more nuanced decisions shaped by families, organisations, and available resources. Interfaith

---

<sup>47</sup> Silberberg, *A Networked Community* (2020), 57.

<sup>48</sup> Ibid. 55.

Jewish families mediated identifications and practiced markers against institutional decisions and colonial limits, negotiating understandings of difference both within and across identity boundaries. This mediation tended to soften and to 'blur' identity boundaries as interfaith families moved, at times unwillingly, between a Jewish and non-Jewish status, as somehow occupying both and neither at the same time. These boundaries were further influenced as Jews varied their Jewish Sabbath habits.

### **'Desecrate the Sabbath or Starve': Sabbath Observance and Colonial Power**

On the early Central Victorian Goldfields, and indeed in the colony more widely, British Protestant social, political, and cultural frameworks greatly impacted the observance of the Jewish Sabbath. Christian miners and settlers across the goldfields engaged in a range of alternative Sabbath habits, often exchanging church pews for leisure to the great shock of some clergymen. In 1887, Thomas Hastie, a Catholic minister, recalled how Sundays were spent on the early Ballarat goldfields. As Hastie noted,

At the beginning of the diggings little attention was paid to Sabbath religious worship, the feelings of many resembling those of the digger who, when asked for a subscription, sent for a bottle of brandy to treat his visitor with.<sup>49</sup>

Hastie was, of course, referring to the Christian Sabbath, but not all held this day as hallowed. In Judaism, Saturday is the Sabbath.<sup>50</sup> *Halachah* (Jewish religious law) surrounding the Jewish Sabbath is complex and specifies that actions such as writing, shopping, business transactions, lighting fires, cooking, and laundry are not to be performed between dusk on Friday and dusk on the following Saturday.<sup>51</sup> While Judaism outlined how Saturdays should be spent, social expectations and civil law also impacted Sunday activities, a difficulty which Jews in Britain and America likewise navigated.<sup>52</sup> What constituted a suitable Sunday pursuit became a hotly contested issue in the colonies, Britain, and America as Sabbath observance and church attendance decreased, though sections of society such as the Catholic working class maintained high rates of church

---

<sup>49</sup> Withers, *The History of Ballarat*, 39.

<sup>50</sup> *Encyclopaedia Judaica*, s.v. 'Sabbath'.

<sup>51</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>52</sup> For some of this literature on the Jewish Sabbath in Britain and North America, see Naomi W. Cohen, *Jews in Christian America: The Pursuit of Religious Equality* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1992); William Velvel Moskoff and Carol Gayle, 'Jewish Bakers in Late Nineteenth-Century Great Britain and Sunday Baking Restrictions', *Shofar*, 35/1 (2016), 51-67.



attendance.<sup>53</sup> Sabbath observance arose more widely as a social and religious issue in the colony as competing views about suitable Sunday activity, including the availability of public amenities, vied for prominence.

In the 1850s and 60s, colonialists expressed conflicting ideas on appropriate Sunday practice, disputing whether the day was to be given to God or the individual. Some colonialists insisted on Sundays being a day of religious devotion.<sup>54</sup> Non-Conformist Evangelicals, Scottish Presbyterians, and Low-Church Anglicans were the strongest advocates for the religious observance of the Christian Sabbath.<sup>55</sup> These supporters proclaimed the enforcement of Sunday laws as a defence of Christianity itself, and as a Christian colony, were required to be upheld.<sup>56</sup> In spite of such views, the majority of people on the goldfields did not strictly adhere to the Sunday Sabbath, preferring to spend the day seeking entertainment and recreation.

Some Sunday Sabbath supporters endorsed the prohibition of Sunday work on the grounds that the day should be for rest, family, and leisure, rather than religion. In 1858, a sales assistant outlined in a letter to the editor of the *Bendigo Advertiser* that whilst a “great deal might be said against Sunday trading, in a religious point of view”, he believed that the needs of workers should be accommodated and the day given to “ourselves” rather than to God.<sup>57</sup> Other colonialists evidently shared the opinion of the sales assistant and spent the day as they saw fit. In Bendigo, sport was played on Sundays, organised fights occurred, and some mining and trading continued.<sup>58</sup> Meanwhile in Ballarat, Sunday was noted as a domestic day when washing and cookery tasks were

---

<sup>53</sup> For more on Sabbath observance in Britain and America, see Patrick Collinson, ‘The Beginning of English Sabbatarianism’, *Studies in Church History*, 1 (1961), 207-221; Richard R. John, ‘Taking Sabbatarianism Seriously: The Postal System, the Sabbath and the Transformation of American Political Culture’, *Journal of the Early Republic*, 10/4 (1990), 517-567; Karl E. Johnson, ‘From Sabbath to Weekend: Recreation, Sabbatarianism, and the Emergence of the Weekend’, Ph.D. thesis (Cornell University, 2011); Mass, ‘Sunday Rites or Sunday Rights?’, John Wigley, *The Rise and Fall of the Victorian Sunday* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1980).

<sup>54</sup> See ‘Ballarat Sabbath Observance Society’, *Star*, 24 Mar. 1858, 2; ‘Sabbath Observance Society’, *Argus*, 2 Nov. 1855, 5; ‘Sabbath Observance Society’, *Portland Guardian and Normanby General Advertiser*, 5 Jul. 1858, 2; ‘Sabbath Observance Association’, *Geelong Advertiser*, 19 Oct. 1859, 2; ‘The Sabbath Observance Association’, *Geelong Advertiser*, 24 Oct. 1860, 2; ‘Presbyterian Church Assembly Sabbath Observance Committee’, *Mount Alexander Mail*, 19 Nov. 1868, 2.

<sup>55</sup> Jones and Wright, ‘The Goldfields’ Sabbath’, 451.

<sup>56</sup> Mansfield, ‘Thinking about Australian Religious History’, 339.

<sup>57</sup> ‘Sunday Trading’, *Bendigo Advertiser*, 5 Jan. 1858, 3.

<sup>58</sup> ‘Original Correspondence’, *Bendigo Advertiser*, 28 Jan. 1858, 3; ‘Sabbath Breaking’, *Bendigo Advertiser*, 2 Dec. 1857, 3; ‘Sabbath Desecration’, *Bendigo Advertiser*, 5 Nov. 1859, 2.

undertaken.<sup>59</sup> Secular sentiment socially enshrined Sunday as being set apart from the rest of the week.

Sundays, as either a day for religion or play, impacted ideas of belonging by setting a cultural and social expectation which, for many, defined the limits of their moral or imagined community. Jews on the goldfields confronted and navigated both the symbolic and practiced aspects of the Christian Sabbath that could define their place within wider colonial society and the Jewish community. Jewish business owners and settlers not only had the social, religious, and cultural frameworks surrounding Sunday observance to navigate, but also legal stipulations and economic realities.

Sunday Trading laws in colonial Victoria banned trade and most forms of paid labour, making it illegal to conduct business on the Christian Sabbath. As a British colonial outpost, the Australian colonies had inherited the body of statutes surrounding the Christian Sabbath from England, which encouraged Sunday adherence by penalising non-observance.<sup>60</sup> The Sunday legislation transported to Australia was directly connected to the Westminster Confession of Faith, a Protestant document created by the established church, the Church of England, in 1647. The Victorian Parliament later extended these laws to further limit Sunday Trading while banning shooting on the Sabbath and prohibiting theatre performances.<sup>61</sup> Like their British predecessors, Victorian laws worked to preserve the Christian Sabbath by requiring all settlers and migrants to observe this day, regardless of their faith. Jewish business owners and individuals thus encountered a difficult decision regarding which days to work and how to spend Saturdays and Sundays.<sup>62</sup> The issues surrounding Sunday Trading and Jewish practice were not new for many goldfields Jews. Most Jewish settlers were likely familiar with this Sabbath negotiation as they or their families would have encountered similar issues in Britain.<sup>63</sup> In England, Jews were also required to make decisions regarding whether they

---

<sup>59</sup> Jones and Wright, 'The Goldfields' Sabbath', 456.

<sup>60</sup> Ibid. 451.

<sup>61</sup> Ibid; Serle, *The Rush to be Rich*, 158.

<sup>62</sup> This section of history is part of another emerging modern historical trend which was as yet to make its mark in the colonies, the history of the weekend. See Witold Rybczynski, *Waiting for the Weekend* (Harmondsworth, England: Penguin Books, 1991).

<sup>63</sup> A significant number of studies have been conducted into the Saturday Sabbath and the Sunday working practices of Jews, both in Britain and North America. For some of this literature, see Dee, 'Sport or Shul?'; Benjamin Kline Hunnicutt, 'The Jewish Sabbath Movement in the Early Twentieth Century', *American Jewish History*, 69/2 (1979), 196-225; Mass, 'Sunday Rites or Sunday Rights?'; Heather A. McKay, *Sabbath and Synagogue: The Question of Sabbath Worship in Ancient Judaism* (Boston: Brill, 2001); Kerry M. Olitzky, 'The Sunday-Sabbath Movement in American Reform Judaism: Strategy or Evolution?', *American Jewish Archives*, 34/1 (1982), 75-88; Polland, 'Working for the Sabbath'.

would work on Saturday or Sunday, with some deciding to work on Saturdays whilst others observed the Jewish Sabbath and traded on Sundays.<sup>64</sup> The choices made by goldfields Jews reflected these earlier practices in Britain and could stand in direct opposition to colonial law.

Jews on the Central Victorian Goldfields could continue to trade on Sundays; however, open transgression of the Christian Sabbath often resulted in fines. Mr. Bukh, a Jewish business owner located in Ballarat, frequently worked on Sundays. Appalled by his actions, the neighbours reported Mr. Bukh, who was apprehended by the police and prosecuted. An *Argus* article commented on Bukh's behaviour, stating,

it appears that this diligent Hebrew cannot see why he should be compelled to remain idle on a day which to him is no more than any other ordinary day, and consequently he has hitherto been in the habit of prosecuting his usual avocations in defiance of the prohibition contained in the law.<sup>65</sup>

Bukh traded on Sundays as he rigidly observed the Jewish Sabbath, which was not taken into consideration when he appeared in the police court.<sup>66</sup> Sitting on the bench for Bukh's court case, Charles Dyte, who was mentioned in chapter two, objected to the charge, but was overruled and Bukh was fined five shillings for breaking the Christian Sabbath.<sup>67</sup> From the available evidence, it is hard to gauge how often court cases for Sunday Trading arose from the complaints of neighbours rather than police patrols or the town inspector. The frequency with which both Jewish and non-Jewish persons were warned against or charged with Sunday Trading on the goldfields suggests that for some there was an implicit acceptance that trade continued despite the prohibition. The police and a noticeable minority of complainers, however, did not share this view. Some concessions were made for Jewish persons in court, often in relation to which bible they could use to be sworn in or if they missed a court appearance for a Jewish holiday.<sup>68</sup> These allowances did not extend to Sunday Trading. Courts and the magistrates who presided over them expected Jewish business owners to pay the full fine, as decided by the bench. The application of colonial law could be inflexible, with its grounding in Protestantism

---

<sup>64</sup> Mass, 'Sunday Rites or Sunday Rights?', 73; Endelman, *The Jews of Britain*, 147.

<sup>65</sup> 'The Argus', *Argus*, 13 May 1874, 4.

<sup>66</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>67</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>68</sup> 'Country Court', *Star*, 17 Sep. 1858, 2; 'Geelong Insolvent Court', *Ballarat Star*, 11 Oct. 1867, 4; 'Mining Intelligence, Taking the Oath', *Bendigo Advertiser*, 7 Mar. 1866, 2.

turning civil disobedience into religious dissent, and through this means, pressured Jews to conform.

When applied to all within colonial society, Sabbath observance acted as a form of Protestant social and religious control, with the law becoming a site for the navigation of Jewish difference.<sup>69</sup> Bukh's neighbours, who likely knew that he kept the Saturday Sabbath as he closed his business and ceased working, decided to report Bukh regardless. They seem to have been more appalled by his flaunting of the law and Christian principles than respectful of his own religious adherence. To ascribe and enjoy a colonial settler identity, Bukh's compliance with Protestant law was expected and if not forthcoming, it was compelled. By targeting those who did not observe the Christian Sabbath, Sunday laws became a means to police religious boundaries and enforce strict Sabbatarianism.<sup>70</sup> A British settler identity, as well as Jewish inclusion within this bounded group, occurred at the expense of Jewish Orthodoxy. In response, colonial Jews did petition the government to revise the Sunday Trading laws, citing the unfair disadvantage it placed upon them, yet such complaints went largely unheeded and the laws remain rigid in their scope.<sup>71</sup>

Shifts in Jewish Sabbath observances required Jews to not only consider religious consequences, but also their financial interests. In 1871, the Melbourne based Jewish newspaper, *Australian Israelite*, complained of the rise in the desecration of the Jewish Sabbath across the Victorian colony. The writer highlighted the difficult position of Jews regarding their work habits, and proclaimed that "the Jewish workman is either compelled to desecrate the Sabbath or starve".<sup>72</sup> To abide by both *halachah* and colonial law meant ceasing from work for two days, which could have huge economic implications. While some made active decisions to work on Sundays, to continue to observe religious law regardless of civil rulings, others re-evaluated their weekend work practices.

On the goldfields, Jews engaged in a range of labour and activity on the Jewish Sabbath, turning this day from religious rest and study to one of financial pursuit and leisure. In Bendigo, Henry Marks continually auctioned goods on Saturday mornings,

---

<sup>69</sup> Jones and Wright, 'The Goldfields' Sabbath', 451.

<sup>70</sup> Ibid. 453.

<sup>71</sup> Silberberg, 'A Networked Community' (2015), 67.

<sup>72</sup> 'The Sabbath and the Factory Act', *Australian Israelite*, 25 Aug. 1871, 4.

working as an auctioneer and commission agent from rooms in Pall Mall.<sup>73</sup> Solomon Herman owned extensive mining shares and managed multiple mining companies in Bendigo where he organised shareholder meetings on Saturdays, most likely recognising the need to accommodate the larger non-Jewish majority.<sup>74</sup> Saturday labour clearly occurred in the Jewish community as Jews left homes and synagogues for auction rooms and mining meetings; however, why they did so was at times unclear. Saturday labour provided a deliberate strategy to meet their economic needs within the Protestant structures of the goldfields whilst also acting as a safety screen to shield Jews from reproach.

It may have also been motivated by a desire to assimilate into the colony's cultural and social frameworks as newspaper reports indicated that at least some Jews, such as Sydney Abraham and Isaac Davidson in Ballarat, shopped for clothes on Saturday.<sup>75</sup> Shopping on a Saturday was not only available, but also socially and economically endorsed.<sup>76</sup> As Jews increasingly entered the middle-classes, they may have intentionally adapted their weekend habits to display their adherence to colonial class norms, demonstrating that they also engaged in similar Saturday pastimes such as shopping.<sup>77</sup> Jews who continued to work on Saturdays or engaged in shopping participated in processes of 'honing' the self towards expected socio-religious norms, towards colonial Christian and middle-class norms, as Meyer's theory of aesthetic formations suggests. The Saturday labour and leisure of family members may have been part of a larger familial negotiation of Sabbath observance and economic survival.

The lack of available material on the Saturday activities of Jewish women not only marginalises their Sabbath practices, but also makes it harder to uncover whether husbands laboured so that their wives and children could keep the Sabbath. Historian Annie Polland in her study on Jewish immigrants and the Saturday Sabbath in nineteenth century New York revealed the complex familial negotiation of weekend labour, arguing that "just because one member of the family worked did not mean that they all did".<sup>78</sup> Often a male family member or older children worked on Saturdays to support siblings,

---

<sup>73</sup> 'Advertising', *Bendigo Advertiser*, 22 Nov. 1855, 3; 'Advertising', *Bendigo Advertiser*, 15 Dec. 1855, 3; 'Advertising', *Bendigo Advertiser*, 26 Apr. 1856, 3; 'Advertising', *Bendigo Advertiser*, 7 Jun. 1856, 4.

<sup>74</sup> 'Advertising', *Ballarat Star*, 26 Apr. 1865, 4.

<sup>75</sup> 'Eastern Police Court', *Star*, 10 Jan. 1863, 4.

<sup>76</sup> Weston Bate, *Lucky City: The First Generation at Ballarat 1851- 1901* (Melbourne: Melbourne University Press, 2003), 172.

<sup>77</sup> Young, *Middle Class Culture*, 14.

<sup>78</sup> Polland, 'Working for the Sabbath', 43.

parents, and even grandparents who maintained Sabbath observances.<sup>79</sup> Adherence by women and children likely occurred in the home or the synagogue, away from Christian eyes, which, coupled with their absence from work on Sundays, could be seen as symbolically heeding the Christian Sabbath. Jewish men or older children who worked on Saturdays in more visual communal and economic spaces may have fulfilled the symbolic role for their family of ascribing to wider colonial Christian work habits. This could lessen perceivable differences between Jews and Christians, though familial Jewish Sabbath observance could remain largely the same.

Whether enacted by choice or necessity, shifts in the Saturday and Sunday labour of Jews on the Central Victorian Goldfields acted to negotiate the boundaries of a Jewish identity. As the Lived Religion approach recognises, this mediation did not mean a secularisation of Jewish religiosity. Herman, Abraham, and Marks relinquished Jewish Sabbath observance and yet they continued to strongly identify with Judaism, becoming well-known Jewish representatives who were part of the local synagogue committee or were buried according to Jewish funeral rites.<sup>80</sup> The negotiation of Saturday and Sunday labour managed the perceived differences between Jews and the surrounding colonial society, contributing to the fracture necessary for blurred boundaries to emerge. Modifications in kosher food practices could act in a similar capacity.

### **‘Before He Could Find One that was Kosher’: *Kashrut* on the Goldfields**

As Jews sojourned and settled on the goldfields, they negotiated *kashrut*, which could complicate how and when this Jewish marker was practiced. Numerous scholars have shown how food and food practices, often termed ‘foodways’, are a significant identity marker that maintained boundaries between Jews and non-Jews, even into the nineteenth century.<sup>81</sup> Historians examining colonial cuisine in Australia have likewise demonstrate

---

<sup>79</sup> Ibid.

<sup>80</sup> Marks was buried according to Jewish rites upon his death in 1869, whilst Herman occupied different positions on the Ballarat Hebrew congregation committee, such as Treasurer, and Herman often acted as *mohel* for the Bendigo Jewish community or assisted in Jewish worship, ‘News and Notes’, *Star*, 14 Oct. 1862, 2; ‘Rival Routes’, *Bendigo Advertiser*, 1 Oct. 1881, 2; ‘Sandhurst’, *Jewish Herald*, 12 Oct. 1888, 6; ‘The Bendigo Advertiser Funerals’, *Bendigo Advertiser*, 18 Oct. 1869, 2.

<sup>81</sup> See Buckser, ‘Keeping Kosher’; Diemling and Ray, “‘Where do you Draw the Line?’”; Linda Keller Brown and Kay Mussell, *Ethnic and Regional Foodways in the United States: The Performance of Group Identity* (Knoxville, Tennessee: The University of Tennessee Press, 1984); David Kraemer, *Jewish Eating and Identity Through the Ages* (New York and London: Routledge, 2007); Panikos Panayi, ‘The Anglicisation of East European Jewish Food in Britain’, *Immigrants & Minorities*, 30/2-3 (2012), 292-317; Harris-Shapiro, ‘Bloody Shankbones and Braided Bread’.

the importance of foodways in defining social, racial, and cultural identities.<sup>82</sup> *Kashrut* refers to the set of dietary laws in Judaism which have their origin in the Torah.<sup>83</sup>

According to the Torah, only mammals that chew the cud and have cloven hooves are to be eaten, as are fish that have both scales and fins, and a limited set of birds, with certain birds, such as birds of prey, forbidden. All animals must be slaughtered by a trained *shochet*, who must follow set rules and guidelines to ensure the meat is unblemished and to minimise any pain caused to the animal.<sup>84</sup> The daily consumption of food makes the keeping of kosher an everyday practice, becoming in part an often unremarked-upon yet salient aspect of life.<sup>85</sup> As a result, few records survive of home practices concerning *kashrut*, women's work, and meal preparation. Jewish women in particular play an important role in not only preparing food, but also in keeping a kosher kitchen through a set of practices and observances.<sup>86</sup> How Jewish migrants negotiated such laws as they came into contact with Australian wildlife is unknown and is beyond the scope of this thesis. Some Jews may have simply chosen not to observe kosher while they remained on the goldfields or instead adapted their practices to accommodate local availability.

Due to a lack of sources, it is unclear exactly how, when, and in what ways Jews negotiated *kashrut* observance on the Central Victorian Goldfields, though some evidence does survive. Institutionally supplied foods were temporarily available on the Central Victorian Goldfields during certain times of the year, mainly for religious holidays. The provision of articles needed for Passover, mainly matzah (a type of unleavened flatbread), was available relatively early in Ballarat.<sup>87</sup> Advertisements for matzah were placed in the local paper between 1857 and 1859 with "all persons requiring Mathaers [matzah] ... requested to make application ... [to] Mr J. Benjamin, Honorary Secretary, Ballarat

---

<sup>82</sup> See Charmaine O'Brien, *The Colonial Kitchen: Australia 1788- 1901* (Lanham, Maryland: Rowman & Littlefield, 2016); Barbara Santich, *Bold Palates: Australia's Gastronomic Heritage* (Kent Town, South Australia: Wakefield Press, 2012); Blake Singley, "'Hardly Anything Fit for Man to Eat": Food and Colonialism in Australia', *History Australia*, 9/3 (2012), 27-42.

<sup>83</sup> Panayi, 'The Anglicisation of East European Jewish Food', 296.

<sup>84</sup> *Encyclopaedia Judaica*, s.v. 'Dietary Laws'. For more in-depth information regarding *kashrut*, see Kraemer, *Jewish Eating and Identity Through the Ages*; Ella Stiniguță Laslo, 'Purity and Impurity in Judaism: Taboo Foods and the Kashrut Laws', *Studia Judaica*, 22/1 (2017), 137-157; Stanley Waterman, 'Eating, Drinking and Maintenance of Community: Jewish Dietary Laws and Their Effects on Separateness', in Stanley D. Brunn (ed.), *The Changing World Religion Map: Sacred Places, Identities, Practices, and Politics* (New York: Springer, 2015).

<sup>85</sup> Buckser, 'Keeping Kosher', 203.

<sup>86</sup> *Encyclopaedia Judaica*, s.v. 'Dietary Laws'.

<sup>87</sup> Matzah is unleavened flatbread and forms a significant part of the Passover celebration, especially the *seder*, the ritual feast.

Hebrew Congregation [sic]”.<sup>88</sup> The provision of matzah for Passover was a duty which fell to the synagogue committee, who likely ordered from Melbourne bakers.

Between 1860 and 1862, no notices for matzah were placed in the local Ballarat papers. In these years, goldfields Jews may have baked their own matzah or perhaps made arrangements with bakers located in Melbourne. The Ballarat Hebrew congregation was undergoing a battle with the Lloyd brothers for the land reserve during this time, as well as the construction of a new synagogue, as discussed in the previous chapter. These difficulties may have contributed to the lapse in notices and were possibly discontinued as the community sought not to draw attention to their difference at a time when they were experiencing communal backlash. The congregation resumed placing advertisements for matzah in 1863.<sup>89</sup> Through the rest of the year, no mention of kosher food or meat was made in the local Ballarat or Bendigo papers. This is not to assume, however, that Jews were definitely not observing kosher at home. There may have been a kosher butcher present in the community who simply did not advertise or individual Jews may have been able to butcher their own animals. While access to kosher food may have varied on the goldfields, a more constant supply was available from Melbourne.

The early availability the foods needed to observe *kashrut* in Melbourne expanded the options of goldfields Jews, though it did not necessarily ease access. From at least the mid-1850s, matzah, kosher foods, and kosher rum were sold in Melbourne, before which matzah was obtained from Sydney.<sup>90</sup> By the 1860s, a regular supply of kosher meat could be obtained with various religious and lay boards overseeing these operations.<sup>91</sup> While readily available in the colony’s metropolis, distance remained an issue, even with the aid of modern transport. The establishment of railways in 1862 connected Bendigo and Ballarat to the major settlements of Geelong and Melbourne which enabled kosher foods to be more quickly transferred between towns; however, problems remained. Meat was likely to spoil on hot days and may not have been an economic option available to all. Due to the frontier setting and the ready availability of kosher foods in Melbourne, the observance of *kashrut* was likely mediated on the goldfields in ways that Jews in

---

<sup>88</sup> ‘Advertising’, *Star*, 28 Feb. 1857, 3; ‘Advertising’, *Star*, 9 Mar. 1858, 3; ‘Advertising’, *Star*, 9 Mar. 1859, 3.

<sup>89</sup> ‘Advertising’, *Star*, 27 Mar. 1863, 1; ‘Advertising’, *Star*, 14 Apr. 1864, 3; ‘Advertising’, *Star*, 5 Apr. 1865, 3.

<sup>90</sup> ‘Advertising’, *Age*, 21 Apr. 1856, 1; ‘Advertising’, *Argus*, 7 Apr. 1857, 3; ‘Advertising’, *Argus*, 2 Feb. 1856, 3; Silberberg, ‘A Networked Community’ (2015), 63.

<sup>91</sup> ‘Advertising’, *Argus*, 9 Dec. 1859, 8.



Melbourne did not have to consider. On the goldfields, Hebrew ministers were likely to be the main supplier for local communities.

The Jewish ministers employed by goldfields congregations often supplied kosher meat to the local community, although the provision of this food may have been limited. When Samuel Herman, the Ballarat Jewish minister, prepared for Passover in 1865, he spent a considerable amount of time arranging kosher meat. As one newspaper article recorded, Herman had “killed no less than twenty-two bullocks and seventeen sheep, before he could find one that was kosher”.<sup>92</sup> The animals slaughtered were stated as suffering from unnamed diseases occurring in the head and lungs, and therefore unfit for consumption under Jewish law; the condition of the animals also raised concerns amongst the wider community, which was the premise of the article. The process of slaughtering and examining the animal to ensure it complied with Jewish law required a significant amount of the minister’s time which he may not have been able to regularly commit. This may have therefore restricted kosher consumption for some Jews to specific holidays such as Passover. For the Hebrew congregations that developed on the goldfields, a centralised Jewish ministerial model meant that religious leaders had to occupy multiple roles, as discussed in the previous chapter. This changing role may have impacted the observance of *kashrut*, influencing when and what kosher food was consumed. Jewish communities on the goldfields relied more heavily on their ministers than those in the Melbourne, who often had separate advisory boards to oversee kosher establishments.<sup>93</sup> With more roles to occupy, less time (but not necessarily less care as Herman has shown) might have been available to Jewish ministers to act in such roles as *shochet* and required for alterations to be made to kosher practices. Time poor ministers were not always, however, the sole suppliers of kosher meat.

While the observance of *kashrut* required specific religious knowledge, it seems that Christians had become involved in this practice, generally in a more economic capacity as a short-lived attempt was made to establish a supply of kosher meat in Bendigo. Frank Aldworth and Co., a butcher business with stores located in both Pall Mall and Market-Square, advertised his supply of kosher meat in the *Bendigo Advertiser*.<sup>94</sup> Aldworth had

---

<sup>92</sup> ‘News of the Week’, *Leader*, 15 Apr. 1865, 2. As part of the *halachah* surrounding *kashrut*, the meat of an animal must be without defect or disease, otherwise it is considered unfit to consume.

<sup>93</sup> For examples, see ‘Advertising’, *Argus*, 22 Apr. 1856; ‘Advertising’, *Ballarat Star*, 12 Apr. 1870, 3; ‘Advertising’, *Ballarat Star*, 11 Apr. 1870, 3.

<sup>94</sup> ‘Advertising’, *Bendigo Advertiser*, 16 Jul. 1859, 1; ‘Advertising’, *Bendigo Advertiser*, 30 Jul. 1859, 1; ‘Advertising’, *Bendigo Advertiser*, 28 Jul. 1859, 1; ‘Advertising’, *Bendigo Advertiser*, 29 Jul. 1859, 1;

been a butcher in Bendigo for some time with advertisements for his business appearing as early 1856.<sup>95</sup> According to his marriage certificate, Aldworth was an Anglican and was likely to be unfamiliar with *kashrut*, let alone untrained as a *shochet*.<sup>96</sup> By mid-August of 1859, a month after his first advertisement of kosher meats, Aldworth had discontinued his supply and removed from Market Square to only occupy a store in Pall Mall.<sup>97</sup>

It seems Aldworth's venture into the niche market of kosher meats was unsuccessful, either generating such a small profit that it was deemed unfeasible, or, as is also likely, it may have been discovered that Aldworth, while perhaps well-meaning, did not correctly observe *kashrut*. There was no Jewish minister in Bendigo at this time and so Aldworth may have had no formal religious overseer. His advertisements did not name any Jewish person as supervisor of his operations. In a month or two after his opening, however, a Jewish minister did arrive in Bendigo, Isaac Friedman, who was a trained *shochet* and may have deemed Aldworth unfit to sell or the meat non-kosher. Contemporary evidence indicated that despite Aldworth's failed attempt at selling kosher meat, he remained on friendly terms with the local Jewish community, suggesting that no confrontation occurred between himself and Friedman, or indeed with other Jewish residents.<sup>98</sup> Such relations would then suggest that Aldworth's failure may have been due to pricing. Kosher meats tended to be more expensive and could simply have been too much for some Jewish families to afford, as evidence from Melbourne suggests.<sup>99</sup> While Jewish settlers negotiated their food practices against the limits of the goldfields and ministerial pressures, these shifts may have influenced identifiable perimeters, though they did not diminish in importance.

On the Central Victorian Goldfields, Jewish institutional authority interacted with personal decisions and frontier limitations in complex ways to mediate the religious practices and rituals of Jews. While these alterations involved degrees of choice and

---

'Advertising', *Bendigo Advertiser*, 5 Aug. 1859, 1; 'Advertising', *Bendigo Advertiser*, 8 Aug. 1859, 1; 'Advertising', *Bendigo Advertiser*, 9 Aug. 1859, 1; 'Advertising' *Bendigo Advertiser*, 1 Aug. 1859, 1.

<sup>95</sup> 'Advertising', *Bendigo Advertiser*, 18 Sep. 1856, 3.

<sup>96</sup> Victoria Births Deaths and Marriages, *Marriage Certificate of Francis Charles Aldworth and Ellen Aldworth nee Wootton*, 10 June 1857.

<sup>97</sup> 'Advertising', *Bendigo Advertiser*, 3 Sep. 1859, 1.

<sup>98</sup> 'Advertiser', *Bendigo Advertiser*, 8 Nov. 1871, 1

<sup>99</sup> Complaints were made by the Jewish community in Melbourne at the more expensive price of kosher meat compared to non-kosher meat. See 'The Kosher Meat Supply of Melbourne', *Jewish Herald*, 13 Feb. 1880, 7; 'Melbourne Hebrew Congregation', *Jewish Herald*, 26 Apr. 1881; 'Melbourne, Friday, 18th April 1888', *Jewish Herald*, 13 Apr. 1888, 8.

necessity as Jews engaged with the goldfield frontier, they also included certain levels of power as enacted by Christian, mainly Protestant, settlers and British colonialism. This pervasive authority was most noticeable when Jewish difference directly opposed Christianity. Though the boundaries of settler identities expanded to include Jews, British colonialist society remained rigid in its expectations of Christian conformity. These shifts in Jewish practice impacted the performance of these Jewish markers, which in turn could impact their identity by complicating understandings of perceived difference. Identity margins are typically embedded within a variety of differences between groups, which gives these borders concrete significance.<sup>100</sup> The mediation of identity markers was, in part, a negotiation of difference. Rather than diminishing, such boundaries became more fluid, allowing practices to change whilst a strong Jewish identification and connection remained. As identity margins became more malleable, new practices and ideas could be better incorporated, or ‘domesticated’ as Aristide Zolberg and Long Litt Woon noted, without diminishing Jewish identifications or religiosity, a process which the next thesis section focuses on.<sup>101</sup> In the Second Thesis Section, significant religious and ideational changes occur as new worship, communal, and familial practices emerge, revealing how institutional and personal negotiations shaped the identities of Jews on the goldfields, and with it, understandings of religiosity, class, and Britishness.

---

<sup>100</sup> Alba, ‘Bright vs. Blurred Boundaries’, 22.

<sup>101</sup> Zolberg and Woon, ‘Why Islam Is Like Spanish’, 8-9.

***Section Two: Judaism and a British Middle-Class  
Identity on the Central Victorian Goldfields, 1870-  
1901***

## Section Two Introduction

### **Towards Urbanisation: From Goldfield Camps to Towns and Cities**

The goldfield settlements of Ballarat and Bendigo underwent significant transformations in the first two decades following the gold rushes, emerging in the 1870s as urbanised towns and cities. These shifts shaped the Jewish communities and Hebrew congregations as they grappled with social, economic, and communal changes, with Jews emerging as integrated members of goldfields society. Despite this, Jewish communities and Hebrew congregations demonstrated a concern over their class positioning and colonial status. The practices and performances enacted within both public Jewish institutions and private familial spaces enabled Jews to negotiate the tensions between the community's middle-class or British identification and their attachment to Jewish tradition, as the Second Thesis Section demonstrates.

### **Building the Colonial Character: Race, Religion, and Class in the Colonial Context**

As the Victorian colony moved towards Federation in 1901, political and public discourses increasingly connected race, religion, and class in the colonies.<sup>1</sup> Race was progressively used to set the cultural and social limits of the developing nation and a range of policies were introduced from Federation to enforce these boundaries, policies which are known collectively as the White Australia policy. As Ien Ang and Jon Stratton argued, the White Australia policy “was, in the first instance, a nationalist policy and reflects the new nation state’s search for a national identity in a European culture and a British-based racial homogeneity”.<sup>2</sup> Fears had arisen within settler society over the colonial condition of Australia as white settlers were caught between their self-confidence and a sense of alarm that they could possibly prove to be unsuited to the mission of spreading and improving British civilisation.<sup>3</sup> These mixed ideas were in part connected to the rising number of ‘native-born’ colonists. As race and racial development increasingly became a focus in colonial and European thought, ideas formed that connected the land, race, and culture together.<sup>4</sup> Colonialists feared that the colonial

---

<sup>1</sup> Leigh Boucher, ‘Race, Rights and the Re-forming Settler Polity in Mid-Nineteenth Century’, *Journal of Australian Colonial History*, 15 (2013), 85.

<sup>2</sup> Stratton, ‘The Colour of Jews’, 52.

<sup>3</sup> Peel and Twomey, *A History of Australia*, 89.

<sup>4</sup> Ibid. 90. For more literature on colonial discourses of race, see Ann Curthoys, ‘White, British, and European: Historicising Identity in Settler Societies’, in Jane Carey and Claire McLisky (eds.), *Creating White Australia* (Sydney: Sydney University Press, 2009); Warwick Anderson, *The Cultivation of*

climate might negatively affect the rising generation of white, colonial born children. In the minds of some settlers, the Indigenous population acted for them as proof of the potentially damaging impact of the Australian landscape.<sup>5</sup> This fear regarding the possibility that future generations of white settlers could be weakened by the colonial climate existed alongside international and colonial discourses on the racialisation of Jews.

By the late nineteenth century, the racialisation of Jews had become more pronounced, and most alarmingly, more antisemitic as questions were raised regarding the place of Jews within society, who were positioned as both 'white' and 'non-white'. The Irish Catholics faced a similar dilemma as their place in the rising nation was questioned, though this was based more upon religion as the majority of the Irish community were born in Australia by the end of the nineteenth century.<sup>6</sup> Race and the presumption of a 'white' British nationality became a signifier of both exclusion and inclusion in the rising Australian nation, and with it, the place of Jews in this bounded group was questioned, though usually this was directed towards Jews born overseas rather than those born in the colonies.<sup>7</sup>

Foreign-born Jews, particularly those from Russia, began to be compared to other heavily racialised groups and individuals, a comparison that assimilated colonial Jews also propagated. In 1891, a letter appeared in London's *Jewish Chronicle* by an Australian Anglo-Jew, Walter D. Benjamin, that juxtaposed the position of Russian Jews in the colonies to that of "the Chinese cook, the Hindoo hawker, the Kanaka plantation hand, the Tamil servant, or the Lascar sailor".<sup>8</sup> Benjamin's letter demonstrated the contemporary perception of Russian Jewry as being racialised as 'Asiatic', a racialisation which was to act as a contrast to the Britishness of Anglo-Jews. This same rhetoric is evident and discussed in more depth in Chapter Seven, when Russian and Middle Eastern Jewry are positioned by colonial Jews as being 'uncivilised', through which Anglo Jews articulated their 'enlightened' place as part of the British Empire. The letter, however, revealed the tension between foreign born Jewry, who were understood in increasingly

---

*Whiteness: Science, Health, and Racial Destiny in Australia* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2006); Patrick Wolfe, *Settler Colonialism*; Patrick Wolfe, 'Land, Labor, and Difference: Elementary Structures of Race', *The American Historical Review*, 106/3 (2001), 866-905; Patrick Wolfe, 'Race and Racialisation: Some Thoughts', *Postcolonial Studies: Culture, Politics, Economy*, 5/1 (2002), 51-62.

<sup>5</sup> Peel and Twomey, *A History of Australia*, 90.

<sup>6</sup> Hall and Malcolm, "English Institutions and the Irish Race", 1-15.

<sup>7</sup> Stratton, 'The Colour of Jews', 54.

<sup>8</sup> Quoted from *ibid.* 55.

racialised terms, and integrated colonial Jews whose position in Australia was threatened by such assertions.<sup>9</sup> Such ideas also permeated goldfields Hebrew congregations. Nathan Spielvogel clearly identified a similar idea when he recalled an incident in which a Jewish gentleman called out in a general meeting at the Ballarat Hebrew congregation, “I am an Englishman while you are a mob of foreign refugees”.<sup>10</sup> Race and class became further embedded in the processes that defined the colonial and imperial identity of white colonialists, in contrast to the early decades of the goldfield frontier when class boundaries blurred and social mobility was easier.

From the 1870s, the Jewish communities and Hebrew congregations on the Central Victorian Goldfields demonstrated an increased concern over their class and colonial status. As discussions regarding the racial, religious, and social character of the colonies predominated, fears may have arisen among the Jewish community over their perceived place in the colonies. The negotiations that occurred in the Hebrew congregations and Jewish communities as they responded to wider communal dialogues were complex and multilayered, defined in various degrees through choice and perceived necessity, as Thesis Section One highlighted. While colonial discourses held a specific relevance for Jews, shifts in Bendigo and Ballarat further impacted the Jewish community.

### **Boom and Bust: Bendigo and Ballarat from the 1870s**

As the early goldfield frontier gave way to the city, Ballarat and Bendigo became more respectable places. While the young and more restless of the early settlers were leaving the goldfields, marriageable women were moving to Bendigo and Ballarat, which became more balanced communities with a high proportion of children.<sup>11</sup> While the working-class predominated due to the continued reliance on mining and industry, the middle-class began to enjoy a more comfortable and genteel lifestyle.<sup>12</sup> Homes became larger, mutual improvement societies increased in popularity, and larger loyalties to the town, the Victorian colony, and to the British Empire became dominant.<sup>13</sup> This steady urbanisation meant that a middle-class and British identification became increasingly desirable and

---

<sup>9</sup> Ibid. 56.

<sup>10</sup> Australian Jewish Historical Society Sydney Archive, Spielvogel, *Annals of the Ballarat Hebrew Congregation*, 3.

<sup>11</sup> Bate, *Lucky City*, 175.

<sup>12</sup> Fahey and Mayne, “‘All that Glitters’”, 64; Charles Fahey, ‘Bendigo 1881-1901: A Demographic Portrait of a Victorian Provincial Town’, in Patricia Grimshaw, Chris McConville, and Ellen McEwen (eds.), *Families in Colonial Australia* (Sydney: George Allen & Unwin, 1985), 145.

<sup>13</sup> Bate, *Lucky City*, 117, 148.

progressively available. A middle-class lifestyle had become easier to maintain on the goldfields, providing greater prerogative for more wealthy Jews to buy, use, and employ the objects and practices needed to convey a specific social identity, as discussed in the Introduction. While Bendigo and Ballarat increased in respectability, the mainstream and Jewish populations of these cities also varied.

The population of the Central Victorian Goldfields fluctuated, at times rising in number before declining significantly again. In Ballarat, there was an initial exodus of families in the 1870s, while the 1880s and 1890s witnessed a much younger cohort of individuals, aged between fifteen and twenty-four, leaving the area.<sup>14</sup> A similar movement away from the goldfields occurred in Bendigo from the 1880s as younger individuals, usually men, left for other colonial places, mainly Melbourne.<sup>15</sup> At times Bendigo's population did increase, such as in 1891; however, these rises in population size were usually followed by declines a decade later. Bendigo and Ballarat were unable to compete with Melbourne; the old mining hubs of the goldfields declined before Melbourne's new finances houses and exchanges.<sup>16</sup> Many country foundries and engineering shops, flour mills, and breweries closed or were re-established in Melbourne and its outlying suburbs where fuel was cheaper, markets much larger, and distribution more efficient.<sup>17</sup> This movement of trades to Melbourne was reflected in the Jewish community on the goldfields as a number of Jews left Bendigo and Ballarat to oversee stores, warehouses, or businesses formed in outlier metropolitan suburbs.

Although the booming goldfields of the 1850s had enticed thousands of intercolonial immigrants, only a small number remained through to the 1890s, a decade marred by economic hardship.<sup>18</sup> In the last decade of the century, the Australian colonies experienced an economic downturn with the land boom collapsing in 1888 and a severe drought exposing the fragility of the pastoral economy. By 1893, banks in Victoria crashed as British investors, who were critical for the colonies' economic development, withdrew their investments.<sup>19</sup> While the industrial shift towards Melbourne did to some extent halt in the 1890s as the depression set in, it continued into the 1900s. Despite this

---

<sup>14</sup> Ibid. 187.

<sup>15</sup> Fahey, 'Bendigo 1881-1901', 145.

<sup>16</sup> Graeme Davison, *The Rise and Fall of Marvellous Melbourne* (Melbourne: Melbourne University Press, 1978), 7.

<sup>17</sup> Ibid.

<sup>18</sup> Fahey, 'Bendigo 1881-1901', 144.

<sup>19</sup> Peel and Twomey, *A History of Australia*, 122.



slight halt, segments of the population continued to diminish significantly, such as the Jewish community.

### **Fewer and Fewer: Jewish Communities and Hebrew Congregations**

From the 1870s, the Jewish communities on the Central Victorian Goldfields declined in number, impacting their ability to maintain synagogue committees and local Jewish institutions. While the Ballarat Hebrew congregation committee were usually able to maintain full committee numbers, there were times when these seats were left vacant as congregational members increasingly relocated elsewhere.<sup>20</sup> In 1871, the Ballarat Hebrew congregation maintained only fifty paying members; however, their numbers were soon bolstered.<sup>21</sup> Through the 1880s and 1890s, a small number of Russian Jewish immigrants arrived in Ballarat. They were aided by the congregation to become economically independent, mainly undertaking work as fruit vendors.<sup>22</sup> Despite this movement to Ballarat, there was a continual falling off of revenue for the congregation as the number of people on the member's roll decreased.<sup>23</sup> Over in Bendigo, the Hebrew congregation numbered only forty regular financial members in 1873, a number that also continued to decline across the century.<sup>24</sup> As the Bendigo Hebrew congregation committee noted in 1882, the numbers "had fallen off considerably owing to the death and the absence of several members of the community".<sup>25</sup> This diminishing size created problems for these small communities as fewer members resulted in smaller funds donated, less children at the Hebrew school, and reduced the number of knowledgeable persons who could fill communal religious roles.

The reasons behind the diminishing size of these Jewish communities were in large part the same as for non-Jews, with commercial depression, stagnation in mining developments, and the impact of natural disasters drawing Jews away from the goldfields.<sup>26</sup> This issue of small congregational sizes increased across the century as the children of the first Jewish migrants matured into adulthood and found the commercial and trade businesses of their parents too small to incorporate them and possibilities to

---

<sup>20</sup> 'Ballarat Hebrew Congregation', *Ballarat Star*, 21 Apr. 1879, 3; 'News and Notes', *Ballarat Star*, 20 Oct. 1874, 2; 'News and Notes', *Ballarat Star*, 22 Dec. 1877, 2.

<sup>21</sup> 'Ballarat', *Australian Israelite*, 14 Jul. 1871, 8.

<sup>22</sup> 'Ballarat', *Jewish Herald*, 21 Oct. 1892, 3.

<sup>23</sup> 'Ballarat', *Jewish Herald*, 12 Nov. 1897, 5.

<sup>24</sup> 'Sandhurst', *Bendigo Advertiser*, 8 Sep. 1873, 2.

<sup>25</sup> 'Sandhurst', *Jewish Herald*, 22 Sep. 1882, 4.

<sup>26</sup> 'Ballarat', *Australian Israelite*, 14 Jul. 1871, 8.

develop new ventures too few.<sup>27</sup> While communal and congregational numbers diminished, synagogues on the goldfields were expanded.

The synagogues on the Central Victorian Goldfields were either altered or rebuilt from the 1870s. The Ballarat synagogue remained in Barkley Street, Ballarat East, despite repeated musings and even a fundraiser to rebuild the synagogue in a different location.<sup>28</sup> Most religious buildings in Ballarat were located in Ballarat West, which was perceived to be the more sophisticated area of the city that enjoyed better planning and often better drainage.<sup>29</sup> The working-class tended to settle in Ballarat East, as the area was the commercial and manufacturing hub of the city. Conscious of the unsavoury reputation of Ballarat East, the Hebrew congregation may have desired to remove from the location to land that reflected the middle-class nature of the community. With the project deemed unfeasible and with “more pressing charitable calls on the public”, the aim to build a new synagogue was abandoned as a mining depression occurred in Ballarat in 1871, though hopes to rebuild later were maintained.<sup>30</sup> Instead, the synagogue underwent sorely needed repairs after several cracks appeared in the building, a result of the nearby mining.<sup>31</sup>

In Bendigo, the local Hebrew congregation constructed an impressive new synagogue with preparations beginning in 1871 for a brick building. Bendigo was experiencing a boom in mining at this time, which likely increased their hopes of attracting more members, and hence requiring a larger synagogue. A range of people in Bendigo donated, including non-Jews such as Frank Aldworth, the Anglican kosher butcher mentioned in Chapter Three.<sup>32</sup> The new synagogue was completed in 1872 (see Figure 3.1) and was said to “form another of the ornaments of Sandhurst [Bendigo]”.<sup>33</sup> The Bendigo synagogue was built in the Byzantine and Moorish style, adopting the tall minarets, domes, and a stone parapet (the low protective wall along the edge of the roof) associated with this style, which had become popular in Britain and America in the 1870s.<sup>34</sup> Similar to the Egyptian revival style, the Byzantine and Moorish elements of the Bendigo synagogue evoked the Eastern origin of Jewry, likely hoping to recall the Temple of

---

<sup>27</sup> Fahey and Mayne, “All that Glitters”, 53.

<sup>28</sup> ‘Ballarat Hebrew Congregation’, *Jewish Herald*, 21 May 1880, 7.

<sup>29</sup> Bate, *Lucky City*, 147.

<sup>30</sup> ‘Ballarat Hebrew Congregation’, *Jewish Herald*, 21 May 1880, 7.

<sup>31</sup> ‘Building Improvements in Ballarat’, *Ballarat Star*, 22 Jul. 1881, 3.

<sup>32</sup> ‘Advertiser’, *Bendigo Advertiser*, 8 Nov. 1871, 1.

<sup>33</sup> ‘The Bendigo Advertiser’, *Bendigo Advertiser*, 4 Sep. 1872, 2.

<sup>34</sup> Ivan Davidson Kalmar, ‘Moorish Style: Orientalism, the Jews, and Synagogue Architecture’, *Jewish Social Studies*, 7/3 (2001), 73-74, 84.

Solomon.<sup>35</sup> Whilst the horseshoe windows and columns evoked the East, the red brick used in the building confirmed the Western and local place of the synagogue. The new Bendigo synagogue was described as being able to seat 400 persons, yet the Jewish community and Hebrew congregation was much smaller.<sup>36</sup> Likely the synagogue was made purposely large to display a sense of grandeur and respectability.<sup>37</sup> The Bendigo Hebrew congregation may have been influenced by the surrounding Christian milieu and perhaps had hoped to compete with the impressive nature of the local Christian churches. A range of Jewish ministers were hired to serve in the Bendigo synagogue across the rest of the century.

Figure 3.1: Bendigo Synagogue in 1889

---

<sup>35</sup> Ibid. 77, 78.

<sup>36</sup> 'Sandhurst Consecration of the New Synagogue', *Australian Israelite*, 4 Oct. 1872, 3.

<sup>37</sup> Kalmar, 'Moorish Style', 75.



Source: Sandhurst Hebrew Congregation, 1889, from Illuminated Address presented by the Victorian Jewish Community to Sir Benjamin Benjamin, Lord Mayor of Melbourne, in Honor [sic] of his Knighthood in 1889, accessed from College of Charleston Libraries.

From the 1870s until the next century, a series of Jewish ministers were employed by the Bendigo Hebrew congregation. After the departure of the Friedman, Isaac Stone was engaged sometime in 1872.<sup>38</sup> Stone fitted neatly into the new ministerial model for Jewish minister in the colonies. He retired from his role as minister in 1874, although two years later in 1876, Stone was again employed as the minister for the congregation.<sup>39</sup> Stone maintained this position until 1880, where upon his second retirement, Isidore Myers was employed as the Hebrew minister.<sup>40</sup> Myers was described as having an agreeable voice and an in-depth knowledge of the Talmud, although he was not a *shochet*.<sup>41</sup> The ability to act as a *shochet* was a specific requirement requested by the Bendigo Hebrew congregation for a minister, as well as capabilities to act as *chazan* and school teacher, revealing a communal desire to observe kosher consumption. Isidore Myers left the Bendigo Hebrew congregation in the middle of 1885, moving to Melbourne to continue his studies. In the same year, Mr. D.H. Harris was employed, a position he occupied until

<sup>38</sup> 'Opening of the New Jewish Synagogue', *Bendigo Advertiser*, 30 Sep. 1872, 2.

<sup>39</sup> 'News and Notes', *Bendigo Advertiser*, 2 Dec. 1876, 2.

<sup>40</sup> 'New Year at the Synagogues', *Jewish Herald*, 10 Sep. 1880, 2; 'Notes and News', *Jewish Herald*, 21 May 1880, 5.

<sup>41</sup> 'Sydney', *Jewish Herald*, 30 Jul. 1880, 8.

1888. A minister for the congregation would not be employed again until 1890, when the J. Goldstein filled the role. He would lead the congregation into the next century. There were noticeable and often prolonged gaps between ministers for the Hebrew congregation in Bendigo, leaving the community without a recognised religious leader. When ministers were employed, they frequently lacked some of the knowledge and skills required to maintain an Orthodox religious lifestyle. Even as the Central Victorian Goldfields urbanised, necessity continued to impact the negotiation of religious practices, complicating the decisions made regarding religiosity and ritual on the goldfields.

As the Second Thesis Section demonstrates, a British and middle-class identity significantly altered the religious, social, and cultural lives of goldfields Jewry between 1870 and 1901, shaping how they understood and defined their place in the local, the colonial, and imperial realms. Chapter Four will examine the changes enacted in synagogue services, linking these shifts in material culture and ritual to middle-class ideals of decorum and respectable worship. In Chapter Five, the focus shifts to discuss how ideas of Victorian domestic femininity influenced the lives of Jewish women as colonial opportunities contended with the limits placed by notions of respectability. Chapter Six recounts the experiences and religious education of Jewish children on the goldfields, demonstrating how British Victorian ideals of innocence and colonial law impacted Jewish conceptions of childhood. In Chapter Seven, the discussion centres on how goldfields Jews engaged with Jewish internationalism and the British Royal Family, global networks through which Jews confirmed their imperial status as agents and subjects of the British Empire. The religious experiences and practices of Jews were significantly negotiated as they sought to reshape their faith and identities to reflect their class and colonial status. As the next chapter argues, ideas of class revised synagogue services as Jews sought to silence the chatter and the individualistic chanting of adherents, to turn what was perceived as noisy worship into respectable displays of solemnity and reverence.

## Chapter Four

### Ministerial Dress, Choirs, and the English Language: Performing Decorum in the Synagogue

On the Central Victorian Goldfields, Hebrew congregations altered synagogue worship as Jews sought to align religious services with British middle-class notions of decorum and respectability, a recurring topic in colonial newspapers. In 1881, a letter to the editor of the *Jewish Herald* urged colonial Hebrew congregations to abandon traditional customs in favour of British practices in the synagogue. The author, who signed their name simply as ‘N.B’. , expressed in the letter his concern regarding the “babble and noise” of public worship and its effect on non-Jewish visitors.<sup>1</sup> Dismayed by the restless movement and sounds of synagogue worship, ‘N.B’. hoped that colonial Hebrew congregations would create a more “dignified form of worship”, believing the means to do so was through the observance of British customs.<sup>2</sup> The writer argued that “in a British colony, with British progress and civilization, we ought to adopt a *minhag* Britain, or some form of worship whereby we can approach God, at least, with decency, humility, and dignity”.<sup>3</sup> A *minhag* refers to the traditions and conventions in Judaism which have acquired the binding force of religious law, demonstrating the strong feelings of ‘N.B’. regarding modernity and a British identity.

The writer was not alone in this support for reform and decorum, a term grounded in Victorian middle-class ideals, which became increasingly important for colonial Hebrew congregations.<sup>4</sup> This shift concerning public worship arose in many congregations throughout the Anglo Jewish diaspora, which an increasing number of studies have examined.<sup>5</sup> In Bendigo and Ballarat, Jewish congregants likewise favoured a ‘*minhag*

---

<sup>1</sup> ‘To the Editor of the “Jewish Herald”’, *Jewish Herald*, 7 Oct. 1881, 5.

<sup>2</sup> Ibid.

<sup>3</sup> Ibid.

<sup>4</sup> The lower case ‘reform’ refers to changes made according to ideas of improvement, and not the uppercase Reform, which is a branch of Judaism. Sue Silberberg also discussed the changes that occurred in ritual and worship in Melbourne’s synagogues in the nineteenth century, Silberberg, *A Networked Community* (2020), 47.

<sup>5</sup> For a small example, see Francesca Bregoli and Federica Francesconi, ‘Tradition and Transformation in Eighteenth-Century Europe: Jewish Integration in Comparative Perspective’, *Jewish History*, 24/3-4 (2010), 235-246; Tobias Brinkmann, “‘We are Brothers! Let us Separate’: Jews and Community Building in American Cities during the 19th Century”, *History Compass*, 11/10 (2013), 869-879; Endelman, *Radical Assimilation in English Jewish History*; Mendelsohn, ‘The Sacrifices of the Isaacs’; Rabin, *Jews on the Frontier*; Bruce Ruben, ‘Music, Liturgy and Reform Judaism in Mid-Nineteenth Century America: Rabbinic Perspectives’, *Musica Judaica*, 19 (2009-2010), 165-182.

Britain', taking part in processes of reform that were enacted across the colony of Victoria.

This chapter examines the relationship between shifts in synagogue worship, experiences of public services, and the middle-class identity of Jews in Bendigo and Ballarat. It first considers how religious objects and worship practices acted as forms of identity negotiation, discussing the complex role and relationship between objects, ritual, and persons. The next section discusses how colonial reform movements were deeply grounded in notions of decorum; a term embedded within larger circulating ideas of middle-class respectability. The next three sections of the chapter will each focus on different introduced synagogue practices: Jewish ministerial dress, choirs and organs, and language use. These were not the only transformations to occur in the synagogue, but they were three of the most noticeable. Each of these aspects not only reworked the sounds, sights, and feel of public worship, but they also indicated a reshaping of ideas concerning identity and religiosity. Alterations to public worship were grounded in dialogues that reflected the community's desire to demonstrate a middle-class respectability as well as their anxieties over Jewish continuity. Issues also arose as the practices and items that entered synagogue services were clearly connected to Christianity and viewed by some colonial Jews as foreign Christian elements to be shunned by worshippers. The process through which Christian worship practices were included within synagogue services was more complicated than simple duplication. Introductions were often internalised as a Jewish custom enacted within a Jewish space, a re-conceptualisation that occurred through the blurring of identifiable boundaries. To better conceptualise these modifications, this chapter will draw upon theories on religious materiality and embodied experience.

## **Objects and the Performance of Identity**

Performative practice and religious items play a unique role in identity construction and maintenance. Scholars have increasingly demonstrated how objects provide alternative readings and understandings of the complex ways humans create, maintain, and navigate their religious worlds.<sup>6</sup> These studies have shown that belief was highly

---

<sup>6</sup> See Hümanur Bağlı, 'Material Culture of Religion: New Approaches to Functionality in Islamic Objects', *Design Journal*, 18/3 (2015), 305-325; Nicole Boivin, 'Grasping the Elusive and Unknowable: Material Culture in Ritual Practice', *Material Religion*, 5/3 (2009), 266-287; Peter J. Bräunlein, 'Thinking Religion Through Things: Reflections on the Material Turn in the Scientific Study of Religion', *Method and Theory*

dependent on objects that enable people to create meaning concerning their lives and communities, providing individuals with a way to interpret their faith and identities.<sup>7</sup> Scholars of religion William Keenan and Elisabeth Arweck have argued that it is “‘our materiality’, notably our religious materiality, [which] unites *and* separates us, making us recognizably ‘us’ or ‘them’ [their emphasis]”.<sup>8</sup> Below, the items and worship practices of goldfields synagogues are analysed through this framework, recognising their impact on identifiable boundaries. This interpretation recognises the ability of objects to effect change, as Bruno Latour argued for, that items not only reflect human ideas and beliefs, but also shape the worlds we inhabit.<sup>9</sup> As such, this understanding reflects recent theoretical rethinking within the social sciences that highlights the significance of ‘materiality’ and the ability of objects to alter the worlds people inhabit.<sup>10</sup> This conceptualisation of items and practices intersects with ideas regarding embodied experience.

Items and practices effect transformations through the mediation of embodied experiences. These embodied experiences, which rely on bodily subjectivities, sensations, and activity, are processes by which material and social worlds gain meaning and can therefore become known and understood.<sup>11</sup> This connection between items and embodiment is central to religion and belief, becoming a means to define as well as to influence shifts in religious worlds and symbols, although objects held a more controversial position amongst some Christian faiths in the nineteenth century.<sup>12</sup> For

---

*in the Study of Religion*, 28/4-5 (2016), 365-399; Deborah Cohen, *Household Gods: The British and their Possessions* (London: Yale University Press, 2006), 63; Matthew Engelke, ‘Material Religion’, in Robert A. Orsi (ed.), *The Cambridge Companion to Religious Studies* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2011); Sonia Hazard, ‘The Material Turn in the Study of Religion’, *Religion and Society*, 4/1 (2013), 58-78; Meyer et al., ‘The Origin and Mission of Material Religion’.

<sup>7</sup> Christopher Tilley, ‘Objectification’, in Christopher Tilley et al. (eds.), *Handbook of Material Culture* (London: SAGE, 2006), 61.

<sup>8</sup> Elisabeth Arweck and William Keenan, ‘Introduction: Material Varieties of Religious Expression’, in Elisabeth Arweck and William Keenan (eds.), *Materializing Religion: Expression, Performance and Ritual* (Hampshire: Ashgate, 2006), 12.

<sup>9</sup> Bruno Latour, *Reassembling the Social: An Introduction to Actor–Network Theory* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2005).

<sup>10</sup> See Julian Droogan, *Religion, Material Culture and Archaeology* (London: Bloomsbury 2013); Hazard, ‘The Material Turn’; Meyer et al., ‘The Origin and Mission of Material Religion’; Andreas Reckwitz, ‘The Status of the “Material” in Theories of Culture: From “Social Structure” to “Artefacts”’, *Journal for the Theory of Social Behaviour*, 32/2 (2002), 195-217; Thomas A. Tweed, ‘Space’, *Material Religion*, 7/1 (2011), 116-123.

<sup>11</sup> Jürgen Streeck, ‘Embodiment in Human Communication’, *Annual Review of Anthropology*, 44 (2015), 422.

<sup>12</sup> See Timothy Willem Jones and Lucinda Matthews-Jones (ed.), *Material Religion in Modern Britain: The Spirit of Things* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2015); Colleen McDannell, *Material Christianity: Religion and Popular Culture in America* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1995); Robert A. Orsi, ‘Everyday Miracles: The Study of Lived Religion’, in David Hall (ed.), *Lived Religion in America: Toward a History of Practice* (New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 1997).



colonial Jews, new worship elements and objects entered the synagogue, developing unique relations once they became part of Jewish services. As Colleen McDannell, in her seminal study *Material Christianity*, argued, “experiencing the physical dimension of religion helps bring about religious values, norms, behaviours, and attitudes”.<sup>13</sup> Synagogues were spaces where ritual and worship were physically enacted and experienced; introduced practices and objects were given meaning in this space and imbued with religious significance, though this was not always the case. This process complicates previous interpretations of changes in Jewish worship, which usually define such changes as being the result of assimilation alone.<sup>14</sup> While not altogether incorrect, such conceptions can obscure more than they reveal, concealing a more complicated process of reform which occurred for colonial Hebrew congregations. Though embodied evidence offers powerful ways to understand the past, such historical items tend to also be rare, with some communities leaving behind few objects. The demolition of the Bendigo synagogue, the movement of objects as the Ballarat synagogue underwent numerous repairs, and the migration of the Jewish community away from these areas means that there are few available or surviving objects from the Bendigo and Ballarat Hebrew congregations.<sup>15</sup> This made accessing their material difficult; however, alternative sources, including written material, have been consulted. The available written sources can be read to reveal not only the shift in synagogue material culture, but also the importance of reform and decorum to contemporaries.

### **‘Great Want of Decorum’: Religious Reform and Colonial Respectability**

For colonial Jewry, contemporary ideas concerning decorum and reform were multifaceted and complex, yet they provided salient motives to modify synagogue worship. Decorum was evoked to frame the expected behaviour of adherents in the synagogue space. Early in January 1885, the *Jewish Herald* documented the objectionable

---

<sup>13</sup> McDannell, *Material Christianity*, 2.

<sup>14</sup> For literature which either discusses in part or whole the nineteenth century synagogue reform, see Diner, *A Time for Gathering*; David Ellenson, ‘A Disputed Precedent: The Prague Organ in Nineteenth-Century Central-European Legal Literature and Polemics’, *The Leo Baeck Institute Yearbook*, 40/1 (1995), 251-264; Michael A. Meyer, “‘How Awesome is this Place!’: The Reconceptualisation of the Synagogue in Nineteenth-Century Germany”, *The Leo Baeck Institute Yearbook*, 41/1 (1996), 51-63; Rubinstein, *The Jews in Australia: A Thematic History*; Rutland, *The Jews in Australia*; Jonathan D. Sarna, ‘The Debate over Mixed Seating in the American Synagogue’, in David G. Hackett (ed.), *Religion and American Culture: A Reader* (New York: Routledge, 1987).

<sup>15</sup> At the time of this thesis, one brick wall of the Bendigo synagogue was still standing and formed part of a commercial building constructed on the same ground during the twentieth century. Repainted and repurposed, the wall offers the historian little information without further investigation.

behaviour of congregants at public worship in the Bourke Street synagogue in Melbourne. In the article, the author lamented how,

worshippers straggle in at all hours; during the reading of the Haphtorah [sic], many members, including, we are sorry to say, some occupying the highest positions in the congregation, leave their seats; conversation, both in the ladies' gallery and downstairs, is being continually carried on—results most disheartening to such a zealous Minister as the congregation has the good fortune to possess. Why cannot the same order and decorum be maintained at our synagogues which we notice in Christian places of worship?<sup>16</sup>

As the Jewish minister chanted the Sabbath service, some individuals gossiped, chattered, and moved about the synagogue either to converse with others or to find their seat after arriving late, a commonplace experience of synagogue worship. This noise became so disruptive that the minister was required to stop and “take the congregation to task for their great want of decorum”.<sup>17</sup> In colonial synagogues, ideas of decorum and appropriate synagogue behaviour had become a significant issue, ideals which were evoked to frame and to reproach congregants' behaviour. As this section demonstrates, these terms were informed by understandings of Christian worship, Victorian middle-class ideals, and concerns over Jewish continuity, which required congregants to negotiate how they worshipped in synagogues.

Colonial conceptions of decorum and reform contributed towards the alteration of synagogue worship, changing the focus from individual prayer into a more cohesive group ritual. While the services conducted in synagogues varied according to religious holidays, public prayer in Judaism was generally individualistic and loudly participatory as each adherent sought his own rhythmic pattern of movement and prayer.<sup>18</sup> Though independent prayer was encouraged, religious services also included a *chazan* or cantor (one of the many roles occupied by Jewish ministers in colonial Victoria), a trained person who led the congregation in songful prayer which worshipers could follow. The pivotal event of public worship was the reading of the Torah which demanded extensive congregational involvement.<sup>19</sup> The multiple different prayer chants occurring

---

<sup>16</sup> ‘Local and General Items’, *Jewish Herald*, 9 Jan. 1885, 9.

<sup>17</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>18</sup> Karla Goldman, *Beyond the Synagogue: Finding a Place for Women in American Judaism* (Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 2009), 4-5.

<sup>19</sup> *Ibid.*

simultaneously during synagogue services led to Christian perceptions of Jewish worship as being chaotic and noisy.<sup>20</sup> Dismayed by such views, Todd Endelman argued that some Jews in Britain sought to introduce more “reverent, solemn, and respectable” elements to their service.<sup>21</sup> While their earliest steps towards reform can be traced to the mid-eighteenth century, widespread changes were not enacted by synagogues in Britain until the early to mid-nineteenth century, when Hebrew congregations sought to shorten liturgy and alter the chanting style of the *chazan*.<sup>22</sup> This process of reform was transported to the Australian colonies where the colonial setting provided an even greater opportunity to modify worship, which was further aided by the composition of local institutions, as discussed in Chapter Two. Colonial Hebrew congregations increasingly turned their attention towards synagogue reform to meet specific, though not always well-defined, ideas of decorum and solemnity.

Decorum was a topic particularly expounded upon in relation to expected behaviour during public worship, though it varied slightly in its usage and connotations. Colonial Jews defined decorum as involving good behaviour that required certain degrees of orderliness, propriety, and respect.<sup>23</sup> This conception included being quiet or at least creating minimal noise and movement so as not to disturb the prayer of others.<sup>24</sup> In Bendigo and Ballarat, these ideas held significant meaning for Hebrew congregations. Local Jewish and non-Jewish correspondents frequently described goldfields synagogue services using terms such as “decorum”, “indecorum”, and “solemn”, demonstrating the prevalence of such ideas.<sup>25</sup> Decorum was even discussed during synagogue services and ascribed a Jewish religious relevance. In 1891, Israel Goldreich preached a sermon in the Ballarat synagogue on decorum, based upon certain sections of the first “Mishnah of the fourth chapter of the Ethics”.<sup>26</sup> Hebrew congregations on the Central Victorian Goldfields placed a religious value on decorum which they used to frame the behaviour of adherents

---

<sup>20</sup> Todd Endelman, *Broadening Jewish History: Towards a Social History of Ordinary Jews* (London: The Littman Library of Jewish Civilization, 2011), 74.

<sup>21</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>22</sup> Endelman, *The Jews of Britain*, 111.

<sup>23</sup> ‘Decorum in our Synagogues’, *Jewish Herald*, 7 Oct. 1881, 5; ‘Divine Service’, *Jewish Herald*, 8 Aug. 1884, 9; ‘Synagogue and Decorum’, *Jewish Herald*, 12 Nov. 1897, 12; ‘Synagogue Decorum’, *Jewish Herald*, 30 Jul. 1880, 3.

<sup>24</sup> ‘Decorum in Our Synagogues’, *Jewish Herald*, 7 Oct. 1881, 5.

<sup>25</sup> See ‘Ballarat Courier’, *Ballarat Courier*, 29 Nov. 1870, 2; ‘Ballarat’, *Jewish Herald*, 22 Sep. 1882, 4; ‘Jewish Wedding’, *Bendigo Advertiser*, 2 Dec. 1899, 4; ‘The Bendigo Advertiser’, *Bendigo Advertiser*, 4 Oct. 1881, 2; ‘The Bendigo Advertiser’, *Bendigo Advertiser*, 2 Oct. 1894, 2; ‘The Synagogues’, *Jewish Herald*, 24 Sep. 1880, 2.

<sup>26</sup> ‘Ballarat’, *Jewish Herald*, 8 May 1891, 3. Mishnah refers to the first major written collection of Jewish oral traditions.

and connected to important Jewish texts such as the Mishnah, a written collection of Jewish oral traditions. While contemporary Jews linked decorum to Judaism, the conduct promoted by this term aligned with practices exhibited by nearby colonial churches.

Ideas of decorum were influenced by Christian worship and Victorian middle-class notions, with synagogue reform often depicted as a means of engendering colonial religious equality. In a letter to the editor written in 1881, the writer, who signed their name as 'Aleph', noted how "gentlemen of high position" moved about the synagogue during services for conversational purposes.<sup>27</sup> The writer asked, "would such a thing be tolerated, or even dreamt of, in the places of worship of our Christian neighbours?"<sup>28</sup> In the letter, the author frequently positioned Christian worship as a standard to which Jews could contrast and compare their religious services. When colonial Jews discussed reform, Christian neighbours were often referenced to either support or discourage alterations to worship.<sup>29</sup> Decorum was linked to Christianity and a reason for decorous behaviour, which scholar Bruce Ruben attributed to a desire for citizenship and equality.<sup>30</sup>

For colonial Jews, decorum and its accompanying meanings were also closely tied with middle-class conceptions. As a British ideal, decorum held particular currency for Protestants, who used the term to refer to government of the body and cleanliness, and expected modest behaviour, and moral discipline.<sup>31</sup> Decorum, and the objects and practices this incorporated, spoke specifically to conceptions of the middle-class, who used such ideas to express disapproval of aristocratic extravagances as well as their distaste for the unsophisticated habits of the working class.<sup>32</sup> Despite the Protestant disdain for extravagance, objects were increasingly utilised by the middle-class as a shift occurred on what constituted authentic religious experience.<sup>33</sup> This middle-class conformity was also deeply entangled with concerns over wider colonial perceptions of Judaism.

---

<sup>27</sup> 'Decorum in Our Synagogues', *Jewish Herald*, 7 Oct. 1881, 5. Aleph is the first letter of the Semitic languages and denotes humility. In Jewish mysticism, this aleph represents the oneness with God.

<sup>28</sup> Ibid.

<sup>29</sup> See *ibid*; 'Divine Service', *Jewish Herald*, 8 Aug. 1891, 9; 'Local and General Items', *Jewish Herald*, 9 Jan. 1885, 9; 'Melbourne, Friday, 18th November, 5653-1892', *Jewish Herald*, 18 Nov. 1892, 4; 'The Sydney Synagogue', *Jewish Herald*, 20 Mar. 1885, 9.

<sup>30</sup> Ruben, 'Music, Liturgy and Reform Judaism', 166.

<sup>31</sup> Davidoff and Hall, *Family Fortunes*, 90, 91, 421

<sup>32</sup> Ibid. 21, 91

<sup>33</sup> Jones, 'Introduction', 5.

Jews often displayed an anxiety concerning the viewpoint of “stranger[s] of our own faith” or “ministers of another religion” who witnessed synagogue worship.<sup>34</sup> This was a curious standpoint to consider if adherents were only concerned with maintaining decorum for the benefit of the congregation. Instead, it indicates that congregants wished to also convey an image to others of conformity via solemn, reverent, and genteel worship. This portrayal of synagogue services sought to engender wider colonial esteem. As one writer argued in a letter to the editor of the *Jewish Herald* in 1884, to “promote order and decorum during the service” was to “secure for [Judaism] the respect and veneration to which it is fully entitled”.<sup>35</sup> To act in a decorous and solemn manner was to signify beyond doubt the middle-class belonging of Jews and the equality of Judaism with colonial Christianity. This is not to suggest that such modifications were solely concerned with proving a similarity to Christianity, which would obscure the link made by Jews between reform and religious loyalty, as will be discussed more below. As congregations aimed to instil a greater sense of decorum, objects and practices were introduced to reform services; however, there were certain limits to these changes.

Reform did not entail alterations to all aspects of worship with boundaries set on what was considered acceptable adjustments in colonial synagogues. This was particularly noticeable when colonial adherents and the Jewish press discussed reforms enacted in American synagogues. In America, where the branch of Judaism known as Reform had taken a much stronger hold, transformations occurred in synagogue worship which were not enacted in Australia, such as mixed gender seating. Colonial Jewish newspapers admonished these reformed practices in America as taking unnecessary religious license.<sup>36</sup> When the *Jewish Herald* discussed their American coreligionists in an 1888 article, they argued that colonial Jews “differ[ed] from them in religious principle, and [that] we cannot help deploring the unjustifiable liberties they take with our ancient rites and observances”.<sup>37</sup> The paper’s main editor, Elias Blaubaum, was a traditionalist whose views influenced the standpoint adopted by the newspaper. The absence of more extreme reforms like those witnessed in America suggests that influential colonial Jews shared Blaubaum’s view.<sup>38</sup>

---

<sup>34</sup> For examples, see ‘Synagogue and Decorum’, *Jewish Herald*, 12 Nov. 1897, 12; ‘Synagogue Decorum’, *Jewish Herald*, 30 Jul. 1880, 3.

<sup>35</sup> ‘The Synagogue- Its Origin and Development’, *Jewish Herald*, 16 May 1884, 13.

<sup>36</sup> Rabin, *Jews on the Frontier*, 51; Sarna, ‘The Debate over Mixed Seating’, 270-291.

<sup>37</sup> ‘Odds and Ends’, *Jewish Herald*, 2 Mar. 1888, 14.

<sup>38</sup> See *ibid*; ‘Judaism in America’, *Jewish Herald*, 4 Apr. 1884, 10; ‘What Reform has Done in America’, *Jewish Herald*, 25 Jul. 1884, 6; ‘What Reform has Done in America’, *Jewish Herald*, 5 Oct. 1894, 12.

To appreciate reform was not to discount the merits of historical continuance and religious preservation. While the Victorian Jewish community valued reform, continuity and cultural conservatism continued to be highly significant aspects that the congregations considered carefully as they made changes to synagogue worship. This difference in reforming attitudes was also connected to the divergent social and religious ideals of the British colonies compared to America. During the nineteenth century, America experienced religious revivals and a growth in Evangelical sects that placed greater merit on religious transformation.<sup>39</sup> In Britain and its colonies, however, tradition and ideas of ancient rites continued to hold a high level of prestige.<sup>40</sup> For many colonial Jews, reformed synagogue ritual also reflected hopes for the continued practice of Judaism in the colonies.

Reform in synagogue worship and material culture stemmed in part from a desire to strengthen colonial Judaism and was viewed by some Jews as a means to deepen Jewish religious engagement. As one letter to the editor of the *Jewish Herald* in 1880 demonstrated, ritual reform was at times connected to religious devotion in which “... the earnest, true, and sincere Jew will, I believe, agree with me that our orthodox ritual is totally unsuited for our present time”.<sup>41</sup> Such hopes were most explicit for Jews who viewed reform as a way to increase adherence and attendance at worship.<sup>42</sup> In an 1880 letter to the editor, the writer believed that it was “high time that something should be done to purify our ancient and, as I fully believe, most beautiful liturgy, else the attendances at Divine Service will dwindle down to a mere assemblage of children only”.<sup>43</sup> A reformed or shortened liturgy was believed to focus adherents’ attention and increase attendance at public worship which would in turn strengthen Judaism. The shifts that occurred in colonial synagogues were linked to Reform Judaism, which held a similar ethos regarding the need for Judaism to modernise. Without this reform, some believed that Judaism would weaken and its future in the colony could therefore be doubted. Reform was tied to fears and anxieties over Judaism languishing, revealing the

---

<sup>39</sup> For more on American Sectarianism during the nineteenth century, see Catherine L. Albanese, *America: Religions and Religion* (Boston: Wadsworth, 2013).

<sup>40</sup> Endelman, *The Jews of Britain*, 115.

<sup>41</sup> ‘The Ritual’, *Jewish Herald*, 12 Mar. 1880, 3.

<sup>42</sup> See ‘Correspondence’, *Jewish Herald*, 8 Oct. 1880, 3; ‘Decorum in Our Places of Worship’, *Jewish Herald*, 21 Oct. 1892, 3; ‘Melbourne, Friday, 18th November, 5653-1892’, *Jewish Herald*, 18 Nov. 1892, 4; ‘Two Seasonable Suggestions’, *Jewish Herald*, 25 Aug. 1882, 8; ‘Reform’, *Jewish Herald*, 17 May 1895, 4; ‘The Ritual’, *Jewish Herald*, 12 Mar. 1880, 3.

<sup>43</sup> ‘Correspondence’, *Jewish Herald*, 8 Oct. 1880, 3.

complicated nature of this movement, which could extend beyond ideas of decorum alone.

Across the nineteenth century, expectations and ideas concerning public services were recast as Jews developed new understandings regarding acceptable modes of worship behaviour, leading congregants to criticise services and the conduct of adherents. The desire to alter traditional Jewish worship to align with respectable notions became a means through which colonial Jews could express their shifting identification and hopes for continuity. Decorum was not just about demonstrating a similarity and equality to other middle class colonialists through a shared style, but also concerned with reforming Judaism to reflect their modern subjecthood and to ensure continuity. In doing so, Jews hoped to ensure the survival of Judaism in a colonial setting where the boundaries defining a Jewish identity were increasingly obscured. Decorum deeply influenced the changes that occurred to Jewish religious services, shifting how adherents prayed and worship, as well as how they dressed.

### **Corded Silk and Velvet Trimmings: Clothing the Jewish Minister**

The dress of Jewish ministers in colonial synagogues emerged as a powerful symbol of this new decorous ministry, conferring status and power to the wearer. The clothing worn by ministers, however, relied on wider colonial and reform ideas of status, faith, and dress, which were not always unanimous. In a letter to the editor of the *Jewish Herald*, written in 1880, 'Chameleon' queried the use of the term Reverend within Hebrew congregations. As the author noted,

strangely enough, the second reader of the Bourke Street Synagogue, a *shochet* and *mohel*, holding the aforesaid permission from Dr. Adler [The Chief Rabbi], and, withal, a first-rate Hebrew scholar, is not recognised as 'Reverend' by the executive of this synagogue. I am authentically informed, too, that the Rev. Mr. Saunders is unprovided [sic] with a cloak and hat for the reason that, directly he assumes such insignia, he will become a 'Reverend'. Not a bad idea this! As well [to] say that a silk hat and suit of broadcloth constitute a gentleman.<sup>44</sup>

---

<sup>44</sup> 'The Title "Reverend"', *Jewish Herald*, 30 Jul. 1880, 3.

While Chameleon's last remark calls to mind modern idioms, it also displays contemporary views of clothing and the developing role of the Jewish minister, which was discussed in Chapter Two. Despite Chameleon's ironic aversion, the reluctance of the Bourke Street synagogue to provide Saunders with a cloak and a hat hinted that clothing did indeed make a Jewish minister; introduced clothing did have the power to confer or indicate a religious ministerial status. This interrelationship between clothing, faith, and identification is being increasingly confirmed by scholars who have examined the religious, cultural, and social aspects of dress.<sup>45</sup> Dress played an important role in defining identifications, shaping and displaying the felt loyalties, religiosity, and classed ideas of a community undergoing significant acculturation.

Throughout the nineteenth century, Jews increasingly embraced this outward symbol of assimilation, adopting the more fashionable dress of their social peers in wider society.<sup>46</sup> For Jewish settlers in the colonies, clothing expressed social, cultural, and classed aspirations, as can be seen from advertisements in the *Australian Israelite* below (Figure 4.1). Fashion and functionality combine in these advertisements to not only be displays of wealth, but also demonstrate how clothing was perceived to facilitate business and leisure, connecting with specific middle-class occupations and activities. While dress has been acknowledged as a significant part of Jewish acculturation and assimilation, few histories on Jewish dress have been produced.<sup>47</sup> Eric Silverman's recent book *A Cultural History of Jewish Dress* provided the first comprehensive account of Jewish dress throughout history.<sup>48</sup> In his book, Silverman asserted that Jewish dress materialised as a series of continuing, irresolvable discussions about identity to reveal "that Jewish clothing symbolises a wide-ranging tension between ... ethnic particularism and acculturation—

---

<sup>45</sup> See Karen Anijar, 'Jewish Genes, Jewish Jeans: A Fashionable Body', in Linda B. Arthur (ed.), *Religion, Dress, and the Body* (Oxford: Berg, 2000); Lorinda Cramer, 'Keeping Up Appearances: Genteel Women, Dress and Refurbishing in Gold-Rush Victoria, Australia', *Textile*, 15/1 (2017), 48-67; Karen Tranberg Hansen, 'The World in Dress: Anthropological Perspectives on Clothing, Fashion, and Culture', *Annual Review of Anthropology*, 33 (2004), 369-392; Anthea Jarvis, 'The Dress Must Be White, and Perfectly Plain and Simple: Confirmation and First Communion Dress, 1850-2000', *Costume: The Journal of Costume Society*, 41/1 (2007), 83-98; Margaret Maynard, *Fashioned from Penury: Dress as Cultural Practice in Colonial Australia* (Melbourne: Cambridge University Press, 1994); Marc Lee Raphael, 'Tradition in Modern Dress: Jews and Judaism in a World of Change', *Jewish History*, 7/1 (1993), 107-116; Karen Sayer, '"A Sufficiency of Clothing": Dress and Domesticity in Victorian Britain', *Textile History*, 33/1 (2002), 112-122; Silverman, *A Cultural History of Jewish Dress*.

<sup>46</sup> Cecil Roth, *A History of the Jews in England* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1964), 210.

<sup>47</sup> See Mendelsohn, *The Rag Race*; Asher Salah, 'How Should a Rabbi be Dressed? The Question of Rabbinical Attire in Italy from Renaissance to Emancipation (Sixteenth-Nineteenth Centuries)', in Leonard J. Greenspoon (ed.), *Fashioning Jews: Clothing, Culture, and Commerce* (West Lafayette, Indiana: Purdue University Press, 2013); Emma Tarlo, 'Jewish Wigs and Islamic Sportswear: Negotiating Regulations of Religion and Fashion', *Critical Studies in Fashion and Beauty*, 7/1 (2016), 69-87.

<sup>48</sup> See Silverman, *A Cultural History of Jewish Dress*.



between dressing for a distinctively Jewish identity and dressing like ordinary citizens”.<sup>49</sup> Focusing on the way Jews dressed can uncover tensions between clothing, faith, and identity, with dress emerging as a significant mediator between tradition and modernity, one that reached into the synagogue.

Figure 4.1: Male Attire Advertised in the *Australian Israelite*

---

<sup>49</sup> Ibid. 16.



Source: Advertisement, *Australian Israelite*, 7 July 1871, accessed State Library of Victoria, Melbourne.

Historically, no special attire was required for Jewish ministers or rabbis. They were expected to wear the items required of all lay male congregants, which includes a *tallit* (prayer shawl), *tefillin* (small leather boxes containing words from the Torah with the straps wrapped around the head and arms, worn only for prayers in the morning), and a *kippah* (head covering), all of which were worn over regular clothing.<sup>50</sup> There were, however, historical instances in which ministerial clothing was adopted. In the Early Modern Period, rabbis could wear distinctive clothing which varied by region and country.<sup>51</sup> There were attempts by rabbis in Britain to adopt special clothing at the mid-eighteenth century, though these instances were rare, becoming more a common practice in the nineteenth century following the rise of Reform Judaism.<sup>52</sup>

<sup>50</sup> A *tallit* could be made of wool, cotton, or silk and were usually white in colour with black stripes. A *tallit* was often worn by males for every synagogue service. In Reform congregations, women also wear a *tallit*. The *chazan* also wears a *tallit*. Specific benedictions are uttered before a *tallit* is put on. *Encyclopaedia Judaica*, s.v. 'Tallit'.

<sup>51</sup> *Encyclopaedia Judaica*, s.v. 'Dress'; Salah, 'How Should a Rabbi be Dressed?', 59.

<sup>52</sup> Endelman, *The Jews of Britain*, 111.

Whilst in part inspired by Reform Judaism, which advocated that members adopt modern garments, goldfields Jewry also drew upon Christian traditions of dress to inform their own choices regarding ministerial clothing.<sup>53</sup> In 1881, a large number of Ballarat Jewish adherents and congregational committee members gathered at the Earl of Zetland Hotel to present items to the local synagogue and its minister, Israel Goldreich.<sup>54</sup> This donation of gifts was organised by the Jewish Ladies Committee who commissioned a number of specially made items, including a crimson velvet Ark curtain, mantles, and various other coverings, in an attempt to beautify the synagogue.<sup>55</sup> On this occasion, Simon Hamburger presented Goldreich “with a full suit of clerical robes, consisting of a rich gown made of black corded silk with velvet trimmings, and official hat to match”.<sup>56</sup> These garments parallel the clerical robes worn by Christian clergy, mainly High Church Anglicans and Roman Catholics who use a cassock or a Geneva gown, often with a matching skullcap or biretta (a three-sided clerical cap). Christianity maintains a long history of clerical dress, which was utilised as a means of conveying spiritual power, religious relevance, and hierarchical structure.<sup>57</sup> Significantly, black was chosen for Goldreich’s robes, a colour widely understood within various Christian denominations to denote the rank of seminarians, deacons, priests, and chaplains.<sup>58</sup> Evangelical ministers, including Low Church Anglican priests, tended not to adopt such ostentatious robes, nor did they wear ‘Catholic-identified’ head coverings.

Despite these discrepancies, the similarities maintained between Goldreich’s robes and other forms of Christian clerical dress are worth consideration. Religious dress historian Leigh Schmidt argued that “clothes ... were good to think with”, and offered “a powerful channel of communication through which people- whether literate or illiterate, lay or clerical- conveyed various messages to one another”.<sup>59</sup> Jewish ministerial clothing relied upon Christian ideas of hierarchy and dress, turning these elements of Christian tradition towards Jewish use, and was ascribed a religious relevance for Jews.

---

<sup>53</sup> Silverman, *A Cultural History of Jewish Dress*, 115.

<sup>54</sup> ‘Presentation to the Synagogue’, *Ballarat Star*, 5 Sep. 1881, 2.

<sup>55</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>56</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>57</sup> For more on this history, see Lynne Hume, *The Religious Life of Dress: Global Fashion and Faith* (London: Bloomsbury, 2013).

<sup>58</sup> *Ibid.* 15.

<sup>59</sup> Leigh Schmidt, “‘A Church-Going People Are a Dress-Loving People’: Clothes, Communication, and Religious Culture in Early America”, *Church History*, 58/1 (1989), 50.

The ministerial dress adopted by the Hebrew congregations on the Central Victorian Goldfields was imbued with religious authority and veneration, finding a place and value within synagogue worship. Before a Saturday Sabbath service in 1873, the ladies of the Bendigo Hebrew congregation presented Isaac Stone, the congregation's Jewish minister at the time, with a neatly framed address as well as a black clerical cloak and hat, though it is unclear what type of hat was given.<sup>60</sup> Mrs. Moody presented the gift and remarked that it was "a mark of the high appreciation and esteem" felt by the congregation who had provided donations.<sup>61</sup> This cloak and hat were, however, regarded as much more than a mark of respect. Touched by the presentation, Stone commented on the clothing as being venerated, that "the cloak [was] a sacred badge, which the wearer had given him that he should expound the word of God in its purity".<sup>62</sup> The adoption of Christian clerical dress in part defined the new role of the Jewish minister as a religious leader. Stone's observation of the clothing being like 'a sacred badge' indicates that these robes were attributed a religious meaning and understood to facilitate the religious action of Jewish ministers, becoming, as Igor Kopytoff argued, "culturally redefined and put to use".<sup>63</sup> Within some Christian denominations, the role of the clergy was given partial definition through clerical dress, acting as a means to assign moral and spiritual authority.<sup>64</sup> Through the Lived Religion approach, the dress of the Jewish minister emerged as more than an acculturated practice. The cloak and hat were not just objects for the minister to wear; they were items which were assigned a religious and sacred significance for the Hebrew congregation and the Jewish minister. As new material culture entered the synagogue space, it gained religious connotations and value, altering how adherents viewed and understood expressions of their faith.

Though the restyling of this ministerial clothing most likely originated overseas, its use on the Central Victorian Goldfields as an embodied material cultural practice made statements concerning the social and religious identifications of goldfields Jews'. Significantly, the shift in religious dress was focused on men, acting to articulate and communicate male power and focus.<sup>65</sup> Scholars have usually discussed clothing as being

---

<sup>60</sup> 'Presentation to the Rev. Isaac Stone', *Bendigo Advertiser*, 7 Oct. 1873, 2.

<sup>61</sup> Ibid.

<sup>62</sup> Ibid.

<sup>63</sup> Igor Kopytoff, 'The Cultural Biography of Things: Commoditization as Process', in Arjun Appadurai (ed.), *The Social Life of Things: Commodities in Cultural Perspective* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1986), 67.

<sup>64</sup> Schmidt, "A Church-Going People Are a Dress-Loving People", 41.

<sup>65</sup> Hume, *The Religious Life of Dress*, 15.

an expression of difference;<sup>66</sup> however, evidence attests that it can also work to connect groups and individuals.<sup>67</sup> In her book, *Common Threads*, Sally Dwyer-McNulty argued that as a visual lexicon, clothing conveys ideas regarding an individual's resistance to or acceptance of contextual and social norms, an aspect of dress which is particularly acute amongst those who wear a type of 'uniform', which includes the clergy.<sup>68</sup> Goldfields Jewish communities and Jewish ministers had adopted the 'uniform' of the Christian clergy, suggesting an acceptance and religious incorporation rather than a rejection of these symbols. In this way, this clothing acted as a shared style, which, as Meyer argued, worked to produce specific socio-religious formations. For goldfields Jewry, this clothing worked to produce a middle-class yet specifically Jewish religiosity, one that Christians and Jews could recognise. As new forms of clothing were incorporated in colonial Judaism, visually altering worship, the soundscape of the synagogue was also reworked.

### **Singing Hymns and Playing Organs: Choirs in Synagogue Public Worship**

The musical instruments and choirs incorporated into public services had a profound impact on worship experiences, shifting the role of congregants in the synagogue while introducing new sounds and ideas into this space. To celebrate the completion of extensive renovations on the Ballarat synagogue in 1881, the Hebrew congregation organised a special re-consecration service, which was mentioned earlier. As part of this service,

there was an improvised choir, consisting of 14 boys and six gentlemen, and their singing added greatly to the solemnity of the ceremony. Mr. Abraham Hollander was the teacher and conductor of the choir, and, considering that he had but six weeks at his disposal to train the voices under his control, most of whom were mere novices in the art of singing, great credit is due to that gentleman, and his abilities as a thorough musician cannot be too highly commended.<sup>69</sup>

Among the pieces performed at the re-consecration service, the newspaper noted that those which were "the best executed by choir and organ [were] *Wayhee binsorva*, *Hovoo*

---

<sup>66</sup> Diana Crane and Laura Bovone, 'Approaches to Material Culture: The Sociology of Fashion and Clothing', *Poetics*, 34/6 (2006), 323.

<sup>67</sup> Anijar, 'Jewish Genes, Jewish Jeans', 188.

<sup>68</sup> Sally Dwyer-McNulty, *Common Threads: A Cultural History of Clothing in American Catholicism* (North Carolina: University of North Carolina Press, 2014), 6.

<sup>69</sup> 'Consecration of the Ballarat Synagogue', *Jewish Herald*, 23 Sep. 1881, 6.

(a quartet) and the final Hallelujah, one of Beethoven's compositions, arranged by the conductor".<sup>70</sup> The incorporation of music is infrequently discussed by Jewish historians, who instead focus attention on the source of such introductions and the contested nature of their use in synagogues.<sup>71</sup>

Inspired by earlier Reform developments in Britain and Europe, choirs and organs became an increasingly prevalent aspect of public worship for goldfields Hebrew congregations and were added for religious holidays, special occasions, and at times to Sabbath services.<sup>72</sup> Across the nineteenth century, choirs and organs became a significant part of the soundscape of synagogues, both in Europe and the colonies, through which antithetical Christian music was rearranged to fit within Jewish belief. Beethoven's Hallelujah was derived from the chorus in *Christ on the Mount of Olives*, a piece which centres on the emotional turmoil experienced by Jesus (a figure which Jews reject) before his crucifixion, yet the chorus section itself makes no mention of Christ. Through the revision of Beethoven's Hallelujah, music which was antithetical to Judaism could enter the synagogue space, demonstrating the respectable nature of the congregation without compromising Jewish belief. Musical pieces introduced into synagogue worship negotiated core religious ideas and emotions in the pursuit of fashion, revealing how choral music navigated faith and middle-class ideals for the congregation. These musical incorporations into public worship were relatively new, reflecting contemporary desires to demonstrate decorum and fashionable taste.

Organ music and choirs first entered synagogue worship in the early nineteenth century in Europe and Britain.<sup>73</sup> This is not to suggest that this was the beginning of communal singing in the synagogue. Group chanting, in which the entire (male) congregation joins in prayer, has always been a central part of synagogue services, though vocal individual prayer that diverged from communal worship was highly regarded.

---

<sup>70</sup> Ibid.

<sup>71</sup> See David Ellenson, 'The Role of Reform in Selected German-Jewish Orthodox Responsa: A Sociological Analysis', *Hebrew Union College Annual*, 53 (1982), 357-380; Ellenson, 'A Disputed Precedent'; Joseph A. Levine, 'Judaism and Music', in Guy L. Beck (ed.), *Sacred Sound: Experiencing Music in World Religions* (Ontario: Wilfrid Laurier University Press, 2006); Ruben, 'Music, Liturgy and Reform Judaism'

<sup>72</sup> See 'Ballarat', *Jewish Herald*, 22 Sep. 1882, 4; 'News and Notes', *Jewish Herald*, 26 Aug. 1881, 9; 'Consecration of the Ballarat Synagogue', *Ballarat Star*, 19 Sep. 1881, 3; 'News and Notes', *Ballarat Star*, 25 May 1882, 2; 'Ballarat', *Jewish Herald*, 7 Oct. 1881, 6; 'News and Notes', *Ballarat Star*, 6 May 1875, 2; 'The Synagogue', *Ballarat Star*, 21 Jun. 1897, 4; 'News and Notes', *Jewish Herald*, 20 May 1881, 9; 'Sandhurst', *Jewish Herald*, 21 Oct. 1881, 7; 'The Bendigo Advertiser', *Bendigo Advertiser*, 28 Apr. 1881, 2.

<sup>73</sup> Levine, 'Judaism and Music', 45.

Examples also appear of persons who performed a similar function to choirs before the nineteenth century. In the Middle Ages, two singers could be used to provide musical support to the *chazan*, mainly in Ashkenazi synagogues.<sup>74</sup> A few cases were noted in the Early Modern Period of what contemporaries described as choral singing and organs, though they seem to be rare.<sup>75</sup> In Germany, organs began to be used in synagogues from the early nineteenth century following the Haskalah, the Jewish Enlightenment, and Reform Judaism, which was a controversial addition to worship.<sup>76</sup> The use of organs and choirs did not become widespread until about the mid-nineteenth century.<sup>77</sup> In England, choirs were utilised in synagogue worship by the 1840s, though it is unclear how common this practice was and generally became more prevalent in the second half of the century.<sup>78</sup> Choirs and organs proved a popular addition to public worship in the Victorian colony, particularly in the late nineteenth century.<sup>79</sup> The Hebrew congregations on the Central Victorian Goldfields incorporated choirs and organs from their inception in the 1850s, though they increased in use as the century progressed, a process which was reflected in Christian denominations.

In England, the Methodist revival and Nonconformism were significant forces behind popularising choral music in the nineteenth century, playing a crucial role in developing a tradition of singing across urban and rural Britain which was carried to the colonies.<sup>80</sup> Colonial Christian communities likewise utilised choral music and organs as different congregations sought to incorporate hymns into communal worship. In Ballarat, the Wesleyan, Church of England, Congregational, and Presbyterian churches maintained a strong tradition of congregational singing with choirs associated with all of the principle churches and many of the smaller ones.<sup>81</sup> Organs were also increasingly utilised in

<sup>74</sup> *Encyclopaedia Judaica*, s.v. 'Choirs'.

<sup>75</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>76</sup> For more, see Tina Frühauf, *The Organ and Its Music in German-Jewish Culture* (Michigan: The University of Michigan Press, 2009).

<sup>77</sup> Levine, 'Judaism and Music', 46.

<sup>78</sup> See 'Correspondence Liverpool', *The Voice of Jacob*, 14 Oct. 1841, 16; 'Glasgow Synagogue', *Jewish Chronicle*, 7 Mar. 1879, 6; 'Miscellaneous Intelligence', *The Voice of Jacob*, 1 Sep. 1842, 196; 'Miscellaneous Intelligence- The Synagogues during the Festivals', *The Voice of Jacob*, 29 Sep. 1842, 28.

<sup>79</sup> See 'Advanced Judaism, Meeting of the Melbourne Hebrew Congregation Mixed Choir and Instrumental Music', *Jewish Herald*, 5 Apr. 1895, 10; 'East Melbourne Synagogue', *Jewish Herald*, 5 Oct. 1892, 4; 'The Bourke-Street Synagogue Choir Concert', *Jewish Herald*, 23 Aug. 1895, 10; 'St. Kilda Synagogue', *Jewish Herald*, 31 Oct. 1884, 6; 'Bourke Street Synagogue', *Jewish Herald*, 30 Oct. 1885, 9; 'The St. Kilda Synagogue', *Jewish Herald*, 3 Apr. 1896, 12; 'The Synagogues, The Bourke Street Synagogue', *Jewish Herald*, 15 Sep. 1899, 11.

<sup>80</sup> Helen J. English, *Music and World-Building in the Colonial City: Newcastle, NSW, and its Townships, 1860–1880* (Oxon, England: Routledge, 2021); Derek B. Scott, 'Music and Social Class in Victorian London', *Urban History*, 29/1 (2002), 68.

<sup>81</sup> Anne Doggett, "'The Old Vexed Question": Divergent Attitudes and Practices in the Sacred Music of Early Ballarat', *Journal of Religious History*, 33/4 (2009), 409, 412.

worship, with the harmonium the most commonly used instrument.<sup>82</sup> While the harmonium was primarily considered as an instrument for the home, they proved a more affordable option than the piano and could be more easily removed from religious spaces as required.<sup>83</sup> Amongst Presbyterians, for whom congregational singing was more controversial, the organ was viewed with profound suspicion. The organ was regarded as potentially turning sacred music and hymn singing into a gratification of the senses and was therefore used less frequently in worship.<sup>84</sup> The rising popularity of choirs across Britain was not due to religious associations alone.

Though choral music was most often created exclusively for the church, an aspect that continues even today, from the eighteenth century music was increasingly linked with social class, morality, and national consciousness.<sup>85</sup> Amongst the middle-class in England, musical activities became a fond leisure activity, which was performed in the home, schools, parks, and even the street.<sup>86</sup> Singing was believed to instil moral virtue, thus becoming a means to fulfil the middle-class desire for self-improvement through rational recreation.<sup>87</sup> Music was believed to be an effective means to displace unwholesome and ruinous pursuits as it works upon the emotions, balancing feelings without leading to sentimentality or excess.<sup>88</sup> The activities that could accompany music, however, rather than music itself, were often judged as harmful, such as the close proximity maintained between a couple dancing.<sup>89</sup> As a result, educationalists and social reformers often sought to incorporate group singing into their work, with music forming an important part of school curriculums or acting as a form of ‘rational amusement’ for the working class.<sup>90</sup> The right kind of music, performed and practised in the right setting, was thought to have a ‘civilising’ influence on the lower classes as a result of its moral quality.<sup>91</sup>

---

<sup>82</sup> Ibid. 408.

<sup>83</sup> Elisabeth Wilson, “‘Hymns of a More or Less Idiotic Character’: The Impact and Use of “Sankey’s” Gospel Songs in Late Nineteenth-Century Australia”, *Journal of Religious History*, 42/2 (2018), 270.

<sup>84</sup> Doggett, “‘The Old Vexed Question’”, 408.

<sup>85</sup> David Martin, ‘Music and the Aesthetic in Worship and Collective Singing: England since 1840’, *Society*, 53/6 (2016), 652; Andre de Quadros, *Focus: Choral Music in Global Perspective* (New York: Routledge, 2019), 15.

<sup>86</sup> Fiona M. Palmer, ‘The Large-Scale Oratorio Chorus in Nineteenth-Century England: Choral Power and the Role Of Handel’s Messiah’, in Krisztina Lajosi and Andreas Stynen (eds.), *Choral Societies and Nationalism in Europe* (Netherlands: Brill, 2015), 102.

<sup>87</sup> Ibid. 102, 104.

<sup>88</sup> Martin, ‘Music and the Aesthetic in Worship and Collective Singing’, 652.

<sup>89</sup> Scott, ‘Music and Social Class in Victorian London’, 69.

<sup>90</sup> Peggy Jane Lais, ‘Chamber-Music in Melbourne 1877–1901: A History of Performance and Dissemination’, Ph.D. thesis (Melbourne University, 2009), 54; Palmer, ‘The Large-Scale Oratorio Chorus in Nineteenth-Century England’, 102–103.

<sup>91</sup> Scott, ‘Music and Social Class in Victorian London’, 72.



Alongside this class aspect, choirs developed as a tool of social mobilisation and the creation of a national identity across Europe, particularly in Germany where choral music fostered a sense of cultural Protestantism that centred around Luther's Bible.<sup>92</sup> In England, choirs began to feature more heavily in civic and state occasions from the 1730s, drawing inspiration from congeries of Anglican musical rituals to form a regular part of English culture.<sup>93</sup> This incorporation reached its height in England in the nineteenth century as a strong tradition of choral music emerged, playing, as David Martin argued, "a crucial role in the formation of a national identity".<sup>94</sup> These social, cultural, and nationalist aspects suffused choirs and choral music, turning their performances from a purely religious experience into demonstrations of class and belonging. Though choirs were introduced into colonial Hebrew congregations slightly before reform had gained a more ubiquitous position in these communities, choirs were linked to these ideas of class and decorum as well as being expressions of faith for congregants.

Whilst choirs and organs were increasingly regarded as central to synagogue worship, particularly in promoting the good behaviour and solemnity desired, they lacked the associated religious value traditionally ascribed under Christianity. When the Bendigo Hebrew congregation celebrated the consecration of their new synagogue in 1872, the ceremony did not include a choir, which was noted in an article in the *Australian Israelite*. The writer, a local Jewish observer, articulated the view that "there was no choir present and the proceedings, therefore, lacked the spirit which would have been engendered had there been the sweet singing which generally accompanies such ceremonies".<sup>95</sup> While the term 'the spirit' could be ascribed a range of meanings, such as communal togetherness, the term nonetheless suggests that choirs were being viewed as a significant part of ceremonies, though their value seems to be connected with their decorous nature. In a letter to the editor of the *Australian Israelite* in 1871, the writer argued that "the intent of a choir is to add *solemnity* to the service [their emphasis]".<sup>96</sup> By leading lay adherents in their worship, the choir acted to order worship and therefore

---

<sup>92</sup> Martin, 'Music and the Aesthetic in Worship and Collective Singing', 651.

<sup>93</sup> Celia Applegate, 'The Building of Community through Choral Singing', in Donna M. Di Grazia (ed.), *Nineteenth-Century Choral Music* (New York: Routledge, 2013), 6; Palmer, 'The Large-Scale Oratorio Chorus in Nineteenth-Century England', 105.

<sup>94</sup> Martin, 'Music and the Aesthetic in Worship and Collective Singing', 651.

<sup>95</sup> 'Sandhurst- Consecration of the New Synagogue', *Australian Israelite*, 4 Oct. 1872, 3.

<sup>96</sup> 'The Choir', *Australian Israelite*, 6 Oct. 1871, 3.

added the desired decorum. As the choir was a recent addition to the synagogue, which maintains its own long tradition of chanting as discussed previously, choirs were likely viewed in terms of how they supplemented services rather than as a form of worship itself, which diverged from Christian churches.

Though opinions varied widely, Anglican and Catholic traditions usually perceived music as part of the experience of worshipping God.<sup>97</sup> In the Church of England, many adherents viewed music as a form of worship, though others, such as Bishop Perry, claimed that the choir were to set the tone of worship and provided members the means to approach God.<sup>98</sup> Though music was understood to be a form or part of Christian worship, more complex pieces were viewed with suspicion. As David Martin argued, various Christian denominations “frequently assumed that beauty was alien to the spirit of worship and easily liable to supplant it”.<sup>99</sup> Complex musical pieces were perceived to encourage congregants to judge worship by a purely aesthetic criteria, therefore reducing worship to the gratification of the senses.<sup>100</sup>

It seems that the Ballarat Hebrew congregation did not share this view regarding the potential distraction of music in worship as they incorporated more complex musical pieces such as Beethoven's Hallelujah, which requires a wide vocal range to perform successfully, including the lowest vocal type (Bass) and the highest (Soprano). Nor were they alone in such a choice as Hebrew congregations in Melbourne also included the Hallelujah as part of their choir's repertoire.<sup>101</sup> When included, choirs seem to have been viewed as an adornment to synagogue worship, connecting with pervasive middle-class ideas that portrayed music as a means of improving behaviour and demonstrating respectability. Some objections were raised in the colonial Jewish community against elaborate compositions, yet this concern focused on ensuring amateur performers could provide aesthetic value to services. In 1880, an article in the *Jewish Herald* outlined how choirs should not “venture upon elaborate compositions which in range of tone and in point of execution surpass anything that could be reasonably expected of a choir composed of youthful voices”.<sup>102</sup> As the article stated, “no choir at all [was] better than a

---

<sup>97</sup> Doggett, “‘The Old Vexed Question’”, 413.

<sup>98</sup> Ibid. 417.

<sup>99</sup> Martin, ‘Music and the Aesthetic in Worship and Collective Singing’, 652.

<sup>100</sup> Ibid.

<sup>101</sup> See ‘Passover at the Synagogues’, *Jewish Herald*, 22 Apr. 1881, 4; ‘St. Kilda Synagogue’, *Jewish Herald*, 31 Oct. 1884, 6.

<sup>102</sup> ‘Reform in Our Ritual’, *Jewish Herald*, 4 Jun. 1880, 6.

bad one”.<sup>103</sup> The value of choirs in synagogue worship was often connected to their competent performance, meaning that their merit lay in their ability to beautify services; if they performed badly then there was no point in having one at all, as the above newspaper article suggested. Whilst Hebrew congregations tended to view choirs through aesthetic and class notions, choral music did act to rearrange the place of congregants in public services.

The use of choirs required congregants to reconceptualise their role and position in public worship, to decide whether as lay participants to services they would accompany choir singing or worship silently instead. This decision differed for men and women as they occupied divergent roles in the synagogue and traditional worship. Whilst the vocal worship of men was expected, the voices of Jewish women were forbidden in Orthodox public worship as the female register was traditionally viewed as being ‘distracting’, which resulted in women maintaining silence during services.<sup>104</sup> Women were encouraged to attend synagogue and engage in prayers; however, their observance was not accorded the same communal or ritual importance as men’s worship.<sup>105</sup>

The available evidence suggests that it was male voices which may have been hushed by the incorporation of choirs rather than women, as a group, becoming more vocal. As the *Jewish Herald* outlined in 1892, choirs had “directed the congregation merely to listen, and has made organ, choir and Reader [*chazan*] the executants of Divine service”.<sup>106</sup> The performance of group singing worked to impose control and order over the synagogue space and those who inhabited it, recasting the role of congregants by constraining the participation of adherents, mainly men. This was in line with contemporary views regarding appropriate synagogue decorum, transforming ‘disorderly’ worship into a more cohesive and solemn service. While contemporary Jewish newspapers did discuss the role of choirs and organ music, it is harder to gauge how widespread such views were. Adherents may have preferred to listen to choirs rather than to join, perhaps believing this to be a more decorous means of public worship and a way to discourage or mask frivolous chat. Regardless, the use of choirs and organs shaped perceptions of class, religiosity, and identity for colonial Jews.

---

<sup>103</sup> Ibid.

<sup>104</sup> Goldman, *Beyond the Synagogue*, 84.

<sup>105</sup> Ibid. 5.

<sup>106</sup> ‘Melbourne, Friday, 18th November, 5653-1892’, *Jewish Herald*, 18 Nov. 1892, 4.

The incorporation of choirs into worship spoke to the developing middle-class ideas and reforming attitude of goldfields Jewry, introducing decorum and adorning services. Sound is an important aspect of embodied experience that can cross boundaries and blur distinctions between object and subject, private and public, as well as between other and self.<sup>107</sup> Sound is a collective embodied practice which, Meredith McGuire argued, “can produce an experiential sense of community and connectedness”.<sup>108</sup> Whether adherents joined in singing or merely listened, the choir and organ music worked to unite individuals. The connections engendered by choirs could extend beyond the congregation. As the growing literature on imperialism and music affirms, choirs and organs acted to create a sense of religious continuity by connecting individuals to the past and to their colonial place.<sup>109</sup> According to Fiona M. Palmer, choirs could be both inclusive or exclusive, with the type of music, place of performance, and persons involved defining the belonging of both participants and the audience.<sup>110</sup> The inclusion of choral music into a Jewish religious space and the adaption of Christian choral works enabled the incorporation of well-known performative symbols of class and imperial inclusion into the synagogue, providing commentary on the social class and status of Jews in colonial society as well as their developing attachment to Victorian ideals. This shifted soundscape of the synagogue was further altered by the language used within this space.

### **National Anthems and Vernacular Sermons: Hebrew and English in the Synagogue**

The use of English and Hebrew in synagogue services was a contested issue in colonial Australia that spoke of deeper anxieties regarding Jewish identification and continuity, finding agitated expression in local newspapers. In an 1895 letter to the editor of the *Jewish Herald*, the author, ‘A Child of Israel’, wrote against the reformed use of English in the synagogue, and urged Jews to

Remember our past; think of our future, the glorious future  
designed for us by our God, our Father, our Friend. Is it not far

---

<sup>107</sup> Isaac Weiner, ‘Sound and American Religions’, *Religion Compass*, 3/5 (2009), 904.

<sup>108</sup> Meredith B. McGuire, *Lived Religion: Faith and Practice in Everyday Life* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2008), 115.

<sup>109</sup> See Stephen Banfield, ‘Towards A History of Music in the British Empire: Three Export Studies’, in Kate Darian-Smith, Patricia Grimshaw, and Stuart Macintyre (eds.), *Britishness Abroad: Transnational Movements and Imperial Cultures* (Melbourne: Melbourne University Press, 2007); Doggett, “‘The Old Vexed Question’”; Trevor Herbert and Helen Barlow, *Music and the British Military in the Long Nineteenth Century* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2013); Bob van der Linden, *Music and Empire in Britain and India: Identity, Internationalism, and Cross-Cultural Communication* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2013); Jeffrey Richards, *Imperialism and Music: Britain 1876-1953* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2001).

<sup>110</sup> Palmer, ‘The Large-Scale Oratorio Chorus in Nineteenth-Century England’, 104.

easier for us to acquaint ourselves with our language and religion than to seek to change the honoured forms and to introduce into our houses of worship a foreign tongue? Is it English you want? Then why not go to the churches; yes, go to them, but do not mimic them. Let us worship our God in our own way.<sup>111</sup>

The writer described the English language as being simultaneously a foreign tongue and a Christian practice, positioning the churches and the Christians who attend them as Other.<sup>112</sup> The editor of the *Jewish Herald* at times expressed a similar view, portraying English as an inappropriate introduction or, as they put it, “the thin edge of the wedge”.<sup>113</sup> This was not, however, a widespread view amongst colonial Jewry. A significant number of Jews argued for the reformed use of English in religious services which was not only seen as desirable, but also necessary to bolster Judaism.<sup>114</sup> As this evidence suggests, such debates over the language of public worship involved deeper concerns and negotiations over identifications and faith, an issue that was raised in Bendigo and Ballarat.

While English was frequently relied upon during public worship, not all were happy with its use on the Central Victorian Goldfields as concerns arose over its potential effect on cultural and religious continuity. In 1876, Israel Goldreich was welcomed back as the minister for the Ballarat Hebrew congregation after being employed at Sydney’s Macquarie Street synagogue in a similar role. When Goldreich delivered his first sermon after his return, he made particular note of the use of English in the synagogue and “declaimed against a tendency exhibited in some places to supplant the old Hebrew tongue with the vernacular”.<sup>115</sup> He “hope[ed] that that sort of thing would be checked at once and forever, and a higher standard of Hebrew education introduced”.<sup>116</sup> As the Jewish minister, Goldreich used the sermon, itself an English addition to services, to denounce the use of English in the synagogue. Goldreich’s concern over the languages used may have been about more than religious adherence and reform. Goldreich likely hoped to increase the use of Hebrew to maintain a strong conservative identification and image of the Ballarat Hebrew congregation, which was the particular pride of the community. His discussion on the use of English may have been an expression of worry

---

<sup>111</sup> ‘Reform’, *Jewish Herald*, 14 Jun. 1895, 4.

<sup>112</sup> Ibid.

<sup>113</sup> ‘Melbourne, Friday, 4th January, 5649-1889’, *Jewish Herald*, 4 Jan. 1889, 8.

<sup>114</sup> See ‘A Lady’s Views’, *Jewish Herald*, 9 Nov. 1888, 14; ‘Reform’, *Jewish Herald*, 17 May 1895, 4; ‘Reform’, *Jewish Herald*, 17 May 1895, 4; ‘Reform’, *Jewish Herald*, 9 Aug. 1895, 10; ‘Should Hebrew Exclusively Form Our Prayer-Vehicle?’, *Jewish Herald*, 21 Aug. 1885, 10.

<sup>115</sup> ‘News and Notes’, *Ballarat Star*, 14 Aug. 1876, 2.

<sup>116</sup> Ibid.

at the state and practice of Judaism in the colonies, or the impact of assimilation. Despite Goldreich's insistence on using Hebrew in the synagogue, his efforts were fruitless.

The Ballarat and Bendigo synagogues increasingly incorporated English into their Sabbath services, in life cycle rituals, holidays, and more general public worship.<sup>117</sup> English was also used for sermons, to open the service, and to lecture in the synagogue, firmly placing English within and as part of synagogue worship on the goldfields.<sup>118</sup> The concern displayed by Goldreich is reflective of other colonial communities at the time, such as the Welsh, who feared the loss of language and national identity among the rising generation who increasingly adopted English.<sup>119</sup> While the vernacular language supported Judaism and worship in synagogues, English language symbols were also reshaped.

While Hebrew prayers and sermons were delivered in the vernacular, the ancient tongue of Hebrew was used to articulate English symbols, a strategy designed to confirm a British identity. On numerous occasions, Britain's national anthem was sung in Hebrew, usually at the end of a service.<sup>120</sup> As Carlos R. Abril, a professor of music education, attests, national anthems act as dynamic symbols of collective unity that connect singers to imagined communities.<sup>121</sup> In this sense, they act as practices that provide individuals with the felt experience of being part of imagined communities and identities, which Meyer theorised through aesthetic formations as being central to their formation and maintenance. Like choirs, national anthems rely on bodily subjectivities and experiences to define the connections and the limits of who belongs. As a symbol, anthems rely on performance for interpretation, meaning they allow a certain degree of adaption which enables these markers to be applied in alternative ways.<sup>122</sup> Such changes, however, rely on the felt beliefs of the performers and the context in which they occur, on what they

---

<sup>117</sup> See 'Ballarat', *Jewish Herald*, 22 Sep. 1882, 4; 'Bendigo Advertiser', *Bendigo Advertiser*, 30 Nov. 1877, 2; 'Confirmation Service at the Synagogue', *Ballarat Star*, 17 Jan. 1887, 2; 'Harking Back', *Bendigo Advertiser*, 26 Jan. 1878, 2; 'The Jewish New Year', *Bendigo Advertiser*, 27 Sep. 1884, 1; 'News and Notes', *Ballarat Star*, 4 Oct. 1870, 2; 'News and Notes', *Ballarat Star*, 28 May 1874, 2; 'News and Notes', *Ballarat Star*, 7 Jan. 1884, 2; 'News and Notes', *Ballarat Star*, 4 Sep. 1869, 2; 'Sandhurst', *Jewish Herald*, 31 Oct. 1884, 6; 'Wedding Bells', *Bendigo Advertiser*, 13 Sep. 1894, 3.

<sup>118</sup> See above footnote.

<sup>119</sup> Robert Llewellyn Tyler, *The Welsh in an Australian Gold Town: Ballarat, Victoria 1850-1900* (Cardiff, Wales: University of Wales Press, 2010), 53.

<sup>120</sup> See 'Ballarat', *Jewish Herald*, 25 Jun. 1897, 4; 'Ballarat', *Jewish Herald*, 2 Jun. 1882, 10; 'Consecration of the Ballarat Synagogue', *Ballarat Star*, 19 Sep. 1881, 3; 'News and Notes', *Ballarat Star*, 25 May 1882, 2; 'The Queen's Jubilee, Services in the Churches', *Bendigo Advertiser*, 20 Jun. 1887, 3; 'The Record Reign', *Bendigo Advertiser*, 21 Jun. 1897, 3; 'Religious Services', *Ballarat Star*, 23 Jun. 1887, 4;.

<sup>121</sup> Carlos R. Abril, 'A National Anthem: Patriotic Symbol or Democratic Action?', in David G. Hebert and Alexandra Kertz-Welzel (eds.), *Patriotism and Nationalism in Music Education* (London: Routledge, 2016), 5.

<sup>122</sup> *Ibid.*

perceived to be acceptable or 'true'. That the synagogue was deemed an appropriate place to perform the national anthem suggests that congregants linked their Judaism with their Britishness. Britain's national anthem was performed in Hebrew in a Jewish space, suffusing this British symbol with Jewish overtones and religiosity, to connect with British imperial discourses that were centred in Judaism. Evidently, the language realms of Hebrew and English found increasing convergence in the synagogue.

The use of English and Hebrew during synagogue services enabled Jews to navigate and display their identifications, felt attachments, and sense of religiosity. As scholars have attested, language was a powerful tool of cultural mediation that communities used to negotiate identities.<sup>123</sup> Speech as a means of identity negotiation was particularly acute when two or more languages were used. Historian Barbara Bush argued that the "possession of two languages is not merely having two tools, but actually means participation in two psychical and cultural realms".<sup>124</sup> Whilst Hebrew functioned as a marker of Judaism,<sup>125</sup> English acted as a badge of the shared culture and history of white colonisers, unifying colonialists through a single language that was bound with ideas of British ascendancy.<sup>126</sup> As colonial Jews increasingly acculturated, English, the mother tongue of most congregants, was adopted in the synagogue, though it did not replace Hebrew. Rather than denoting a loss of cultural heritage and Hebrew literacy, the incorporation of English made statements about the identification of Jewish adherents, displaying their place in the shared culture of colonial British society. British and Jewish identities were being further blurred in the synagogue space by the interchangeable use of language, whereby English became a language of prayer and Hebrew a supporting voice for the British Empire.

Whilst informed to a degree by overseas developments in Reform Judaism, the shifts in synagogue worship and the experience of public services were also the result of the negotiation of a British and middle-class identity for colonial Jews. It was no coincidence

---

<sup>123</sup> Vivian Bickford-Smith, 'Revisiting Anglicisation in the Cape Colony', in Carl Bridge and Kent Fedorowich (eds.), *The British World: Diaspora, Culture, and Identity* (London: Frank Cass, 2003), 36; Bush, *Imperialism and Postcolonialism*, 126; Michael Davie, *Anglo-Australian Attitudes* (London: Secker and Warburg, 2000), 7.

<sup>124</sup> Bush, *Imperialism and Postcolonialism*, 126.

<sup>125</sup> Sander L. Gilman, 'Introduction: The Frontier as a Model for Jewish History', in Sander L. Gilman and Milton Shain (eds.), *Jewries at the Frontier: Accommodation, Identity, Conflict* (Chicago: University of Illinois Press, 1999), 9.

<sup>126</sup> Bickford-Smith, 'Revisiting Anglicisation in the Cape Colony', 36; Davie, *Anglo-Australian Attitudes*, 7.

that the introduced practices and material culture drew upon popular forms of Christian worship and middle-class values practiced throughout the colony, a link which Jews themselves did not overlook. Christian worship practices and items may have been introduced to act as a type of safety screen to shield the community, to protect congregations from censure and reproach, whilst also enabling the expression of fashion and good taste. The wide popularity and the heated debate which followed suggested that these were not cursory changes, but rather held implications for deeply held beliefs and ideas. Although demonstrating similarity and connection, these introduced practices were also understood through their performance in a Jewish space and by adherents who remained strongly linked to Judaism. This changing worship and material culture of synagogue spaces created a way to practice, demonstrate, and *feel* British and middle-class whilst also maintaining Jewish connection and significance. While Jews negotiated their synagogue practices and material culture, their British identification, as well as the social and cultural mores it encompassed, transformed the religious practices and ideals of Jewish women.

## **Chapter Five**

### **Home Teachers and Choir Singers: The Domestic Femininity of Jewish Women**

Victorian middle-class notions concerning domestic femininity recast the expectations placed on Jewish women, shaping the ideas of the Jewish mother and wife, or, in some cases, the eldest daughter. In the cottage of Ballarat's longstanding Jewish minister, the Israel Goldreich, Minnie Goldreich oversaw the domestic realm where she managed meals, welcomed guests, and organised the household. As a visitor to their home noted,

In the absence of the mother, whom death all too soon snatched from a large and affectionate family, Miss Goldreich, a young lady of about 20 summers, presides over the domestic hearth, and that in



a very creditable manner. Evidences of her refined taste and good management may be seen on all sides in that neat little cottage. At the proper time, you are invited to sit down to a substantial, well-cooked and equally well-served dinner, and when you have done full justice to it, a surprise awaits you which rejoices the heart of every well-wisher of Judaism. Miss Goldreich, at the request of her father, recites the *benshen*—and all.<sup>1</sup>

Minnie filled the expected ideal of the Victorian middle-class woman popular in contemporary British ideology. Much more, however, was occurring in the home scene described above; Minnie also assumed the mantle of the scholar and religious home leader. The *benshen* refers to *Birkat Hamazon*, translated as Grace after Meals, and is commonly recited by the male head of the household, yet in this scene was instead uttered by Minnie, an unusual occurrence.<sup>2</sup> Minnie Goldreich reveals the responsibilities increasingly expected of colonial Jewish women to be household managers and religious home guides, an under-researched topic in the historical literature.

Gender, religion, and class have long been an area of interest for historians, although research focuses on Christian faiths.<sup>3</sup> Research has been more widely conducted into the lives of non-Jewish women on the Central Victorian Goldfields and in colonial Australia, a historiography which has marginalised the unique experiences of Jewish women.<sup>4</sup> For Jewish women, domestic feminine ideals were negotiated through their religiosity and colonial conditions that proved to be both liberating and constraining. This shift towards British domesticity enabled Jewish women to participate in new roles, practices, and occupations that were previously unavailable or prohibited under Jewish law. The revised ideology and activity of colonial Jewish women acted as important mediators of identity and social class, which held wider implications for familial and communal ideas of belonging.

---

<sup>1</sup> 'A Glance at Ballarat', *Jewish Herald*, 27 Feb. 1891, 5.

<sup>2</sup> Ibid.

<sup>3</sup> For significant examples, see Callum Brown, *The Death of Christian Britain* (Oxford: Routledge, 2009); Sue Morgan and Jacqueline de Vries (eds.), *Women, Gender and Religious Cultures in Britain, 1800-1940* (Oxon, England: Routledge, 2010); Sonya Sharma, Kristin Aune, and Giselle Vincett (eds.), *Women and Religion in the West: Challenging Secularization* (London and New York: Routledge, 2016).

<sup>4</sup> See Asher, 'Martha Clendinning'; Cramer, 'Keeping Up Appearances'; Patricia Grimshaw, 'Women and the Family in Australian History', in Elizabeth Windschuttle (eds.), *Women, Class and History: Feminist Perspectives on Australia 1788-1978* (Melbourne: Fontana Books, 1980); Patricia Grimshaw and Graham Willett, 'Women's History and Family History: An Exploration of Colonial Family Structure', in Norma Grieve and Patricia Grimshaw (eds.), *Australian Women: Feminist Perspectives* (Melbourne: Oxford University Press, 1981); Beverley Kingston, 'Women in Nineteenth Century Australian History', *Labour History*, 67 (1994), 84-96.

This chapter investigates the impact of Victorian domestic femininity on the religiosity and practices of Jewish women on the Central Victorian Goldfields. The chapter first reviews nineteenth century Victorian middle-class domestic ideologies and the position of women in traditional Orthodox Judaism, detailing where these perceptions overlapped and diverged for colonial Jewish women. The next section examines the position of Jewish women in the synagogue as they participated in choirs and interior decoration, which enabled new forms of gendered religious expression to emerge. The section that follows discusses the change in domestic expectations of Jewish mothers and wives who emerged as religious teachers and home leaders through Victorian middle-class ideals. It also examines the place and relationship of Christian servants in Jewish households, whose presence complicated the home space and the responsibilities of mothers. The last section considers the commercial and public labour of Jewish women on the Central Victorian Goldfields. The participation of Jewish women in business, whether in a paid or unpaid capacity, was shaped by genteel notions and colonial conditions that in some ways extended opportunities while also defining limits that some women challenged. This shift in the perceptions and ideals of colonial Jewish women was grounded in a longer history of change in gender, faith, and class.

### **Between Victorian Middle-Class Femininity and Orthodox Judaism**

Across the nineteenth century, Western ideologies concerning gender and religiosity were transformed, redefining understandings of faith, families, and womanhood.<sup>5</sup> While influenced by wider industrial and economic changes, this reconstruction was also grounded in the experiences of an emerging middle-class in British society. In Victorian Britain, middle-class ideas of femininity increasingly concentrated on marriage, motherhood, and the household, placing certain gendered and domestic expectations on women. Middle-class domesticity recast familial dynamics and afforded a higher status to the sentimental mother and the dutiful wife.<sup>6</sup> Through these concepts, female domesticity and the family emerged as vehicles for engendering social harmony and as a means to

---

<sup>5</sup> See Berrol, 'Class or Ethnicity'; Rickie Burman, "'She Looketh Well to the Ways of Her Household': The Changing Role of Jewish Women in Religious Life, c. 1880 -1930', in Gail Malmgreen (ed.), *Religion in the Lives of English Women* (Kent, England: Croom Helm, 1986); Davidoff and Hall, *Family Fortunes*; Paula Hyman, *Gender and Assimilation in Modern Jewish History: The Roles and Representations of Women* (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1995).

<sup>6</sup> Shelley Richardson, *Family Experiments: Middle-Class, Professional Families in Australia and New Zealand c. 1880- 1920* (Canberra: Australian University Press, 2016), 11.

counteract the discordant forces of the industrial revolution.<sup>7</sup> Christian groups in particular responded to socioeconomic growth with religiously-linked gender frameworks that drew upon middle-class domesticity to often exclude women from religious leadership or the ministry.<sup>8</sup> Most Christian denominations excluded women from positions of authority, with Anglican and Roman Catholic hierarchical structures offering no opportunities for women to lead, while Methodism prohibited female preachers in 1803.<sup>9</sup> It was mainly the sects who had broken away from the Wesleyan Methodists, like the Primitive Methodists and Bible Christians, who embraced a more inclusive role for women through preaching.<sup>10</sup> The rising idea of female domesticity crossed, but was by no means equated with, discourses that gendered certain spheres of society and home life, known as the separate spheres.<sup>11</sup>

The ideologies of the separate spheres relegated women to the private realm of the home, a space viewed as a source of stability, virtue, and piety, while men were regarded as being authorised to participate in the public sphere of paid work and politics.<sup>12</sup> Though an influential contemporary ideology, historians have substantially critiqued the use of separate spheres as a means to understand gendered experiences. As scholars have argued, the use of the separate spheres misrepresents the lives of both women and men whose identities were enmeshed in a matrix of circulating discourses that could either supplement or challenge these ideals.<sup>13</sup> Acknowledging this critique, this chapter seeks to focus on the lived experiences of Jewish women and how they interacted with middle-class femininity. The British ideology of domestic femininity was exported to Australia, with these ideals clearly shaping expectations of colonial women; however, as Graeme Davison noted, “colonial housewives may have locally acknowledged the London

---

<sup>7</sup> Eleanor Gordon and Gwyneth Nair, *Public Lives: Women, Family and Society in Victorian Britain* (London: Yale University Press, 2003), 107.

<sup>8</sup> David Hempton, *Methodism: Empire of the Spirit* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2005); McGuire, *Lived Religion*, 169; Young, *Middle Class Culture*, 189.

<sup>9</sup> Nicole Starling, ‘Between Two Paradigms: Harriet Pullen and the Earliest Australian Female Preachers’, *Journal of Religious History*, 39/3 (2015), 400.

<sup>10</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>11</sup> Gordon and Nair, *Public Lives*, 234.

<sup>12</sup> Diana Cordea, ‘Two Approaches on the Philosophy of Separate Spheres in Mid-Victorian England: John Ruskin and John Stuart Mill’, *Procedia-Social and Behavioral Sciences*, 71 (2013), 116. For the early history and debate in scholarship on the separate spheres, see Penny Brown, *The Captured World: The Child and Childhood in Nineteenth-Century Women’s Writing in England* (New York: Harvester Wheatsheaf, 1993), 92; Linda K. Kerber, ‘Separate Spheres, Female Worlds, Woman’s Place: The Rhetoric of Women’s History’, *The Journal of American History*, 75/1 (1988), 9-39.

<sup>13</sup> Deborah L. Rotman, ‘Separate Spheres?: Beyond the Dichotomies of Domesticity’, *Current Anthropology*, 47/4 (2006), 667; Sarah C. Williams, ‘Is There a Bible in the House? Gender, Religion and Family Culture’, in Sue Morgan and Jacqueline deVries (eds.), *Women, Gender and Religious Cultures in Britain, 1800- 1940* (Oxon, England: Routledge, 2010), 15.

standard while largely ignoring it in practice”.<sup>14</sup> Colonial women interacted in complex and multifaceted ways with these Victorian middle-class ideologies that varied for families and religious communities. For colonial Jewish women, these Victorian ideals of femininity crossed with traditional Orthodox Judaism, which likewise accorded certain gendered and familial responsibilities to women.

Women occupied a different faith role to men in Judaism, a role that were shaped by their expected labour both in the home and in the wider community. While Jewish women most often gained a basic understanding of Judaism’s theology, commandments, and values, they were prohibited from undertaking study on Jewish texts and were usually uneducated in Hebrew.<sup>15</sup> Jewish education expanded during the nineteenth century to include girls, although their religious knowledge continued to be undervalued compared to men, as Chapter Six discusses. Traditionally, women and girls did not participate in public services, nor were they allowed to enter the rabbinate, positions of religious authority.<sup>16</sup> Jewish women were also exempt from most time-bound commandments and were only expected to learn and practice the religious laws which were of most relevance to them.<sup>17</sup> While men were required to follow all 613 commandments, only three specifically refer to women: lighting candles on the Sabbath; *challah*, which refers to the burning of a small piece of dough prepared for baking bread, and *niddah*, the observance of certain laws surrounding ritual bath immersion and marital purity.<sup>18</sup> These religious laws and commandments continued as a significant element of women’s lives even while conceptions of Jewish womanhood were adapted from the mid-nineteenth century.<sup>19</sup> On the Central Victorian Goldfields, Jewish women continued to ascribe to traditional religious laws. Nathan Spielvogel in the *Annals of the Ballarat Hebrew Congregation* incorporated the oral history given by Julia Bernstein in 1923, who provided information

---

<sup>14</sup> Bernice McPherson, ‘A Colonial Feminine Ideal: Femininity and Representation’, *Journal of Australian Studies*, 12/2 (1994), 12; Davison, *The Rise and Fall of Marvellous Melbourne*, 170.

<sup>15</sup> ‘Female Education’, *Jewish Herald*, 9 Jan. 1880, 6; Goldman, *Beyond the Synagogue*, 5.

<sup>16</sup> Goldman, *Beyond the Synagogue*, 5; *Encyclopaedia Judaica*, s.v. ‘Woman’.

<sup>17</sup> Abosch, “‘We are Not Only English Jews—We are Jewish Englishmen’”, 173; Goldman, *Beyond the Synagogue*, 5.

<sup>18</sup> Goldman, *Beyond the Synagogue*, 19. *Challah* refers to a special bread in Judaism, which is usually braided and eaten on the Sabbath and on major Jewish holidays. *Niddah* refers to the Jewish laws surrounding purification and married women. According to these laws, men are forbidden to engage in sexual relations with their wife during (and for some periods before and after) her menstruation. Seven days after the birth of a son, women are required to immerse themselves in a *mikvah*, a ritual bath, while the birth of a daughter requires fourteen days. Intimacy may only continue after her menstruation has ended and she has undergone a ritual immersion in a *mikvah*. The Laws relating to *niddah* are considered one of the most fundamental principles of religious law. *Encyclopaedia Judaica*, s.v. ‘Niddah’.

<sup>19</sup> See Abrams, *Jewish Women Pioneering the Frontier Trail*; Berrol, ‘Class or Ethnicity’; Burman, “‘She Looketh Well to the Ways of Her Household’”; Hyman, *Gender and Assimilation in Modern Jewish History*; Goldman, *Beyond the Synagogue*.

regarding women's observance of *niddah*. Julia Bernstein, who married Jacob Bernstein in the Ballarat synagogue in 1863, recalled that Jewish women did use the *mikvah* (ritual bath) at the appointed times in order to observe *niddah*.<sup>20</sup> Numerous other studies have also found Jewish women in remote locations and in small communities kept the Jewish laws required of them.<sup>21</sup> Despite women's limited institutional religious role in Judaism, the activity of Jewish women in familial and domestic life was (and is) essential to Jewish practices, action which could extend beyond the home space.<sup>22</sup>

In many traditional Jewish communities, wives could be expected to supplement their family's income.<sup>23</sup> This economic role was at times tied to the religious obligations of men in Judaism, in which it was considered meritorious to spend long hours studying Jewish religious texts, a task restricted to males.<sup>24</sup> In order for husbands to devote their time to studying, wives often had to assume financial responsibilities. This expectation anticipated women's engagement outside the home, or even beyond the Jewish community, which was at odds with mainstream Victorian middle-class domesticity.<sup>25</sup> The financial obligation of wives usually enabled them to hold a substantial amount of authority within the family as a result of their economic role and their management of the household.<sup>26</sup> The position of economic helpmate continued in the colonies and was often a necessity, at times even an expected labour to be performed by Jewish women, as will be discussed more below. In colonial Jewish communities, women were required to navigate religious Jewish expectations and the rising popularity of middle-class ideals, resulting in a fraught process of change.

Through British ideologies of domesticity, colonial Jewish women were assigned a natural and heightened religiosity, an idea that generated certain pressures for women and was beset by constraints.<sup>27</sup> In an 1880 article published in the *Jewish Herald* on 'Female

---

<sup>20</sup> Australian Jewish Historical Society Sydney Archive, Spielvogel, *Annals of the Ballarat Hebrew Congregation*, 23.

<sup>21</sup> Hyman, *Gender and Assimilation in Modern Jewish History*, 22; Goldman, *Beyond the Synagogue*, 34.

<sup>22</sup> Pamela J. Walker, "'With Fear and Trembling': Women, Preaching, and Spiritual Authority", in Sue Morgan and Jacqueline deVries (eds.), *Women, Gender and Religious Cultures in Britain, 1800-1940* (Oxon, England: Routledge, 2010), 95.

<sup>23</sup> Abosch, "'We are Not Only English Jews—We are Jewish Englishmen'", 173; *Encyclopaedia Judaica*, s.v. 'Woman'.

<sup>24</sup> *Encyclopaedia Judaica*, s.v. 'Woman'.

<sup>25</sup> Abosch, "'We are Not Only English Jews—We are Jewish Englishmen'", 173.

<sup>26</sup> Jonathan Boyarin, *Jewish Families* (New Brunswick, New Jersey: Rutgers University Press, 2013), 85.

<sup>27</sup> Line Nyhagen Predelli, 'Sexual Control and the Remaking of Gender: The Attempt of Nineteenth-Century Protestant Norwegian Women to Export Western Domesticity to Madagascar', *Journal of Women's History*, 12/2 (2000), 82; Gordon and Nair, *Public Lives*, 73.

Education', the author argued "there is nothing more natural to woman than religion: her tender nature, her susceptible heart, her tractable will, form the most congenial soil for religion".<sup>28</sup> This portrayal was a significant deviation from Orthodox Judaism where it was men who were ascribed a central religiosity in which fathers taught religion to sons and Jewish men engaged in public worship as well as private study.<sup>29</sup> Further issues arose over the ascribed educational ideas allotted to women. The writer of 'Female Education' not only viewed women as being innately religious, but believed that this was an aspect of women's attributes that needed to be further developed: "though its germ is undoubtedly innate in woman, it must be cultivated ... before it can ripen into fruit-producing maturity".<sup>30</sup> For Jewish women in colonial Victoria, their increased religious and moral role was contrasted with their education, or for some women, their lack of one.<sup>31</sup> This convergence of Jewish prohibitions and British feminine domesticity led to tensions between expectations and realities that was further intensified by colonial limits and availabilities, as the rest of this chapter demonstrates. There should, however, be some caution in applying this framework to all colonial Jewish women.

The reshaping of Jewish feminine ideals and expectations may not reflect the actual lives of Jewish women, yet such shifts nevertheless impacted their experiences and religious identity in a variety of ways. The lack of reflective contemporary material such as diaries and letters mean that the more personal negotiation that occurred for Jewish women on the goldfields remains unknown, although this should not justify the neglect of their history. From the evidence that is available, women's institutional, domestic, and employment realms can be reconstructed to uncover their shifting identities, practices, and ideals. One of the most noticeable changes for Jewish women occurred in the synagogue.

### **'A Sacred Solo from the Gallery': Jewish Women in the Synagogue**

Across the nineteenth century, new practices and roles became available to Jewish women in the synagogue, providing a greater opportunity to participate in public worship, which altered their relationship with this space. In America, the position of Jewish women in the synagogue also shifted as they joined choirs, sat in family pews, and

---

<sup>28</sup> 'Female Education', *Jewish Herald*, 9 Jan. 1880, 6.

<sup>29</sup> Ibid.

<sup>30</sup> Ibid.

<sup>31</sup> Ibid.

formed special committees.<sup>32</sup> Jewish women in Britain experienced a similar change, though slightly delayed, as they joined mixed choirs; in European centres such as in Germany, middle-class Jewish women continued to be excluded from synagogue worship in Orthodox synagogues.<sup>33</sup> Similar reconstructions occurred in colonial synagogues, though Jewish women continued to maintain a marginal position which was reflected in the seating arrangements. Seating in synagogues was segregated by gender with women and small children sitting on a second-floor balcony, known as the gallery, with a screen placed so that they could not be observed by the men below. Reform congregations would later abolish this practice. In both Bendigo and Ballarat, traditional gender segregated seating was used; the Ballarat synagogue, which has survived into the twenty-first century, continues this practice. While women on the goldfields remained relegated to the gallery, new and meaningful ways emerged for them to engage and contribute to the synagogue space and worship, mainly through choirs.

The introduction of choirs and musical instruments into synagogue services enabled women to be incorporated into public worship.<sup>34</sup> As detailed in the previous chapter, women were prohibited under Orthodox Judaism from singing or chanting during public worship.<sup>35</sup> Despite such proscriptions, women frequently joined synagogue choirs, either adding their musical talents to group singing or performing solos. Jewish women were most likely to join choirs for special occasions. When the Ballarat Hebrew congregation celebrated the re-consecration of the synagogue after recent renovations in 1881, a choir was included in the service with Bertha Hollander providing musical accompaniment on the harmonium.<sup>36</sup> At the same re-consecration service, Nathan Spielvogel recalled that Ade Willets sang “a sacred solo from the gallery”, much to the displeasure of the more Orthodox members of the community.<sup>37</sup> In 1897, the Ballarat Hebrew congregation commemorated the sixty-year reign of Queen Victoria with a service held in her honour. This thanksgiving worship incorporated choir music in which Miss Bay Phillips and Miss Leah Flohm each sang a solo piece.<sup>38</sup> It was more common for women to join mixed choirs towards the end of the century, suggesting that their participation was more of a gradual change rather than a sudden introduction. This reflected changes in British

---

<sup>32</sup> See Goldman, *Beyond the Synagogue*.

<sup>33</sup> Endelman, *The Jews of Britain*, 113, 168; Kaplan, *The Making of the Jewish Middle Class*, 68.

<sup>34</sup> Goldman, *Beyond the Synagogue*, 84.

<sup>35</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>36</sup> ‘Consecration of the Ballarat Synagogue’, *Jewish Herald*, 23 Sep. 1881, 6.

<sup>37</sup> Australian Jewish Historical Society Sydney Archive, Spielvogel, *Annals of the Ballarat Hebrew Congregation*, 42.

<sup>38</sup> ‘Ballarat’, *Jewish Herald*, 25 Jun. 1897, 4; ‘The Synagogue’, *Jewish Herald*, 21 Jun. 1897, 4.

synagogues. While Hebrew congregations in Britain introduced choirs from at least the 1840s, mixed choirs do not seem to appear until the late 1870s and 80s, in some synagogues even as late as 1896.<sup>39</sup>

The increasing frequency of women's participation in choirs suggested that their voices became more acceptable, perhaps even desirable, to exhibit during public worship. This shift in ideas concerning women's voices was not the result of a questioning of Orthodox Jewish gender roles. It stemmed from the desire to introduce decorum to services, as was outlined in Chapter Four. Nonetheless, music and choirs challenged the role and traditional relationship of women with the synagogue. Choirs and music offered some Jewish women an important symbolic and performative means to engage with public services, to contribute to and become part of a realm traditionally reserved for men. The contributions of female congregants stretched beyond the soundscape of the synagogue to include engagement with the physical aspects of this space.

Jewish women on the goldfields were increasingly provided opportunities to decorate the synagogue space, which was directly related to the incorporation of Victorian feminine ideals by the Jewish community. As part of their prescribed domestic role, colonial women from the middle and upper classes were responsible for creating and maintaining the household, a role that included decoration.<sup>40</sup> Jewish women were likely able to decorate the synagogue space as exercising these skills was viewed as a natural extension of their domestic practices. The decoration of synagogues has been observed in other colonial congregations of the same period, but not to the extent it was observed in Bendigo and Ballarat.<sup>41</sup> This suggests that Jewish women on the goldfields were provided with greater opportunities to engage with the synagogue space on the goldfields, which may have been a result of their small community size.

---

<sup>39</sup> See Endelman, *The Jews of Britain*, 168, 113. Articles in England's Jewish newspapers, *Jewish Chronicle* and *the Voice of Jacob*, begin to detail choirs in the 1840s; however, mixed choirs do not appear until the 1870s. See 'Correspondence Liverpool', *The Voice of Jacob*, 14 Oct. 1841, 16; 'Glasgow Synagogue', *Jewish Chronicle*, 7 Mar. 1879, 6; 'Miscellaneous Intelligence', *The Voice of Jacob*, 1 Sep. 1842, 196; 'Miscellaneous Intelligence- The Synagogues during the Festivals', *The Voice of Jacob*, 29 Sep. 1842, 28; 'The Organ in the Synagogue', *Jewish Chronicle*, 18 Jan. 1895, 12/13; 'Untitled', *Jewish Chronicle*, 2 Nov. 1894, 6/7.

<sup>40</sup> Davidoff and Hall, *Family Fortunes*, 362; Annette Shiell, *Fundraising, Flirtation and Fancywork: Charity Bazaars in Nineteenth Century Australia* (Newcastle, England: Cambridge Scholars Publishing, 2012), 24.

<sup>41</sup> Roselya, 'Jewish Women's Lives in Colonial Sydney and London', 253.



On the Central Victorian Goldfields, Jewish women often decorated the synagogue space, particularly for Jewish holidays.<sup>42</sup> For the celebration of Shavuot in Ballarat in 1882, “the interior of the building present[ed] a beautiful aspect with wreaths and festoons of leaves and flowers, which ha[d] been tastefully hung by several young ladies”.<sup>43</sup> Shavuot, also known as ‘Feast of Weeks’, celebrates the giving of the Torah by God to the Jewish people on Mount Sinai, and includes lighting special candles, all night learning of the Torah, a synagogue service, and a festive meal. In Bendigo in 1880, a *sukkah* was constructed for the first time next to the synagogue and was “tastefully decorated by the ladies”.<sup>44</sup> A *sukkah* is a temporary hut constructed according to specific biblical descriptions for the festival of *Sukkot*, a week-long harvest celebration commemorating God’s protection of the Jewish people when they left bondage in Egypt.<sup>45</sup> The *sukkah* acts as a symbolic house, which may help to explain why women decorated this structure. Through decoration, women reconstituted their role in the synagogue, physically engaging with this space and contributing to its visual enhancement. In doing so, Jewish women performed a central Victorian feminine ideal, aligning themselves and the congregations who sanctioned such practices as being respectable institutions. Such roles likely also promoted shifts in how women understood their place in public worship and their links with the synagogue space.

As Jewish women gained increased opportunities to engage with the synagogue, the connections between women, faith, and public worship were likely recast. By focusing on the practices and performances of Jewish women, as advocated by the Lived Religion approach, a more nuanced and complex relationship emerges on gender and Jewish practice in the synagogue. The synagogue was no longer a space solely for men to chant and pray, but for women to sing and engage with in meaningful ways that confirmed both their Jewish faith and their middle-class respectability, contributing to larger debates concerning gender, Britishness, and class. Through these means, the participation of Jewish women in public worship redefined the limits and image of colonial Judaism, portraying a community which was respectable and decorous. For Jewish women, domestic feminine ideals also increased expectations placed on them within the home and towards their children.

---

<sup>42</sup> ‘News and Notes’, *Ballarat Star*, 15 Jun. 1868, 2; ‘Sandhurst’, *Jewish Herald*, 31 Oct. 1884, 6; ‘Sandhurst’, *Jewish Herald*, 6 Oct. 1882, 9; ‘Sandhurst’, *Jewish Herald*, 21 Nov. 1889, 7; ‘Sandhurst’, *Jewish Herald*, 31 Oct. 1884, 6.

<sup>43</sup> ‘News and Notes’, *Ballarat Star*, 24 May 1882, 2.

<sup>44</sup> ‘The Synagogues’, *Jewish Herald*, 24 Sep. 1880, 2.

<sup>45</sup> *Encyclopaedia Judaica*, s.v. ‘Sukkot’.

## **‘The Natural Instincts of Her Heart’: Jewish Women as Wife, Mother, and Religious Teacher**

In colonial Victoria, domestic femininity prescribed Jewish mothers an idealised familial role that affected how they navigated middle-class ideas, a role deeply entangled with female religiosity. Published in the *Australian Israelite* in 1872, an article on ‘The Jewish Woman’ detailed the affection and sacrifices expected of the Jewish mother. As the article outlined, the Jewish mother,

will not think she has fulfilled a mother’s duty when she merely gives [her children] her love and solicitude which are the natural instincts of her heart; she will look upon her children not only as her dearest treasures here, the joys of her youth and the consolations of her old age, but as beings who greatly depend upon her for their happiness here and hereafter- beings she must prepare for this life and for eternity.<sup>46</sup>

While demonstrating the perceived emotional and mental consciousness childbearing endowed, the article also highlighted an emerging religious expectation of mothers as the religious home guide and teacher. Across the nineteenth century, an increasing emphasis was placed on the strong emotional ties that united a successful family, which re-evaluated and prescribed women new maternal practices such as child socialisation.<sup>47</sup> This change in understandings of familial relationships worked to reshape the ideas surrounding Jewish mothers in the home. The home space, however, proved more complicated. The expectation of Jewish mothers to act as religious teachers was held in tension with the realities of Jewish households and colonial society where women juggled various responsibilities regarding the home, their children, and their family. Two of the most significant roles assigned to Jewish women in the home space were as wife and mother.

The fertility patterns of identified Jewish women on the Central Victorian Goldfields suggested that the community were middle-class and heavily urbanised, supporting the contention that Jewish families ascribed to class norms and practices. Amongst the identified Jewish women residing on the Central Victorian Goldfields, a significant

---

<sup>46</sup> ‘The Jewish Woman’, *Australian Israelite*, 17 May 1872, 3.

<sup>47</sup> Peter N. Stearns, *Childhood in World History* (London: Routledge, 2017), 78.

proportion of which had married overseas, the average age at marriage was 21.7 years old (Table 5.1). For Jewish brides who married on the goldfields, the age was relatively similar at 21.9 years (Table 5.1). Colonial trends for Victoria indicate an average age of between 22.8 and 23.9 for women marrying in the second half of the century.<sup>48</sup> Jewish women therefore tended to marry at a younger age compared to their non-Jewish counterparts, which may be related to their economic status.<sup>49</sup> Amongst the identified individuals, few women were recorded in paid employment before their wedding. Marriage may have acted to shift the financial burden of older daughters from fathers onto husbands. The predominance of young women who did not engage in paid labour reflected the middle-class expectations of this community, who could potentially afford to keep dependent daughters, or at least attempted to appear capable as such. Additionally, most identified Jews married elsewhere in the colonies or overseas, with eighty-one English-born individuals recorded as married in Britain before arriving in the colonies. This pattern suggests that Jews had formed intimate familial ties before transporting them to the colonies: that they often arrived with established familial relationships rather than creating them on the goldfields. This may reflect the high mobility of Jews, many of whom had made previous migration journeys and often moved again after spending some time on the Central Victorian Goldfields. In keeping with their colonial and British contemporaries, the identified Jewish brides were also often much younger than their husbands; in Britain and the colonies, husbands were on average five years older than their brides, comparable to Jewish marriages in Melbourne where the average was seven years.<sup>50</sup> For those married on the Central Victorian Goldfields, Jewish men were on average eight years older than their brides. While Jewish marriages on the goldfields differed slightly from wider colonial trends, both Jewish and non-Jewish, birthing and fertility rates were relatively similar.

Table 5.1: Average Age of Marriage for Identified Jewish Women and Men on the Central Victorian Goldfields between 1851 and 1901

<sup>48</sup> Peter F. McDonald, *Marriage in Australia: Age at First Marriage and Proportions Marrying, 1860-1971* (Canberra: The Australian National University, 1974), 105.

<sup>49</sup> Silberberg, 'A Networked Community' (2015), 149.

<sup>50</sup> Parliament of Victoria, *Census of Victoria, 1871: General Report and Appendices* (Melbourne: John Ferres Government Printer, 1874), in Parliament of Victoria [Online Database], accessed 1 Apr. 2019, 19; Parliament of Victoria, *Census of Victoria, 1881: General Report with Summary Tables, Diagrams, and Map* (Melbourne: John Ferres Government Printer, 1883), in Parliament of Victoria [Online Database], accessed 1 Apr. 2019, 52; Parliament of Victoria, *Statistical Register of the Colony of Victoria for the Year 1891 Population* (Melbourne: Robert Brain Government Printer, 1892), in Parliament of Victoria [Online Database], accessed 1 Apr. 2019, 11; Silberberg, *A Networked Community* (2020), 88.

<b>Population</b>	<b>Average Age</b>
Jewish Women Married on the Goldfields	21.9
Jewish Men Married on the Goldfields	29.6
Jewish Women who Married Overseas or in the Colonies	21.7
Jewish Men who Married Overseas or in the Colonies	28.4

Source: Births, Deaths, and Marriages Victoria

Table 5.2: Place of Birth for Jews who Married on the Central Victorian Goldfields between 1851 and 1901

<b>Place of Birth</b>	<b>Count of Jews who Married on the Goldfields</b>
Australia	21
Britain	22
Poland	4
Prussia	7
Germany	2
Other European	2
<b>Total</b>	<b>58</b>

Source: Births, Deaths, and Marriages Victoria

Amongst the identified group, Jewish women on the goldfields had smaller families compared to non-Jewish contemporaries, suggesting an earlier shift towards middle-class values that aligned with international rather than Australian trends. While wider colonial trends indicate a family size of 5.5 children for this period, it was more common for couples on the goldfields to have larger families averaging eight to nine children.<sup>51</sup> Amongst the identified Jewish women, the average number of children birthed was 5.6 children, with 3.9 children born on the Central Victorian Goldfields. This family size

<sup>51</sup> See Grimshaw and Fahey, 'Family and Community in Nineteenth-Century Castlemaine', 96-97; Chris McConville, 'The Victorian Irish: Emigrants and Families, 1851-91', in Patricia Grimshaw, Chris McConville, and Ellen McEwen (eds.), *Families in Colonial Australia* (Sydney: George Allen & Unwin, 1985), 5.

coincides with trends displayed in urbanised places in Europe and America where the fertility of Jewish women was much smaller and declined earlier than their non-Jewish counterparts.<sup>52</sup> More Jewish women gave birth in Ballarat than any other town or settlement on the Central Victorian Goldfields, most likely due to the increased affluence founded upon the greater manufacturing and commercial opportunities of Ballarat, which likely encouraged families to stay (Table 5.4).<sup>53</sup> The difference in the goldfields average of children between Jewish and non-Jewish women may be the result of movement away from Orthodox Jewish communities, as previous research has highlighted the link between fertility and Jewish acculturation.<sup>54</sup> The lower average number of births for Jewish women on the goldfields is a reflection of their early urbanisation and middle-class acculturation. Regardless of their age at marriage and the number of children born, all Jewish mothers were ascribed a new religious domestic ideal that shaped their home life.

Table 5.3: Fertility of Jewish Women on the Central Victorian Goldfields between 1851 and 1901

<b>Fertility of Jewish Women who Resided on the Central Victorian Goldfields</b>	<b>Average</b>
Number of Children born to Jewish Women who Resided on the Goldfields	5.6 Children
Number of Children born to Jewish Women on Goldfields	3.9 Children
Number of Birthing Years for Jewish Women on the Goldfields	10.9 years

Source: Births, Deaths, and Marriages Victoria

Table 5.4: The Number and Location of Identified Jewish Women who gave Birth on the Central Victorian Goldfields between 1851 and 1901

<sup>52</sup> See Sergio DellaPergola, 'Patterns of American Jewish Fertility', *Demography*, 17/3 (1980), 261; Renzo Derosas, 'Between Identity and Assimilation: Jewish Fertility in Nineteenth-Century Venice', in Renzo Derosas and Frans van Poppel (eds.), *Religion and the Decline of Fertility in the Western World* (Dordrecht, Netherlands: Springer, 2006); Kaplan, *The Making of the Jewish Middle Class*, 42-43; Paula Hyman, 'Jewish Fertility in Nineteenth Century France', in Paul Ritterband (ed.), *Modern Jewish Fertility* (Leiden, Netherlands: Brill, 1981), 82.

<sup>53</sup> Bate, *Lucky City*, 128-129.

<sup>54</sup> See Derosas, 'Between Identity and Assimilation'.

Goldfields Town	Count of Jewish Women who Birthed Children on the Goldfields
Ararat	2
Ballarat	84
Bendigo	33
Buninyong	1
Castlemaine	1
Daylesford	1
Horsham	1
Stawell	1
<b>Total</b>	<b>124</b>

Source: Births, Deaths, and Marriages Victoria

Victorian middle-class femininity idealised Jewish mothers as religious educators and moral guardians. In one illustrative article published in the *Jewish Herald* in 1880, the author argued that,

as a mother, she has to conduct or supervise the early training of her children; and it is then that the root of all that is good and pious is laid. She has to initiate her offspring into the rites and ceremonies of our faith, and to create upon the youthful mind that gentle, pious impression which, as a rule, last for life.<sup>55</sup>

This article outlined the expectation that Jewish women should engender faith in their children, a role traditionally the purview of men or at least shared by parents.<sup>56</sup> British conceptions of female domesticity ascribed this as an exclusively maternal responsibility.<sup>57</sup> This link between women and the religious training of children was so powerful that when the *Australian Israelite* published an instructive series of articles targeting children, it adopted the language and tone of a woman. Published biweekly from October 13, 1871 to January 12, 1872, the series, signed by ‘A Mother in Israel’, used a letter format in which an English grandmother wrote to her grandchildren in the colonies and narrated biblical stories from the Torah.<sup>58</sup> The religious knowledge disseminated

<sup>55</sup> ‘Female Education’, *Jewish Herald*, 9 Jan. 1880, 6.

<sup>56</sup> Mara W. Cohen, *Jewish Women Homesteaders on the Plains* (Springfield, Missouri: Missouri State University, 2016), 9.

<sup>57</sup> Davison, *The Rise and Fall of Marvellous Melbourne*, 169.

<sup>58</sup> See ‘Sabbath Reading for Young People’, *Australian Israelite*, 13 Oct. 1871, 3; ‘Sabbath Reading for Young People’, *Australian Israelite*, 27 Oct. 1871, 3; ‘Sabbath Reading for Young People’, *Australian Israelite*, 3 Nov. 1871, 3; ‘Sabbath Reading for Young People’, *Australian Israelite*, 10 Nov. 1871, 3; ‘Sabbath Reading for Young People’, *Australian Israelite*, 17 Nov. 1871, 3; ‘Sabbath Reading for Young People’, *Australian Israelite*, 24 Nov. 1871, 3; ‘Sabbath Reading for Young People’, *Australian Israelite*, 1

through these articles not only connected women to religious training, but also emphasised ties between metropole (the grandmother) and colony (her grandchildren), another type of perceived 'maternal' relationship. This connection relied on understandings of England as being the 'Motherland' or home, to which the colonies had close ties and owed their allegiance.

Through these understandings, mothers and the domestic realm were attributed an instructional religious value that portrayed this space as the best means to engender faith.<sup>59</sup> As one colonial Jewish newspaper described, "the home [was] the true Sabbath school", the place where faith was best and most effectively learnt and upheld.<sup>60</sup> The home and the Jewish women who managed them were allocated an educational religious value and role greater than Sabbath schools, which were often part of synagogues and overseen by Jewish ministers. Victorian feminine ideals that portrayed women as naturally pious and nurturing infused Jewish conceptions of the home, women, and religious learning, assigning mothers a superior domestic faith position. With this new role, however, also came criticism.

While ascribed an increased familial faith role, Jewish women were often blamed when contemporaries perceived adherence to be diminishing.<sup>61</sup> In an anonymous letter to the editor, signed by 'An English Lily', the writer believed that "young people are the sinned against, not the sinning, Mr. Editor. They have excellent capabilities, but from their cradle they are all frittered away".<sup>62</sup> The author referred specifically to the lack of religious home education by mothers, who, she implied, simply did not want to give such lessons. Instead of attributing responsibility to the 'young people', the author placed this fault on mothers, describing not only their failure to be religious teachers, but also their religious transgression in which such women have 'sinned'. Motherhood and religiosity were intertwined to such an extent that when women were perceived to have failed in their motherly tasks, they were also potentially viewed as engaging in a religious

---

Dec. 1871, 2-3; 'Sabbath Reading for Young People', *Australian Israelite*, 8 Dec. 1871, 2; 'Sabbath Reading for Young People', *Australian Israelite*, 15 Dec. 1871, 3; 'Sabbath Reading for Young People', *Australian Israelite*, 22 Dec. 1871, 3; 'Sabbath Reading for Young People', *Australian Israelite*, 29 Dec. 1871, 3; 'Sabbath Reading for Young People', *Australian Israelite*, 5 Jan. 1872, 2; 'Sabbath Reading for Young People', *Australian Israelite*, 12 Jan. 1872, 2-3.

<sup>59</sup> 'A Lady's Views', *Jewish Herald*, 9 Nov. 1888, 14; 'Correspondence', *Jewish Herald*, 22 Feb. 1884, 4; 'Introduction', *Jewish Herald*, 12 Dec. 1879, 6; 'Our Hebrew Schools and Our Religious State', *Jewish Herald*, 9 Sep. 1881, 9.

<sup>60</sup> 'The Sabbath and the Factory Act', *Australian Israelite*, 25 Aug. 1871, 4.

<sup>61</sup> 'A Lady's Views', *Jewish Herald*, 9 Nov. 1888, 14; 'Odds and Ends', *Jewish Herald*, 2 Mar. 1888, 14.

<sup>62</sup> 'Melbourne Jewish Girls', *Jewish Herald*, 22 Apr. 1881, 4.

misdeed. Overlooked by the writer were the problems of constrained time or a lack of Hebrew knowledge that may have made this domestic ideal difficult to attain. Nor does such criticism account for the complexities of Jewish households that frequently included individuals who were of a different faith.

Jewish women on the Central Victorian Goldfields hired Christian servants to serve within the intimate home space. Until the 1880s, most servants in Victoria were immigrant Irish girls, a source of colonial domestic labour that diminished once assisted migration ceased.<sup>63</sup> Servants in Jewish households on the Central Victorian Goldfields most often came under the domain of women, who advertised, interviewed, employed, and paid the persons hired.<sup>64</sup> While middle-class families from the mid to late nineteenth century complained of a lack of suitable servants, securing the engagement of domestics could be harder for Jewish women as a result of their religion.<sup>65</sup> For example, the industrial schools in Ballarat and Bendigo, institutions that raised 'neglected' children for useful employment, refused to allow Jewish families to hire their Christian charges as domestics.<sup>66</sup> Hiring mistresses were to act as moral and religious guides to their charges, a role which could not be fulfilled if she were of a different faith.<sup>67</sup> As a result, Jewish women used other means to find servants, mainly newspapers. In Bendigo, Elizabeth Herman, who converted to Judaism some years after marrying Solomon Herman, frequently advertised for a general servant even as the family experienced severe financial difficulties.<sup>68</sup> In 1890, Solomon Herman confessed to fraud and embezzlement while working as a secretary at the Bendigo Building Society, a result of his speculative mining shares.<sup>69</sup> Even within struggling Jewish households, servants were considered a necessity

---

<sup>63</sup> Davison, *The Rise and Fall of Marvellous Melbourne*, 245.

<sup>64</sup> Gordon and Nair, *Public Lives*, 148; 'Advertising', *Bendigo Advertiser*, 8 Apr. 1870, 3; 'Advertising', *Bendigo Advertiser*, 23 Feb. 1881, 3; 'Advertising', *Bendigo Advertiser*, 5 Dec. 1881; 'Advertising', *Bendigo Advertiser*, 16 Apr. 1883, 3.

<sup>65</sup> Frank G. Clarke, *The History of Australia* (Connecticut: Greenwood Press, 2002), 69; Lorinda Cramer, 'Making a Home in Gold-rush Victoria: Plain Sewing and the Genteel Woman', *Australian Historical Studies*, 48/2 (2017), 220.

<sup>66</sup> 'Legislative Assembly', *Bendigo Advertiser*, 10 Sep. 1879, 3.

<sup>67</sup> For more on industrial schools in the Victorian colony, see Donella Jaggs, *Neglected and Criminal: Foundations of Child Welfare Legislation in Victoria* (Melbourne: Phillip Institute of Technology, 1986); Nell Musgrove, *The Scars Remain: A Long History of Forgotten Australians and Children's Institutions* (Melbourne: Australian Scholarly Publishing, 2013); Elizabeth Offer, "'Leading Them Astray': The Reshaping of the Industrial Schools from Criminal Prevention to Child Protection through Police and Parental Interactions with the Neglected and Criminal Children's Act", Honours thesis (La Trobe University, 2016).

<sup>68</sup> 'Advertising', *Bendigo Advertiser*, 23 Feb. 1881, 3; 'Advertising', *Bendigo Advertiser*, 5 Dec. 1881, 3; 'Advertising', *Bendigo Advertiser*, 16 Apr. 1883, 3; 'Advertising', *Bendigo Advertiser*, 19 Jun. 1882, 3; 'Advertising', *Bendigo Advertiser*, 5 Mar. 1883, 3; 'Advertising', *Bendigo Advertiser*, 29 Nov. 1883, 4; 'Advertising', *Bendigo Advertiser*, 6 Mar. 1886, 3; 'Advertising', *Bendigo Advertiser*, 17 Jul. 1890, 3.

<sup>69</sup> 'The Building Society Frauds', *Bendigo Advertiser*, 6 Dec. 1890, 5.



and were in high demand. Christian servants also found employment in the homes of numerous Jewish ministers.<sup>70</sup> While domestics could ease workloads, the potential ignorance of Christian servants regarding Judaism provided additional challenges.

The presence of Christian servants in Jewish households complicated the continued observance of Judaism. Christian servants were likely unfamiliar with kosher food practices, the lighting of Sabbath candles, and the laws regarding the cleaning and clearing of the house on specific Jewish holidays. Lack of available sources limits discussions on the impact of Christian servants on domestic faith practices, but evidence does suggest that servant duties were altered to minimise their impact upon home practices. In 1894, Mrs. Goldstein, the wife of the Bendigo Jewish minister, advertised for the services of a general servant and specified that no cooking was required.<sup>71</sup> The Goldstein's family were likely keeping kosher in their home. The task of cooking appears to have fallen completely to Mrs Goldstein, ensuring proper practices were observed. Christian servants not only influenced arrangements for the practice of Judaism, but also brought Christian faith understandings into the Jewish home space.

Jewish children could experience close contact with Christian practices and belief through domestics and nursemaids, who were often left unattended to supervise their wards.<sup>72</sup> The Cohen family owned and operated a hotel in Ballarat, the Royal Mail, where the family also resided.<sup>73</sup> When Simeon Cohen was not at the premises, the management of the hotel was left with his wife, Rachel, who also oversaw their children and household.<sup>74</sup> To assist Rachel with these multiple and demanding tasks, a nursemaid was usually employed to supervise the children. When a fire occurred in the servant's bedroom in 1878, the family had in their employ Catherine Kehir as a nursemaid, as well as two other female Christian servants who worked in the hotel.<sup>75</sup> Catherine Kehir, the sixteen-year-old daughter of Irish Catholic emigrants, likely undertook the position of nursemaid after her father deserted the family in 1876.<sup>76</sup> Kehir had prolonged and

---

<sup>70</sup> 'Advertising', *Bendigo Advertiser*, 13 May 1873, 3; 'Advertising', *Bendigo Advertiser*, 22 Aug. 1873, 3; 'Advertising', *Bendigo Advertiser*, 8 Apr. 1870, 3; 'Advertising', *Bendigo Advertiser*, 15 Apr. 1871, 3; 'Advertising', *Bendigo Advertiser*, 4 Dec. 1894, 3.

<sup>71</sup> 'Advertising', *Bendigo Advertiser*, 4 Dec. 1894, 3.

<sup>72</sup> Kaplan, 'Redefining Judaism in Imperial Germany', 14.

<sup>73</sup> 'Advertising', *Bendigo Advertiser*, 16 Apr. 1883, 3; 'Enquiry into the Fire at Mr Cohen's Establishment', *Ballarat Star*, 23 Jul. 1878, 3.

<sup>74</sup> In different records and newspaper articles, Cohen's name is either spelt Simeon or Simon. Public Records Office of Victoria, *Cohen Simon Royal Mail Hotel*, 1878, VPRS 407/0000.

<sup>75</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>76</sup> 'No Title', *Ballarat Courier*, 3 Mar. 1876, 2; Victoria Births Deaths and Marriages, *Thomas Kehir*, 1865.

personal contact with Cohen's two small children, engaging in repeated daily conversations in which information and stories were likely shared. This contact between nursemaids and their wards could have a significant impact on children. Bronwen Walter examined the relationships between Irish servants and English children, arguing that "servants played an important role in the informal cultural education of the next generation".<sup>77</sup> As other studies of Christian domestics and Jewish children attest, servants and nursemaids often familiarised their wards with Christianity, teaching children Christian bedtime prayers and songs.<sup>78</sup> The informal cultural and religious dialogues that occurred through the employment of Christian servants may have been a concern for Jewish mothers who had to weigh the benefits of domestic help against perceived negatives. Protestant women likely shared a similar fear of familiarisation, worrying that Irish Catholic servants might bring Papist ideas into the household. For women such as Rachel Cohen, nursemaids and servants were essential for the running of households and businesses; however, they also acted as markers of social status.

The presence of Christian domestic servants added additional social layers to the identity of Jewish households. The employment and management of domestic servants was understood as a means to indicate a family's middle-class status, to which Jewish women on the goldfields actively ascribed.<sup>79</sup> Rebecca Abraham, who resided in Ballarat with a large family of fourteen children, advertised for a "respectable nursemaid", indicating that only nursemaids who conformed to prevailing ideas of respectability would be hired.<sup>80</sup> After previous trouble with a thieving servant, Abraham likely also used the term as means to discourage disreputable persons from applying.<sup>81</sup> Jewish women connected ideas of social class and respectability to hired servants, whose character could add to or detract from the household's social standing in the community. Christian domestics serving in Jewish households shaped understandings and practices enacted in homes, and in the process, revised the family's home life and experiences. Ideas of the home and the duties of women within this space, both assumed and actual, had shifted conceptions of Jewish motherhood, resulting in merged ideals where mothers were propagators of middle-class values and religious adherence. These home spaces and

---

<sup>77</sup> Bronwen Walter, 'Strangers on the Inside: Irish Women Servants in England, 1881', *Immigrants & Minorities*, 27/2-3 (2009), 290.

<sup>78</sup> Kaplan, 'Redefining Judaism in Imperial Germany', 14.

<sup>79</sup> Young, *Middle Class Culture*, 18.

<sup>80</sup> 'Advertising', *Ballarat Star*, 27 Feb. 1865, 3; 'Advertising', *Ballarat Star*, 28 Jan. 1868, 3.

<sup>81</sup> 'District Police Court', *Star*, 19 Jun. 1861, 1.

practices were further impacted by the paid and unpaid labour of Jewish women in businesses and industries.

### **Women's Work: Jewish Women and Employment**

While middle-class feminine ideals provided Jewish women with new occupational roles, in other ways they also limited their opportunities to access paid work, shaping their public and home lives. This shift in employment was due in part to contemporary connections made between the labour performed by colonial women and class boundaries, which was heavily grounded in ideas of domestic femininity.<sup>82</sup> Divisions between unpaid and paid labour were viewed as an important marker of social class; working-class women were often required to engage in employment, whereas middle-class women were expected to remain dependent on families.<sup>83</sup> The realities of colonial life and the available evidence present a different and much more complicated narrative. Many Jewish women on the Central Victorian Goldfields drew upon middle-class and genteel ideals in their conceptualisation of work, entering careers in education, commerce, or hotelkeeping. Their participation in these forms of labour were, however, also defined by colonial conditions and the softened boundary between the intimate home space and the 'worldly spirit' of business.

Women were increasingly joining the paid labour force in a variety of roles in colonial Victoria. In 1871, 20 per cent of women over 20 and ten per cent of those under 20 were engaged in some form of paid labour.<sup>84</sup> By 1881, this number had risen to 38 per cent for those over twenty and 14 per cent for women under 20, although these numbers declined by 1891.<sup>85</sup> This decrease has been connected by scholars to the urbanisation of Melbourne which, historian Graeme Davison argued, resulted in a strengthening of ideas on female domesticity.<sup>86</sup> The lower percentage also resulted from the removal in the census count of women engaging in farm work, who were withdrawn for ideological reasons. Women in Victoria were most likely to be employed in the domestic or textile (clothing) sector, working either within home spaces as servants and nursemaids or in factories of various

---

<sup>82</sup> McPherson, 'A Colonial Feminine Ideal', 12.

<sup>83</sup> Bronwyn Rivers, *Women at Work in the Victorian Novel: The Question of Middle-Class Women's Employment 1840-1870* (New York: Edwin Mellen, 2005), 2, 7, 13.

<sup>84</sup> Grimshaw, 'Women and the Family in Australian History', 21-22.

<sup>85</sup> Victoria, *Census of Victoria, 1881*, 60; Parliament of Victoria, *Census of Victoria, 1891: Part IX Occupations of the People* (Melbourne: Robert Brain Government Printer, 1892), in Parliament of Victoria [Online Database], accessed 1 Apr. 2019, 19.

<sup>86</sup> Davison, *The Rise and Fall of Marvellous Melbourne*, 137-141.

sizes.<sup>87</sup> Factories proved a popular alternative to domestic service, particularly for colonial-born girls, as they required fewer working hours, higher wages, and freedom from the strict gaze of a mistress.<sup>88</sup> Women could also transfer factory or manufacturing labour into households as pieceworkers, sewing garments together in the more intimate space of the home, an area of work that was rapidly increasing from the late 1870s.<sup>89</sup> Jewish women tend to reflect these statistics, moving into textile or piecework industries; however, the majority identified in this study recorded no occupation, as was common among all women at the time. While certain kinds of paid work were available to Jewish women, their employment was also defined by prevailing ideologies regarding gentility.

Unmarried Jewish women and those who sought economic independence drew upon Victorian middle-class ideas of respectability to define their engagement in paid labour. Middle-class women who did wish to engage in paid work faced barriers to their participation as they were often untrained and risked being deemed ‘unnatural’.<sup>90</sup> Women who desired to retain their respectability often found work as either a domestic companion, a governess, or as a teacher, which were socially sanctioned and respectable professions.<sup>91</sup> On the Central Victorian goldfields, young educated Jewish women increasingly entered these areas of employment. Rosa Vince, a single Jewish woman living in Ballarat with her family, obtained her permission to teach in 1876 and was engaged as a teacher at the local St. Paul’s state school.<sup>92</sup> Vince was the first Jewish woman in Victoria to pass the examination for teaching under the Board of Education.<sup>93</sup> Additionally, Vince acted as assistant teacher at the local Hebrew school, helping to engender faith learning to the Jewish children of Ballarat.<sup>94</sup> In 1883, Vince married Joseph Davis and relocated to Melbourne.<sup>95</sup> Educated Jewish women also applied their talents to act as governesses, women such as Louisa Fredman who prepared a son of the Silberberg family for his *bar mitzvah*.<sup>96</sup> This religious educational role was a significant shift from traditional Judaism where study and learning were the domain of men.

---

<sup>87</sup> Victoria, *Census of Victoria, 1871*, 23; Victoria, *Census of Victoria, 1881*, 68; Victoria, *Census of Victoria, 1891*, 19.

<sup>88</sup> Clarke, *The History of Australia*, 69; Beverley Kingston, *My Wife, My Daughter, and Poor Mary Ann: Women and Work in Australia* (Melbourne: Nelson, 1975), 57-58.

<sup>89</sup> Davison, *The Rise and Fall of Marvellous Melbourne*, 71.

<sup>90</sup> Rivers, *Women at Work in the Victorian Novel*, 5.

<sup>91</sup> Clarke, *The History of Australia*, 68.

<sup>92</sup> ‘Ballarat’, *Jewish Herald*, 11 Aug. 1882, 4; ‘No Title’, *Ballarat Courier*, 3 Mar. 1876, 2.

<sup>93</sup> ‘No Title’, *Ballarat Courier*, 3 Mar. 1876, 2.

<sup>94</sup> ‘Ballarat’, *Jewish Herald*, 7 Apr. 1882, 8; ‘News and Notes’, *Ballarat Star*, 11 Sep. 1876, 2.

<sup>95</sup> ‘News and Notes’, *Ballarat Star*, 13 May 1883, 2.

<sup>96</sup> Silberberg, ‘A Networked Community’ (2015), 206.

The changing ideas surrounding Jewish women, coupled with the middle-class notions of acceptable labour, had not only enabled women to become the religious teachers of children, but also made this type of employment desirable. Jewish women pursued financial opportunity within socially prescribed norms of respectable behaviour, drawing upon familial and religious knowledge which allowed for more public economic roles. Alongside this respectable work, colonial assumptions and conditions increasingly presumed unpaid female labour, impacting how women participated in the colonial workforce.

In the colonies, the realities of frontier life sometimes required women to perform additional labour, mainly in an unpaid capacity to support the paid work of male relatives. The combination of labour shortages and the isolated nature of many settlements required many women and men to adapt British ideals, as they were obliged to engage in more unconventional work.<sup>97</sup> Historian Patricia Grimshaw outlined the expectation placed on women in the late nineteenth century in which the good colonial wife “would not only be no expense – she would often earn nearly as much as her husband”.<sup>98</sup> This expectation of economic contribution was further augmented for Jewish women by the convergence between home spaces and business pursuits.<sup>99</sup> Jewish families on the goldfields, many of whom undertook commercial pursuits, frequently lived either above or adjacent to businesses. This proximity enabled wives to easily move between home and public work. Women’s unpaid employment in familial businesses also maintained the family’s middle-class status, as these women were potentially viewed as remaining in the home and not in paid work. On the Central Victorian Goldfields, Jewish women, like their non-Jewish counterparts, engaged in a range of unpaid work in familial businesses.

The labour completed by Jewish women was at times subsumed under the businesses owned by their husbands or fathers as the managerial acumen of women often extended to family enterprises.<sup>100</sup> Lewis Hollander, his wife Hannah, and their five small children arrived in Ballarat in the late 1860s and were later joined by Lewis’ brother, Jacob Hollander, and his family.<sup>101</sup> Lewis worked as a tailor and later as a clothes manufacturer.

---

<sup>97</sup> Kingston, *My Wife, My Daughter, and Poor Mary Ann*, 12.

<sup>98</sup> Grimshaw, ‘Women and the Family in Australian History’, 41.

<sup>99</sup> Gordon and Nair, *Public Lives*, 114.

<sup>100</sup> Caroline Lieffers, “‘Every Family Might be its Own Economical Housekeeping Company (Limited)’”: Managing the Middle-Class Home in Nineteenth-Century England’, *Women’s History Review*, 21/3 (2012), 458.

<sup>101</sup> PROV, *Unassisted Inward Overseas Passenger Lists*, VPRS 947, Lewis Hollander and Family.

By the mid-1880s, Lewis Hollander and his family had relocated to Carlton, near Melbourne.<sup>102</sup> Hollander testified to the Royal Commission into clothing manufacturing in the early 1890s that he “had been in business for 14 years, but only employed the members of his own family indoors. He was a shirt manufacturer, but for four months had not employed any outdoor hands”.<sup>103</sup> The unpaid labour of wives and children could be an economic necessity when businesses were doing poorly, as Hollander’s was, most likely a result of the Depression which occurred in 1891. While British ideals sought to confine women to the home, colonial realities assumed a degree of labour from women, complicating their position within the home and adding to their responsibilities regarding their family. As such, women’s labour created tensions between ideas of paid and unpaid work, as well as between the private home and outside employment. Though Jewish women often appeared to contribute to male-owned businesses, this should not downplay the considerable economic roles many of these women held in family businesses.

Jewish women could hold significant economic responsibilities and were able to act independently of their husbands; however, the type of paid work women engaged in could potentially endanger their middle-class status. While Isaac and Esther Jonas arrived in the Victorian colony in the mid to late 1850s, they did not settle in Ballarat until the early 1870s.<sup>104</sup> Upon relocating to Ballarat, the couple purchased the Earl of Zetland Hotel.<sup>105</sup> The hotel generated a substantial amount of wealth for the couple, which enabled them to buy other hotels and to donate expensive ritual items to the Ballarat Hebrew congregation.<sup>106</sup> When Isaac undertook travel away from the colony, his hotels were transferred to Esther, who would operate the hotels in his absence.<sup>107</sup> It seems Esther Jonas also owned hotels independently from her husband and was a successful business woman in her own right.<sup>108</sup> Jewish women on the goldfields could also challenge expected gender roles, engaging in the public realm of work and by assuming pronounced financial responsibility, at times shouldering the management of businesses in the place of husbands. For female hotel owners such as Esther, who comprised thirty per cent of

---

<sup>102</sup> ‘Family Notices’, *Australasian*, 10 Sep. 1887, 3. Lewis was noted as being a member of the East Melbourne Hebrew congregation, ‘The East Melbourne Hebrew Congregation’, *Argus*, 11 May 1887, 7.

<sup>103</sup> ‘The Commission on “Sweating”’, *Ballarat Star*, 11 Jul. 1893, 4.

<sup>104</sup> One of the first appearances in the newspapers for Isaac Jonas was in a court case for a stolen pair of trousers and a waistcoat from his property and he was stated as the owner of the Earl of Zetland Hotel, ‘Police’, *Ballarat Star*, 12 Sep. 1871, 4.

<sup>105</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>106</sup> ‘City Licensing Court’, *Ballarat Star*, 23 Dec. 1882, 4; ‘Jonas’ Dining Rooms and Coffee Palace’, *Ballarat Star*, 28 Dec. 1883, 4; ‘No Title’, *Ballarat Star*, 10 May 1886, 2.

<sup>107</sup> ‘Ballarat Star’, *Ballarat Star*, 21 May 1888, 2; ‘Police Intelligence’, *Ballarat Star*, 2 Mar. 1877, 3.

<sup>108</sup> ‘No Title’, *Ballarat Star*, 4 Apr. 1890, 2; ‘No Title’, *Ballarat Star*, 22 Nov. 1889, 2.

Melbourne and suburban hotel licensees in 1889, hotel-keeping could cast doubt on their respectable status.<sup>109</sup> Hotel-keeping did encompass ascribed female attributes such as domesticity, maternal restraint, and respectability, although these were aspects defined through peer esteem and social reputations. Esther likely maintained her respectability and good character through her marital status and her family's engagement with the local synagogue and its various committees, building her communal standing through charity work.<sup>110</sup> This action drew upon prevailing ideologies of philanthropy, an activity dominated by the leisured middle-classes and increasingly allocated to women under British domestic ideals.<sup>111</sup> As Jewish women gained appreciable economic positions, they could be required to negotiate their social status and communal identity, impacting their performance of middle-class respectability. This process involved both active choice and obligation, as Jewish women responded to familial economic demands and colonial ideals, leading to significant changes that touched upon numerous aspects of women's lives.

On the Central Victorian Goldfields, Victorian social ideologies and the pressures to perform middle-class domestic femininity, both actual and realised, significantly impacted the role and responsibilities of Jewish women in the synagogue, the home, and in economic spheres. It was not just men who navigated between a Jewish religiosity and British social, religious, and cultural frameworks; Jewish women also engaged in similar negotiations. The integration of British feminine domesticity with female Jewish religiosity worked to redefine the boundaries of a colonial middle-class and Jewish identity that held social, familial, and communal implications. Jewish women contributed to wider communal dialogues on identity by redefining and displaying the adherence of the colonial Jewish community to Victorian middle-class society. In doing so, Jewish women defined their identities in ways that incorporated both Jewish and Victorian middle-class identifications. The impact of these shifts extended beyond women to affect children and men as well, who likewise experienced changes in the home space and public worship as a result.

---

<sup>109</sup> Clare Wright, *Beyond the Ladies Lounge: Australia's Female Publicans* (Melbourne: Melbourne University Press, 2003), 5.

<sup>110</sup> 'Advertising', *Ballarat Star*, 9 Feb. 1876, 3; 'News and Notes', *Ballarat Star*, 2 Feb. 1885, 2; 'No Title', *Ballarat Star*, 10 May 1886, 2; 'No Title', *Ballarat Star*, 3 Jul. 1885, 2; 'No Title', *Ballarat Star*, 14 Dec. 1885, 2.

<sup>111</sup> See Judith Godden, 'British Models and Colonial Experience: Women's Philanthropy in Late Nineteenth Century Sydney', *Journal of Australian Studies*, 10/19 (1986), 40; Frank Prochaska, *Women and Philanthropy in Nineteenth-Century England* (Oxford: Clarendon Press Oxford, 2003), 5-6.

Alongside this reassessment of colonial Jewish womanhood, the conceptions and experiences of Jewish children also underwent change.

## **Chapter Six**

### **‘Little’ Men and Learning Girls: Jewish Childhood and the Experiences of Jewish Children**

British middle-class conceptions of childhood merged with Jewish understandings of children and adult maturity on the Central Victorian Goldfields, becoming a negotiated and at times contested means to navigate shifting ideas of gender, class, and faith. Such processes extended beyond familial spheres as the activity of Jewish youths was discussed in colonial newspapers. In 1872, an editorial published in the *Australian Israelite* deplored the use of ‘Jewish slang’, the combination of Hebrew and English words to form new expressions. While the article warned all readers against the use of this uncouth language, the editor perceived this slang to mainly be a problem suffered by youths, the deficiencies of whom were attributed to the parents. As the paper exhorted,

Parents! Ye who are unceasingly and inflexible aiming after an advancement of your social position; ye who are striving to invest yourselves with the outward garb of gentleness and good breeding, but are inattentive to the uniformity of the inner coating; ye whose unflickering hope is to make your children attractive in the opinion of the polished and refined- how worthy a hope, but too often, alas!<sup>1</sup>

The behaviour of children, or at least adult perceptions of their habits, could provoke anxiety and reproach as they were tied to the performance of a middle-class and respectable identification for colonial Jewry.

This connection between Jewish children and class in the colonies emerged as understandings of childhood underwent significant transformations during the nineteenth century. In Britain, Europe, and America, ideals surrounding Jewish children were redefined in response to developing conceptions of childhood in the West.<sup>2</sup> This was

---

<sup>1</sup> ‘Slang’, *Australian Israelite*, 5 Jan. 1872, 4.

<sup>2</sup> See Tal Kogman, ‘The Emergence of Scientific Literature in Hebrew for Children and Youth in the Nineteenth Century: Preliminary Directions for Research’, *Jewish Culture and History*, 17/3 (2016), 249-263; Melissa Rose Klapper, “‘A Fair Portion of the World’s Knowledge’: Jewish Girls Coming of Age in



further reinforced by uneven changes in the practices and experiences of Jewish children as their childhoods were impacted by different gendered, cultural, and social ideas.<sup>3</sup> While this chapter examines the common experiences and the ideologies on Jewish children, it also recognises variation within familial and individual lives. Some Jews arrived in the colony as children after their birth and initial residence in England and Europe, others were born in colonial and goldfield settlements, maturing during its rough beginnings or the more urbanised landscape of later decades. Regardless, all Jewish children confronted shifts in childhood ideals as they grew, recasting both their self-conceptions and adult ideas regarding Jewish childhoods.

This chapter explores how Victorian middle-class ideals impacted the lives, practices, and ideas regarding Jewish childhood and children on the Central Victorian Goldfields. It first examines contemporary ideals of childhood for the Jewish community and colonial congregations, which drew upon Jewish understandings as well as developing middle-class beliefs. These two ideologies could diverge, requiring colonial Jews to integrate dual concepts in ways which were meaningful for individuals and communities. The second section investigates how this negotiation, along with the colonial stereotype of the larrikin, influenced the place and understandings of children in the synagogue. In particular, this section discusses how British or social ideas expanded and shaped the synagogue practices of children, mainly boys, as they joined choirs and celebrated coming of age ceremonies. The third section considers the religious education of Jewish children on the goldfields, which was entangled with altered conceptions of community, faith, and gender. This section also investigates the changing ideas surrounding religious education for Jewish girls, a relatively new development at the time. By focusing on synagogues and schools, this chapter argues that while Judaism remained a significant part of Jewish childhoods, middle-class ideals and colonial realities increasingly defined the experiences of Jewish children and adult perceptions, leading to hybrid understandings of faith and childhood.

### **‘I Always Read the Children’s Page’: Navigating Conceptions of Childhood and Children**

---

America, 1860–1920’, Ph.D. thesis (The State University of New Jersey 2001); Jennifer Sartori, “‘Our Religious Future’: Girls’ Education and Jewish Identity in Nineteenth-Century France”, Ph.D. thesis (Emory University, 2004).

<sup>3</sup> Peter J. Hemming and Nicola Madge, ‘Researching Children, Youth and Religion: Identity, Complexity and Agency’, *Childhood*, 19/1 (2011), 41.

Both adults and children negotiated ideas regarding childhood and maturity on the Central Victorian Goldfields, a process that shaped perceptions of self, faith, and community. These processes, complex as they were, connected to a much longer and multifaceted history. Similar to other age-related terms, definitions of childhood are bound by geographical and historical context, with interpretations often incorporating beliefs regarding gender, religiosity, and familial responsibility.<sup>4</sup> Prevalent European and often Christian-influenced ideologies of childhood developed throughout the Modern period, yet Judaism retained religio-specific sentiments and attitudes for most of this time. This divergence, however, diminished during the nineteenth century as Victorian middle-class notions of innocence challenged Jewish perceptions of childhood.

Whilst ideas varied according to location and time period, Orthodox Jewish theology and rituals significantly defined and discussed the ideals regarding Jewish childhood, setting the life stages of religious maturity and education.<sup>5</sup> In the Torah, children are considered to be one of the greatest blessings and to encapsulate the purpose of marriage.<sup>6</sup> Central Jewish texts such as the Mishnah and the Talmud outline certain expectations for children, the most significant being the ideals to honour their parents and teachers, study, and attend worship, although Jewish children are generally exempt from performing religious duties.<sup>7</sup> Over time, this expectation to honour one's parents expanded to include grandparents and in-laws.<sup>8</sup> This ideal to honour and obey was limited; children were not to obey any command which was immoral or was not allowed by *halachah*, Jewish law.<sup>9</sup> As minors, Jewish children do not have religious responsibilities and are thus treated

---

<sup>4</sup> Simon Sleight and Shirleene Robinson, 'Introduction: The World in Miniature', in Shirleene Robinson and Simon Sleight (eds.), *Children, Childhood, and Youth in the British World* (Hampshire: Palgrave Macmillan, 2016), 7.

<sup>5</sup> The ideas and rituals surrounding childhood in Judaism are interpreted from the Torah through the codification of the oral law in the Mishnah and Talmud, which were then later expanded upon in commentaries. Such commentaries led Jewish authorities to discuss conceptions of sex, education and rearing, the nature of childhood, and legal obligations of children. Don Browning, Marcia J. Bunge, and Myra Bluebond-Langner, *Children and Childhood in World Religions: Primary Sources and Texts* (New Brunswick, New Jersey: Rutgers University Press, 2009), 18. The examination of Jewish childhoods comprises a small yet growing area of literature. For examples, see Elisheva Baumgarten, *Mothers and Children: Jewish Family Life in Medieval Europe* (Princeton, New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 2004); Mayer Kirshenblatt and Barbara Kirshenblatt-Gimblett, *They Called Me Mayer July: Painted Memories of a Jewish Childhood in Poland before the Holocaust* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2007); Ivan G. Marcus, *Rituals of Childhood: Jewish Acculturation in Medieval Europe* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1998); Hagith Sivan, *Jewish Childhood in the Roman World* (Cambridge, England: Cambridge University Press, 2018); Amram Tropper, 'The Economics of Jewish Childhood in Late Antiquity', *Hebrew Union College Annual*, (2005), 189-233.

<sup>6</sup> Browning, Bunge, and Bluebond-Langner, *Children and Childhood in World Religions*, 24.

<sup>7</sup> *Encyclopaedia Judaica*, s.v. 'Children'.

<sup>8</sup> Browning, Bunge, and Bluebond-Langner, *Children and Childhood in World Religions*, 18.

<sup>9</sup> *Ibid.* 72.

differently from adults within Jewish practice and law, though children were expected to learn the necessary religious duties which would be expected of them as adults.<sup>10</sup> Great emphasis was also placed on religious education and training.<sup>11</sup> Across history, a range of different opinions emerged regarding the appropriate age for Jewish children (male) to begin learning religious texts.<sup>12</sup> For example, Judah ben Tema, a first century Jewish leader and Pharisee scholar, advised that Scripture be taught at five years of age, the Mishnah at ten, and the Talmud at fifteen.<sup>13</sup> Additionally, the identity of Jewish children intersected with a range of cultural, kinship, and gendered beliefs that defined the belonging and place of youths within the community through descent systems, such as matrilineal descent.<sup>14</sup>

In Judaism, important life cycle ceremonies surround Jewish youth to ensure their place in the community as well as their transition into adulthood. Ceremonies such as a *brit milah* for boys, as discussed in Chapter Three, and a *zeved habit* for girls, the naming of newborn girls when the father is first called to the Torah following birth, act to welcome infants into the Jewish community and faith.<sup>15</sup> Later, rituals are performed that mark the beginning of adulthood for boys, known as a *bar mitzvah*, which occurs when they are thirteen years old.<sup>16</sup> At this age, boys gain the same religious obligations of adult Jewish men, meaning they can be counted as part of a minyan and are considered responsible for their religious obligations.<sup>17</sup> For Jewish girls, the beginning of adulthood occurs at age twelve.<sup>18</sup> Although Jewish women had fewer religious obligations than men, they were at this age likewise considered responsible for their religious adherence. Across history, these ideals and practices regarding Jewish childhood were influenced by the surrounding non-Jewish milieu.

From antiquity to modern times, Jews have most often lived in proximity to or under the rule of other religions and nations, which shaped communal, social, and religious values, including those relating to childhood. This has led to shifts in Jewish childhood ideals as Jews have acculturated to their neighbours, leading to the reinterpretation of

---

<sup>10</sup> *Encyclopaedia Judaica*, s.v. 'Children'.

<sup>11</sup> *Ibid*; Sivan, *Jewish Childhood in the Roman World*, 8.

<sup>12</sup> *Encyclopaedia Judaica*, s.v. 'Children'.

<sup>13</sup> *Ibid*.

<sup>14</sup> Hemming and Madge, 'Researching Children, Youth and Religion', 41.

<sup>15</sup> *Encyclopaedia Judaica*, s.v. 'Children'.

<sup>16</sup> *Ibid*.

<sup>17</sup> *Ibid*.

<sup>18</sup> *Ibid*.

traditions in light of these non-Jewish values.<sup>19</sup> Such changes were particularly pronounced from the Early Modern Period as the Haskalah challenged traditional frameworks.<sup>20</sup> Judaism clearly shaped the understandings of colonial Jews regarding childhood, who drew upon their faith to perform and interpret the life stages and expectations of their children. Whilst relying on Jewish conceptions of children, Jews also increasingly engaged with middle-class notions and ideals of childhood, an ideology itself undergoing change.

From the eighteenth century, ideologies surrounding children were altered across the British Empire and Europe as government intervention and philosophical thought interacted with the ideals and the realities of childhood and familial life.<sup>21</sup> Beginning with the French Revolution, governments increasingly gained prerogative over childhood in an attempt to improve public health, encourage a suitable supply of workers and troops, assure political loyalty, and to protect children from certain forms of abuse.<sup>22</sup> While this state intervention mainly occurred in the form of government-run schooling, it also developed as child labour laws, sponsored parental guidance, public health measures, and the willingness to remove children from guardians who did not provide approved care.<sup>23</sup> These legal and governance changes were supported by cultural shifts that assigned children an individualistic value, a revaluation which resulted from developing conceptions of childhood innocence.<sup>24</sup>

During the Enlightenment, a growing belief emerged among Western philosophers that children were born uncorrupted. English philosopher John Locke, one of the most well-known proponents for this view, proposed that children were malleable blank slates that were essentially good, or at the least neutral, unless tainted by outside forces.<sup>25</sup> Another significant supporter of this view was Jean-Jacques Rousseau, who opposed the Christian tradition of original sin and viewed children as being not fully developed until they reached their early teens.<sup>26</sup> In the Victorian period, children were increasingly positioned as helpless beings in need of guidance and protection so that they might become

---

<sup>19</sup> Browning, Bunge, and Bluebond-Langner, *Children and Childhood in World Religions*, 16.

<sup>20</sup> Ibid.

<sup>21</sup> For literature on the changing conceptions of childhood, see Philippe Ariès, *Centuries of Childhood: A Social History of Family Life* (New York: Random House, 1962); Brown, *The Captured World*; Stearns, *Childhood in World History*.

<sup>22</sup> Stearns, *Childhood in World History*, 75.

<sup>23</sup> Ibid.

<sup>24</sup> Ibid. 72.

<sup>25</sup> Ibid. 77.

<sup>26</sup> Heywood, *A History of Childhood*, 32.

responsible adults. This idea held wide appeal as middle-class observers, social reformers, writers, and government alike favoured this view of childhood innocence and vulnerability.<sup>27</sup> Such idealisations of childhood contributed to the increased value ascribed to Jewish motherhood, which was discussed in Chapter Five. It also complicated understandings regarding children and maturity as different ages for the attainment of adulthood emerged.

Contemporary social commentary lacked any psycho-sexual conceptualisation of adolescence with age boundaries irregular across the century.<sup>28</sup> During the Victoria era, twenty-one was generally viewed as the age by which children reached adulthood.<sup>29</sup> Similar conceptions of childhood, age, and maturity were exported to the Australian colonies where they quickly displaced Indigenous beliefs of adult attainment through knowledge transfer and specific rites.<sup>30</sup> For white colonialists, fears emerged concerning the attitudes and health of their children as well as the possible effects on reaching adult majority in the colonial climate, which differed substantially from settler views held over the maturity of Indigenous youths. This chapter adopts the upper age limit of twenty-one as it incorporates both Jewish and British conceptions of age and maturity. The focus is mainly on persons aged between five and sixteen, reflecting the available primary sources. Newspapers, the main type of source used in this chapter, focused primarily upon the public institutions that children attended or engaged with, instead of individual voices and experiences. These sources demonstrated how prevalent Victorian ideologies were for the colonial Jewish community, even impacting the communal and self-perceptions of children.

On the Central Victorian Goldfields, Jewish children negotiated their self-conceptions and communal understandings through both their religiosity and Victorian ideas of childhood innocence and maturity. For example, in 1881, a letter to the editor published in the *Jewish Herald* revealed a rare glimpse into the worldview of a young colonial writer, Aaron Bernstein, who was thirteen years old and lived in Ballarat. At the time of his letter, Bernstein had celebrated his *bar mitzvah* some months before, yet the way Bernstein portrayed himself deviated slightly from this idea of religious maturity. In the

---

<sup>27</sup> Jonathan Prangnell and Kate Quirk, 'Children in Paradise: Growing Up on the Australian Goldfields', *Historical Archaeology*, 43/3 (2009), 39; Stearns, *Childhood in World History*, 80.

<sup>28</sup> Sleight and Robinson, 'The World in Miniature', 7.

<sup>29</sup> Prangnell and Quirk, 'Children in Paradise', 40.

<sup>30</sup> Jan Kociumbas, *Australian Childhood: A History* (Sydney: Allen & Unwin, 1997), 4.

letter, Bernstein described himself as a “little man” who “always read[s] the Children’s Page” in the *Jewish Herald*.<sup>31</sup> Bernstein depicted himself as a young man who engaged in children’s activities, as somehow being an adult and a child, a concept that he was able to voice and describe.

The letter also displayed his ideas concerning the religious behaviour and identity of his wider faith community. Bernstein discussed a community custom which he termed ‘Learning’. Bernstein was referring to the practice in Judaism for adherents to stay awake during the night on specific holidays to either read or study certain religious texts.<sup>32</sup> As Bernstein noted, in Ballarat “there are houses where the ancient and beautiful custom of ‘Learning’ is kept up with all the pleasant accompaniments of coffee, cake, fruit, &c., and where lads ... are encouraged to take part, and which they do”.<sup>33</sup> It was, however, a tradition kept by only a few households, as Bernstein noted,

I hope you will pardon my filial pride, when I add that the house of my honoured and dear parents is one, and for many years was the only place, where the ‘Learning’ was kept up, and I hope you will think my vanity equally pardonable, when I tell you that the second place is at the house of my dear and respected uncle, Mr. N.F. Spielvogel.<sup>34</sup>

The pride shown by Bernstein demonstrated how home religious rituals, or the lack of practice by others, could affect how children understood their familial, communal, and religious obligations. In this short passage, Bernstein can be seen to honour his parents, study his faith, and to observe religious customs, a portrayal which highlighted his adherence to Jewish religious and cultural expectations. This image was presented as a contrast to his peers who Bernstein suggested did not engage in similar activities. The social and religious ideas surrounding childhood and faith practices affected the lives, communal perceptions, and ideas of Jewish children, merging Victorian notions of childhood as well as Jewish ideas and ritual practice, as Bernstein did. This process of

---

<sup>31</sup> ‘Learning’, *Jewish Herald*, 17 Jun. 1881, 5.

<sup>32</sup> The holidays in which ‘Learning’ is upheld include Shevuoth and Hoshana Rabba. Shavuot in correct spelling, is also known as Feast of Weeks. This holiday celebrates the giving of the Torah by God to the Jewish people on Mount Sinai. The holiday includes lighting special candles, all night learning of the Torah, a synagogue service, and a special meal. Hoshana Rabb is considered the final day of God’s judgement, and the last chance for adherents to gain atonement. This holiday includes night learning, morning prayers, a festive meal, and a special service in the synagogue which involves all gatherers striking the ground with willow branches. *Encyclopaedia Judaica*, s.v. ‘Hoshana Rabba’.

<sup>33</sup> ‘Learning’, *Jewish Herald*, 17 Jun. 1881, 5.

<sup>34</sup> *Ibid.*

combining ideas regarding childhood contributed towards and was further supplemented by shifts in the synagogue.

### **‘Your Pure Heart as an Offering’: Jewish Children and Ritual in the Synagogue**

While Jewish life cycle rituals continued as important milestones for Jewish children on the goldfields, they were increasingly overlaid with and defined through Victorian middle-class understandings and conceptions. Late in 1886, Isidore Herman, the son of Solomon Herman, celebrated his *bar mitzvah* in the Bendigo synagogue. On this occasion, the Jewish minister, Isidore Myers, “delivered an impressive address to the lad”, and remarked that on,

this day your Heavenly Father, who has blessed you with life and breath, and good parents, claims your pure heart as an offering upon His altar, and asks you to make a solemn resolution to follow Him as your guide through life, and by your conduct in accordance with His laws, and the dictates of your conscience, ... and render yourself worthy of immortal bliss in the eternal Land of Promise.<sup>35</sup>

The speech given by Myers clearly relied on imagery wherein the pure nature of children contrasted with the weight of adult religiosity, echoing British ideals of childhood. These British and colonial ideas had infused the religious ceremonies and public worship practices of Jewish children, which were often combined with Jewish concepts of adult maturity. While the *bar mitzvah* incorporated and perpetuated British ideas of childhood, other practices in the synagogue provided greater scope for youths, mainly boys, to participate in services. The synagogue ritual and worship practices of Jewish children was a gendered experience overlaid with adult perceptions that spoke to deeper negotiations regarding identity and performance. As a group, children in the synagogue emerged as a concern for Jewish colonialists who criticised the behaviour of youths during worship.

The Victorian Jewish community grew increasingly anxious over the behaviour of children in synagogues, a fear related to issues of continuity and perceptions of colonial youth culture. Apprehension regarding the mannerisms of colonial youth occurred across religious denominations in Australia as the stereotype of the ‘larrikin’ gained currency in the colonies from the late 1860s.<sup>36</sup> While the word ‘larrikin’ referred to flamboyant and

---

<sup>35</sup> ‘The Synagogue’, *Bendigo Advertiser*, 24 Nov. 1886, 2.

<sup>36</sup> Melissa Bellanta and Simon Sleight, ‘The Leary Larrikin: Street Style in Colonial Australia’, *Cultural and Social History*, 11/2 (2014), 263.

insolent youths from poor inner-industrial suburbs, the term was also used by middle-class observers to criticise rowdy youngsters.<sup>37</sup> Jewish colonialists could at times draw upon this idea of the larrikin to frame the behaviour of Jewish youths in synagogues. In a letter to the editor published in 1872, a Jewish settler in Melbourne complained that “these bright young youths may not be ‘larrikins’ but they are unceasingly larking, and their conduct provokes the remark of their utter unfitness to chant the sacred praises entrusted to them”.<sup>38</sup> The manners of youths in the synagogues, or perhaps the lack of them, raised the ire of adult coreligionists who understood such habits to be a sign of the inadequacy of children to contribute to services. Other Jewish colonialists expressed a similar opinion regarding children’s synagogue behaviour,<sup>39</sup> with one letter to the editor noting in 1871 that the,

continual running to and fro, the rushing into the ladies’ gallery prior to the conclusion of service to collect the books; the inattention, the listless manner when for a few moments they sit quiet- all can but tend to weaken respect for religion and for God’s house, instead of strengthening it.<sup>40</sup>

The distracted and lively behaviour of youths during public worship was perceived as negatively affecting colonial Jewish children and weakening their commitment to Judaism, like complaints concerning the indecorous behaviour of congregants in Chapter Four. Colonial adherents and contemporary ideas of the larrikin questioned the place of children and the benefit they could derive from synagogue attendance, a contrast to Orthodox Jewish beliefs that encouraged their presence at public worship.<sup>41</sup> Despite adult anxieties over their rowdy conduct, public worship and the synagogue continued to hold a significant religious value in the experiences of Jewish childhood, particularly regarding the ritual of *bar mitzvah*.

While a *bar mitzvah* was a celebrated ritual in the life of a Jewish boy, there was either a delay in their occurrence on the Central Victorian Goldfields or, as is more likely, there was a delay in the local newspaper reporting of such ceremonies, becoming a more discussed rite in the 1870s. From the 1870s to 1901, numerous notices begin to appear for *b’nai mitzvah* (plural form of *bar mitzvah*) in Bendigo and Ballarat, including a *bar*

---

<sup>37</sup> Ibid.

<sup>38</sup> ‘Choir Boys’, *Australian Israelite*, 3 May 1872, 2.

<sup>39</sup> ‘A Lady’s Views’, *Jewish Herald*, 9 Nov. 1888, 14; ‘Correspondence’, *Jewish Herald*, 22 Feb. 1884, 4; ‘Our Hebrew Schools and Our Religious State’, *Jewish Herald*, 9 Sep. 1881, 9.

<sup>40</sup> ‘The Rising Generation’, *Australian Israelite*, 27 Oct. 1871, 4.

<sup>41</sup> *Encyclopaedia Judaica*, s.v. ‘Children’.



*mitzvah* for a Jewish boy, Mark Davis, who was an inmate of the Ballarat Boy's Reformatory.<sup>42</sup> A *bar mitzvah* remained a significant event to be celebrated and observed, even for Jewish boys who were not formally part of the local Hebrew congregation. During a *bar mitzvah*, the Jewish boy was called up to read from the Torah and could also be required to recite in Hebrew and English the Ten Commandments and the Articles of Faith as comprised in the thirteen creeds.<sup>43</sup> During the nineteenth century, coming of age rituals in Judaism were mainly for boys, with no similar ceremony celebrated for Jewish girls, though a similar rite, a *bat mitzvah*, did develop in the next century.

One of the first recorded *b'nai mitzvah* conducted on the goldfields was for Henry Marks in 1870, which the local Ballarat newspaper documented as being “the first time that this ceremony has been performed in the colony”.<sup>44</sup> This claim, however, was incorrect as *b'nai mitzvah* were occurring as early as 1848 in Victoria when Jonas Lincoln received what was described by the *Port Phillip Gazette and Settler's Journal* as a “Hebrew confirmation”.<sup>45</sup> It was more likely that this ceremony was attributed as the first in the colony as a means to attest to the community's Orthodox commitment. Whilst continuing to hold a deep and meaningful place in Jewish religiosity and tradition, Victorian ideologies increasingly impacted the practice of *b'nai mitzvah* as adults sought to shift the ceremony to comply with contemporary ideas of children, faith, and maturity.

Pervasive middle-class ideas regarding childhood innocence and maturity shaped the perceptions of Jewish adults, who responded with attempts to adapt the *bar mitzvah* ceremony. In 1877, the Ballarat Hebrew congregational Committee petitioned their Jewish minister, Israel Goldreich, to remove from the *bar mitzvah* a vow uttered before the Ark, an ornate cabinet in the synagogue that holds the Torah scrolls.<sup>46</sup> In the oath, Jewish boys pledged to uphold the teachings of Judaism and to faithfully obey their religion throughout their adult life. The seriousness of this promise raised concerns for members of the congregation who considered the vow to be inappropriate: that it was too

---

<sup>42</sup> This is only one of the many notices placed for *bar mitzvah*. For examples, see ‘A Jewish Confirmation’, *Ballarat Star*, 5 Jul. 1875, 3; ‘A Jewish Confirmation Service’, *Bendigo Advertiser*, 14 May 1887, 3; ‘Ballarat’, *Jewish Herald*, 29 May 1884, 7; ‘Confirmation Service at the Synagogue’, *Ballarat Star*, 17 Jan. 1887, 2; ‘No Title’, *Ballarat Star*, 9 Sep. 1895, 2; ‘No Title’, *Ballarat Star*, 16 Nov. 1891, 2; ‘News and Notes’, *Ballarat Star*, 7 Jan. 1884, 2.

<sup>43</sup> *Encyclopaedia Judaica*, s.v. ‘Bar Mitzvah, Bat Mitzvah’.

<sup>44</sup> ‘Personal’, *Ballarat Star*, 22 Apr. 1870, 4.

<sup>45</sup> ‘Domestic Gazette’, *Port Phillip Gazette and Settler's Journal*, 3 May 1848, 3.

<sup>46</sup> Australian Jewish Historical Society Sydney Archive, Spielvogel, *Annals of the Ballarat Hebrew Congregation*, 36.

much to ask a boy of thirteen to make such a commitment.<sup>47</sup> Goldreich opposed this decision to omit the vow and his ministerial status and authority, limited as it was, ensured that the pledge remained.<sup>48</sup> For colonial congregations, Orthodox Jewish conceptions of age and religious majority were held in tension with competing Victorian ideologies that defined individuals at this age as being potentially incapable of understanding such resolutions. The effort to shift ritual practice revealed the significance and highly influential nature of Victorian ideas regarding children and their religiosity. This attempt suggested that such views were not only understood by congregants, but also shared and accepted by them, a conviction so deeply held that it had the potential to take precedence over religious tradition. Whilst the ritual remained unchanged, the discourses surrounding *b'nai mitzvah* altered to incorporate Victorian cultural and social understandings of childhood.

British ideologies of childhood increasingly framed the *bar mitzvah*, shaping the religious understandings of children, age, and adult maturity. When Louis Barnett celebrated his *bar mitzvah* at the Ballarat synagogue in 1886, an address was presented by D.H. Harris, who was acting as Jewish minister at the time. Harris observed in his speech that,

there were very few days in the lives of any of us to which we could turn and mark out as days distinctly dividing one period of our existence from another. In the life of every Jewish male, such a day is that whereon he attains his religious majority. On that day, he leaves the realms of childhood with all its youthful fancies and caprices, and enters the battlefield of life a man in the moral and religious sense of the term.<sup>49</sup>

Harries' speech, likely embellished for the occasion, contrasted youthful innocence with the hardship and ferocity of adult life, drawing upon contemporary dichotomies that portrayed children as uncorrupted by the cares of adult life. Examining the performance of these rituals without assuming secularisation nor continuity in practice, as the Lived Religion approach advocates, brings scholarly attention to different dialogues which indicate shifts in Jewish conceptions of childhood, but not a diminishing of significance. The ritual practice of *b'nai mitzvah* navigated the dual ideologies of adherents, accounting for their Jewish faith while relying on Victorian cultural and social

---

<sup>47</sup> Ibid.

<sup>48</sup> Ibid.

<sup>49</sup> 'The Synagogue', *Bendigo Advertiser*, 6 Dec. 1886, 3.

conceptions of maturity to frame these ceremonies. Alongside this refashioning of ritual discourses, new worship practices emerged for children in the synagogue.

Until boys had reached religious majority, they did not generally contribute to public worship, yet the incorporation of new practices into synagogue worship provided Jewish boys with a means to participate in religious services.<sup>50</sup> Young Jewish girls on the goldfields occupied a peripheral position in public worship; whilst choirs emerged as a gendered activity for boys, girls were excluded from participating. When the Bendigo Hebrew congregation formed a choir in 1881, the children chosen as choristers were boys, with some as young as seven years old.<sup>51</sup> The Ballarat Hebrew congregation likewise included children in their synagogue choirs, with up to fourteen boys performing in a single choir at once.<sup>52</sup> Boys were likely favoured as choristers due to the prejudice against women's voices being heard during public worship. The incorporation of boys into synagogue choirs facilitated the introduction of decorum to services without the transgressing of Orthodox views which could offend some members of the congregation. The participation of children, however, could impact their understandings of synagogue services and community. Choirs may have worked to link Jewish children to specific groups and communities by promoting emotions and sensations of belonging, acting as a type of shared 'style' that produces the felt practice needed to feel part of communities, as Meyer's aesthetic formations argued.<sup>53</sup> Such practices defined childhood experiences of worship and faith, becoming aspects fondly remembered as adults. Aaron Blashki, who was born in Melbourne in 1860, joined the choir of the Bourke Street synagogue when he was a child. As Blashki recounted in his memoirs, the knowledge and experience he gained as a child chorister was "a source of lifelong pleasure".<sup>54</sup> The participation of Jewish boys in choirs informed their experiences of religion and communal worship, as well as later memories regarding their childhoods. Introductions in worship practices had the potential to redefine the place and emotions of children in the synagogue, yet they reflect larger changes in communal and social ideals.

---

<sup>50</sup> There are certain exceptions to this which vary by origin and strands of Judaism. Most, however, maintain that a boy under thirteen cannot act as *chazan*, a leader of prayers.

<sup>51</sup> 'News and Notes', *Jewish Herald*, 20 May 1881, 9; 'Sandhurst', *Jewish Herald*, 21 Oct. 1881, 7.

<sup>52</sup> 'Consecration of the Ballarat Synagogue', *Jewish Herald*, 23 Sep. 1881, 6.

<sup>53</sup> See also Nicole J. Wen, Patricia A. Herrmann, and Cristine H. Legare, 'Ritual Increases Children's Affiliation with In-Group Members', *Evolution and Human Behavior*, 37 (2016), 54-60; Scott Wiltermuth and Chip Heath, 'Synchrony and Cooperation', *Psychological Science*, 20/1 (2009), 1-5.

<sup>54</sup> Aaron Blashki, *Blashkiana* (Melbourne: Hybrid Publishers, 2005 [1837]), 29.

The ceremonies and worship practices of children were expanded and reframed as Hebrew congregations merged Jewish ritual and Victorian middle-class ideals of childhood innocence and decorum. This negotiation shaped and perpetuated conceptions of childhood and religiosity for both adults and children, though it could do so in very different ways. The modifications made to the rituals and worship practices of Jewish children in the synagogue may have revised or confirmed their perceptions regarding identifications, faith, and communal belonging. The lack of personal records written by children means that their voices remain hidden, yet the available evidence suggests that these shifts had a significant influence on children, lasting well into adulthood. Adult coreligionists framed the *b'nai mitzvah* and behaviour of children through pervasive colonial and British discourses, drawing upon ideas of childhood innocence and concerns about the impact of larrikinism. In doing so, Jews integrated wider social and cultural conceptions of youths to fit within Jewish religiosity, understandings, and religious spaces. These ideas were further negotiated through the education and schooling of Jewish children.

### **‘Nearly all the Elder Pupils were Girls’: The Religious Education of Jewish Children**

For goldfields Jewish communities, schools and the educational experiences of Jewish children were reshaped in response to colonial law, Victorian middle-class ideas, and an expansion in Western education, a transformation that was uneven and defined by gender. Education has always been highly valued within Judaism; however, the type of schooling received and the esteem attributed to these institutions were recast through the nineteenth century.<sup>55</sup> This shift in education was overlaid with Victorian middle-class perceptions of childhood and gender that redefined access to religious knowledge. As Hebrew schools opened on the goldfields, Jewish girls were increasingly granted access to previously prohibited religious instruction. A Hebrew school was established in Ballarat in 1865.<sup>56</sup> The opening date of a similar institution in Bendigo could not be identified, as no mention was made in the local papers until 1880, with the article suggesting that the school had been open for some time.<sup>57</sup> The Hebrew schools in Ballarat and Bendigo were likely well-known amongst the Jewish community, and therefore did not require advertisement. Hebrew schools were important places of religious learning and communal connection for

---

<sup>55</sup> *Encyclopaedia Judaica*, s.v. ‘Education’.

<sup>56</sup> ‘News and Notes’, *Ballarat Star*, 25 Apr. 1865, 2.

<sup>57</sup> ‘The Bendigo Advertiser’, *Bendigo Advertiser*, 23 Sep. 1880, 2. The article details the picnic organised by Isidore Myers for the children attending the local Hebrew school.

Jewish children, where tradition and modernity was navigated in conjunction with middle-class values. For some Jewish children, their engagement with institutional learning began overseas rather than in the colonies.

Depending on their birthplace and age at migration, some Jewish children on the goldfields may have undertaken schooling in either Britain or Europe, which had recently expanded to incorporate secular instruction. Before the late eighteenth and early nineteenth century, Jewish children did not receive secular instruction as Orthodox communities placed no communal or *halachic* value upon this type of learning, which was viewed as drawing individuals away from Judaism.<sup>58</sup> As Jewish communities responded to the urban experience and emancipation, the education provided to Jewish children was secularised, moving away from a purely religious curriculum to include secular subjects or trades.<sup>59</sup> In European centres such as Germany, educational systems tended to be managed by religious groups, with Jewish children either attending the Reform or Orthodox schools that catered for the entire Jewish community, a contrast to the education systems available for Jews in Britain.<sup>60</sup> In England, middle-class families adopted a variety of strategies to educate their children and either sent them to non-Jewish schools, hired tutors, or enrolled them in the newly-established private Hebrew boarding schools.<sup>61</sup> A small number of charity schools were established in large towns and centres for poor Jews, such as the Western Jews' Free School or West Metropolitan Jewish School.<sup>62</sup> Poor children who attended the Free Schools in London graduated with only a limited knowledge of secular and religious subjects.<sup>63</sup> Jewish middle-class observers were critical of the Free Schools, which they perceived as promoting Jewish distinctiveness and therefore jeopardised the community's integration and emancipation.<sup>64</sup> On the Central Victorian Goldfields, Hebrew education likewise experienced shifts, altering how and when Jewish children learnt their faith.

Hebrew schools were originally designed as day schools that incorporated religious and secular subjects into the curriculum, with an English Master teaching the children. This structure was revised with the introduction of the Education Act of 1872 in Victoria,

---

<sup>58</sup> Abosch, "'We are Not Only English Jews—We are Jewish Englishmen'", 173.

<sup>59</sup> Silberberg, 'A Networked Community' (2015), 52.

<sup>60</sup> Ibid; Steven Singer, 'Jewish Education in the Mid-Nineteenth Century: A Study of the Early Victorian London Community', *The Jewish Quarterly Review* 77/2/3 (1986), 173.

<sup>61</sup> Silberberg, 'A Networked Community' (2015), 53.

<sup>62</sup> Singer, 'Jewish Education', 167.

<sup>63</sup> Ibid. 165.

<sup>64</sup> Silberberg, 'A Networked Community' (2015), 53.

which mandated school attendance through the provision of ‘free, secular, and compulsory’ schooling.<sup>65</sup> Previously, denominational schools were maintained through governmental grants and without any public controls, both of which ended with the Education Act.<sup>66</sup> The Education Act replaced the variety of quasi-private, private, religious, and government schools with state operated schools, though a large number of Catholic schools remained as many within the Catholic community worried over the Protestant influence of these state schools.<sup>67</sup>

For most nineteenth century colonialists, the concept of secularity did not mean being without religion.<sup>68</sup> Contemporary conceptions of education generally included moral instruction, with faith believed to be the foundation of morality.<sup>69</sup> Most colonial elites believed that Protestant Christianity was the realisation of enlightened religion, and therefore provided the rational basis for education.<sup>70</sup> The Education Act of 1872 promoted mixed responses from religious communities and clergy. While a divisive issue for the Presbyterians as the act recalled the disastrous schism in the Presbyterian Church of Scotland over voluntarism, most Presbyterians supported State schooling.<sup>71</sup> More intense opposition to the Education Act was demonstrated by the Catholic clergy, who viewed the secular education movement as containing a dual character, as being both Protestant and anti-religious, aspects which were abhorrent to the Catholic conscience.<sup>72</sup> The Education Act decisively demonstrated how Protestant the colony was at both the popular and elite levels as Catholics were essentially forced to support their own schools while at the same time paying through their taxes for the general education system established by the State.<sup>73</sup> The attitude of the Jewish community was harder to place in this conflicting religious and social dialogue regarding schooling in Victoria, partly as a result of their desire to disconnect themselves from contentious civic and social issues.

---

<sup>65</sup> Peel and Twomey, *A History of Australia*, 84. For more information on the Education Act of 1872 and its effects, see Larson, ‘Growing Up in Melbourne’.

<sup>66</sup> Denis Grundy, ‘The Political Economy of the Denominational System of Schools in Victoria’, *Critical Studies in Education*, 23/1 (1981), 121.

<sup>67</sup> Larson, ‘Growing Up in Melbourne’, 29, 58.

<sup>68</sup> Chavura, Gascoigne, and Tregenza, *Reason, Religion, and the Australian Polity*, 102.

<sup>69</sup> Ibid.

<sup>70</sup> Ibid.

<sup>71</sup> Marjorie R. Theobald, ‘The Plc Mystique: Reflections on the Reform of Female Education in Nineteenth-Century Australia’, *Australian Historical Studies*, 23/92 (1989), 245-246.

<sup>72</sup> Patrick O’Farrell, *The Catholic Church and Community: An Australian History* (Sydney: New South Wales University Press, 1985), 168-169.

<sup>73</sup> Chavura, Gascoigne, and Tregenza, *Reason, Religion, and the Australian Polity*, 101.

When Jewish settlers did express their opinions on the matter of secular education, they were in favour of the Education Act.<sup>74</sup> In Ballarat, at a luncheon held in 1875 to celebrate the *bar mitzvah* of Maurice Hamburger, the Jewish minister, Stone, declared that he was “glad to see Victoria had been the first to set England the example of compulsory education, and he found that his own children got on better at state schools than at private ones”.<sup>75</sup> Jews on the Central Victorian Goldfields may have found little objection to the Education Act as it reflected earlier schooling practices of the community. In the 1850s, the majority of Jewish children in Bendigo attended the local Presbyterian school, a result attributed to the high academic ability of the headmaster.<sup>76</sup> This preference continued into the 1860s with the Bendigo Common School, the local school for Presbyterians, recording a number of Jewish children, including Louis and Pricilla Lazarus, the children of local Jewish mining magnate Barnet Lazarus.<sup>77</sup> The high number of Jewish children at the Presbyterian school, a faith which also places a high value on learning, indicates that Jewish parents utilised local non-Jewish options to educate their children. The preference for state schools noted by Stone was curious given that such schools could prove problematic for Jews, as Christian material was incorporated as part of the curriculum and passages from the New Testament were used in class readers.<sup>78</sup> This suggests that their acceptance of the Education Act also contained performed aspects to screen the community from wider social reproach. The Education Act may have done little to shift the secular educational practices of Jewish children on the goldfields; however, this act did radically alter the Hebrew schools and the experiences of children at these institutions.

After the Education Act, the sole purpose of the Hebrew schools was to teach children the knowledge needed to practice Judaism, turning these institutions effectively into a type of Sunday school.<sup>79</sup> Students at the Hebrew school received between four to five hours of religious instruction on weekdays with three hours on Sunday.<sup>80</sup> In Ballarat, parents were required to pay enrolment costs for their children that covered the teacher’s

---

<sup>74</sup> See ‘The Jews and the Education Act’, *Argus*, 14 Oct. 1878, 7; ‘The Jews and the Education Act’, *Argus*, 16 Oct. 1878, 10; ‘The Jews and the Education Act’, *Argus*, 20 Aug. 1877, 7.

<sup>75</sup> ‘A Jewish Confirmation’, *Ballarat Star*, 5 Jul. 1875, 3.

<sup>76</sup> ‘Original Correspondence’, *Bendigo Advertiser*, 26 May 1857, 3.

<sup>77</sup> Sandhurst (Bendigo) Common School, *Sandhurst (Bendigo) Common School Examination Register Index 1864-1868*, in Bendigo Family History Group [Online Database], accessed 25 Oct. 2018.

<sup>78</sup> ‘Ballarat’, *Australian Israelite*, 22 Aug. 1873, 5; Serle, *The Rush to be Rich*, 154.

<sup>79</sup> ‘Sandhurst Hebrew School’, *Jewish Herald*, 29 Dec. 1882, 4.

<sup>80</sup> Australian Jewish Historical Society Sydney Archive, Spielvogel, *Annals of the Ballarat Hebrew Congregation*, 35; ‘News and Notes’, *Ballarat Star*, 26 Nov. 1874, 2.

salary, a fee that was not required in Bendigo.<sup>81</sup> The number of students attending the Hebrew schools in either Bendigo or Ballarat could range from anywhere between two and fifty students, revealing the fluctuating demographics.<sup>82</sup> When compared to wider colonial (or even more general Western) trends of school attendance at this period, such irregularity was common as parents made active decisions based on familial and financial needs.<sup>83</sup> For fathers with commercial businesses, which comprised a large section of the goldfields Jewish community, the reliance on the labour of their children likely influenced after-school attendance at Hebrew schools. The ages of the children also varied, with some as young as six attending while others could be in their early or even mid-teens. Under the impact of colonial law, Hebrew schools developed into institutions that were required to meet the educational and religious needs of a range of children whose differences in age meant that they often differed in capabilities. This likely added to the stress and difficulties in operating these institutions, a task which seemed to become more demanding across the rest of the century as they grappled with a declining community size. Hebrew schools nevertheless emerged as important places of learning for Jewish children that shaped their understandings of community, gender, and faith.

The Hebrew schools increasingly drew upon both Orthodox Judaism as well as prevailing Victorian ideals to define the communal and social experiences of Jewish children. As Jan Kociumbas noted in her important work *Australian Childhood*, religious schools that operated outside of school hours had by the 1870s become a means through which aspirant families controlled their children's interactions with other children.<sup>84</sup> Amongst Christian faiths, the sending of children to Sunday schools was part of Sunday observance, particularly among the working-class, becoming a means to ensure children were raised as Christians and of familiarising the whole family with Christian teachings.<sup>85</sup> Jewish parents may have also sought this end by sending their children to the Hebrew schools. Hebrew schools were a means through which parents could ensure their children interacted with and befriended other Jewish children, and therefore allowed a sense of communal belonging to emerge that did not raise wider social suspicions as Sunday

---

<sup>81</sup> Australian Jewish Historical Society Sydney Archive, Spielvogel, *Annals of the Ballarat Hebrew Congregation*; 'Sandhurst', *Jewish Herald*, 22 Sep. 1882, 4.

<sup>82</sup> 'Ballarat', *Jewish Herald*, 16 Jun. 1893, 7; 'Ballarat Hebrew School', *Australian Israelite*, 7 May 1875, 342; 'News and Notes', *Ballarat Star*, 31 Mar. 1874, 2; 'News and Notes', *Ballarat Star*, 11 Sep. 1876, 2; 'News and Notes', *Ballarat Star*, 31 Mar. 1874, 2; 'Sandhurst Hebrew School', *Jewish Herald*, 17 Jun. 1881, 6; 'Sandhurst Hebrew School', *Jewish Herald*, 29 Dec. 1882, 4.

<sup>83</sup> Larson, 'Growing Up in Melbourne', 44.

<sup>84</sup> Kociumbas, *Australian Childhood*, 101.

<sup>85</sup> Susie L. Steinbach, *Understanding the Victorians: Politics, Culture and Society in Nineteenth-Century Britain* (Oxon, England: Routledge, 2012), 227.



schools were a common religious institution. Fun activities were organised for the children attending the Hebrew school that further worked to create a sense of community. In both Bendigo and Ballarat, an annual picnic was held for the Jewish children attending the Hebrew schools, with adult members of the congregation attending.<sup>86</sup> Amongst the wider community in Ballarat, numerous juvenile fire brigades were formed and were often organised according to the schools the children attended, with a Jewish Juvenile Fire Brigade established for the boys who attended the Hebrew school.<sup>87</sup> This Jewish Juvenile Fire Brigade often competed with fire brigades from other schools.<sup>88</sup>

The forming of this fire brigade may have been the result of prevailing middle-class ideas concerning masculinity and maturity. Until the late nineteenth century, ideas of masculinity in Australia centred around the mind and spirit, with schooling aiming to foster a state of moral as well as intellectual maturity while suppressing uncouth and unruly behaviour.<sup>89</sup> By the last quarter of the century, this view had begun to shift towards sports and athleticism as expressions of masculinity.<sup>90</sup> The fire brigade formed in the transitional stages between these two ideals, and as a result, reflected both views. The fire brigade was a voluntary organisation comprising local persons who aimed to keep the community safe. It therefore held a moral element. Additionally, the fire brigade required physical fitness, connecting with the growing conception of protective masculine athleticism. While Hebrew schools and the accompanying activities connected with this institution influenced the transmission of gendered ideals to children, they were also in turn shaped by such notions, responding to wider social and cultural views on female education.

Across the nineteenth century, institutional Hebrew schooling expanded to incorporate Jewish girls. Historically, most Jewish girls were not taught Hebrew nor given a formal education in Judaism.<sup>91</sup> Instead, the generational transmission of religious knowledge was

---

<sup>86</sup> 'Ballarat', *Jewish Herald*, 25 Mar. 1881, 7; 'News and Notes', *Jewish Herald*, 8 Oct. 1880, 8; 'News and Notes', *Jewish Herald*, 25 Mar. 1881, 9.

<sup>87</sup> 'News and Notes', *Ballarat Star*, 27 Jul. 1876, 2.

<sup>88</sup> 'Our Churches and Clergy', *Bendigo Advertiser*, 29 Jul. 1876, 1.

<sup>89</sup> Martin Crotty, 'Manly and Moral: The Making of Middle-Class Men in the Australian Public School', *The International Journal of the History of Sport*, 17/2-3 (2000), 14.

<sup>90</sup> *Ibid.* 19.

<sup>91</sup> Though rare, instances do appear of Jewish women who were highly educated in Hebrew and Jewish texts, usually daughters of Hebrew scholars. An example is the daughters of Rabbi Shlomo Yitzchaki, also known as Rashi, an eleventh century scholar. The three daughters of Rabbi Yitzchaki, Yocheved, Miriam, and Rachel, were said to have possess an unusual level of Torah scholarship. For more information on Rashi and his daughters, see Elie Wiesel, *Rashi* (New York: Schocken Books, 2009).

reliant on male scholars.<sup>92</sup> This form of transference changed in the nineteenth century, mainly in the New World and Europe, which increasingly ascribed importance and value to the education of girls as a means to ensure the survival of Judaism.<sup>93</sup> Colonial Christian faiths at this time expressed a similar view, with Brisbane's Catholic Bishop James Quinn declaring the future state of religion in the colony was connected to the education of female children.<sup>94</sup> The expansion in schooling for girls was connected to middle-class feminine ideas concerning women's perceived need for education in order to adequately perform their roles as mothers and wives, as discussed in Chapter Five. The rapid growth of schools in the colony, particularly girl's schools, in burgeoning middle-class suburbs further highlighted this connection between class and education.<sup>95</sup> For the Jewish community, these gender and feminine ideals altered the religious education of Jewish girls in the colony, and in the process, recast their childhood experiences of faith and community.

Girls became active and competent students in the Hebrew schools and at times even outnumbered the male pupils.<sup>96</sup> Visitors to the Ballarat Hebrew school often remarked on the proficiency and willingness of the female pupils, with Mr. M. Moses noting in 1880 "the unusual standard of proficiency attained, by the girls especially".<sup>97</sup> In the same year, Mr. Pulver also commented on the excellent education of girls in the Ballarat Hebrew school, stating that he had "visited the school again to-day, and [was] delighted with the proficiency displayed by the higher class girls. . . . I could not help noticing at the same time their attentive manner and willingness to study".<sup>98</sup> Although it cannot be known the exact level of Hebrew reached nor what Moses considered to be the standard, female students were recognised as competent and enthusiastic students, even surpassing their male peers. This new access to faith instruction seems to have positively altered the educational experiences of Jewish girls. While the Jewish community enrolled their daughters into Hebrew schools in ever increasing numbers, gendered biases continued to constrain the educational experiences of Jewish girls.

---

<sup>92</sup> Sartori, "Our Religious Future", 1; *Encyclopaedia Judaica*, s.v. 'Woman'.

<sup>93</sup> Sartori, "Our Religious Future", 1.

<sup>94</sup> O'Farrell, *The Catholic Church and Community*, 165.

<sup>95</sup> Davison, *The Rise and Fall of Marvellous Melbourne*, 248.

<sup>96</sup> 'News and Notes', *Ballarat Star*, 11 Sep. 1876, 2.

<sup>97</sup> 'On the Sabbath', *Jewish Herald*, 13 Feb. 1880, 2.

<sup>98</sup> 'The Ballarat Hebrew School', *Jewish Herald*, 8 Oct. 1880, 10.

Gendered disparities impacted the value and type of religious instruction received by Jewish children, which resulted in different educational and schooling experiences. In 1882, an article published in the *Jewish Herald* discussed student attendance at the East Melbourne Hebrew school and revealed the gendered ideas and practices permeating the religious education of Jewish children. As the author noted, the age of the pupils at the East Melbourne Hebrew school ranged from four to nineteen, however, “nearly all the elder pupils [were] girls”.<sup>99</sup> In the highest class, the average age of male students was recorded as twelve years and one month compared to the female students who were fifteen years and ten months.<sup>100</sup> The author of the article suggested that this large discrepancy in age was due to the beliefs parents held over what was considered adequate religious education for their sons compared to their daughters. As the writer found, “many parents avail themselves of private tuition for their sons, while they consider attendance at the School a sufficient religious education for their daughters”.<sup>101</sup> As a middle-class community, girls were less likely to enter the workforce than boys, which may have contributed towards longer periods of education. Jewish girls may have also been kept longer at Hebrew schools as a means to limit their contact with non-Jewish peers, ensuring that daughters remained in the safe confines of the community until their marriage.<sup>102</sup>

In Bendigo, Solomon Herman continued to send his daughter, Rose Herman, to the Hebrew school even after she reached twelve years of age. Rose, a competent and intelligent student, frequently won prizes from both the local state school she attended as well as from the Bendigo Hebrew school, where she was recognised for her work as a pupil teacher.<sup>103</sup> The role of a pupil teacher was often given to older students who were more advanced in their studies, and was likely assigned to Rose as a means to assist the Jewish minister. Older Jewish girls occupied a middle ground between Victorian ideals and Judaism, learning a limited amount of religious knowledge while occupying middle-class feminine roles such as student and class helper well into their teens. The religious education of Jewish girls acted as a performed aspect of the community’s middle-class identity.

---

<sup>99</sup> ‘East Melbourne Hebrew School’, *Jewish Herald*, 29 Dec. 1882, 6.

<sup>100</sup> Ibid.

<sup>101</sup> Ibid.

<sup>102</sup> Kociumbas, *Australian Childhood*, 101.

<sup>103</sup> ‘News and Notes’, *Jewish Herald*, 20 May 1881, 9; ‘Sandhurst Hebrew School’, *Jewish Herald*, 17 Jun. 1881, 6; ‘The Bendigo Advertiser’, *Bendigo Advertiser*, 24 Dec. 1883, 2; ‘The Rifle Clubs’, *Bendigo Advertiser*, 6 May 1885, 2.

While heavily affected by colonial laws and middle-class ideas concerning gender, education, and childhood, schooling in turn shaped the experiences and relationships of youths. The middle-class position of the Jewish community provided more educational opportunities for both boys and girls. This access to religious education likely had a major impact on the longer-term opportunities for middle-class Jewish women, particularly their economic opportunities as they became teachers and governesses, as discussed in Chapter Five. Whether their experiences of these schools were positive or negative, Jewish children in Hebrew schools were placed firmly within a network of Jewish institutions and communal life that helped to shape the civic, social, and religious dimensions of their lives and identities.<sup>104</sup> The Hebrew schools engendered a communal Jewish identification by providing both a place and an arena of shared activity, symbols, and relations that children could regularly engage with and incorporate into their identities. For Jewish children on the goldfields, their attendance at multiple schools may have engendered a Jewish identification while also fostering a sense of integration or fellowship with wider colonial society.

Jewish communities and Hebrew congregations negotiated significant social and gendered shifts in conceptions of childhood, which altered the faith, communal, and educational experiences of Jewish youths on the Central Victorian Goldfields. The religious, social, and cultural lives of Jewish children on the goldfields were adapted as a response to the middle-class identifications and values of Jewish settlers, as well as by colonial law. The identities of children and adult perceptions of childhood navigated the dichotomies between Victorian middle-class respectability and Jewish religiosity, leading to expressions and practices that were in seeming contrast yet conceptualised as related. These negotiated understandings resulted from the ‘blurred’ boundaries between a British middle-class and Jewish identity as competing ideas were contested, merged, and redefined in ways that allowed for the importance of both identifications. The activity of Jewish children enabled imaginings to emerge of a distinctly Jewish group, whilst ensuring that any boundaries drawn did not become overly particularistic. The rising middle-class and British ideals of the colonial Jewish community influenced all segments of the goldfields Jewish communities, including children, yet it also impacted how Jews engaged with imperial and international networks.

---

<sup>104</sup> Klapper, “A Fair Portion of the World’s Knowledge”, 238.



## Chapter Seven

### Jewish Internationalism and the Royal Family: Was there an Anglo-Jewish Imperialism?

Across the second half of the nineteenth century, colonial Jewish communities and Hebrew congregations increasingly articulated, performed, and mediated their identities through Jewish internationalism and British imperialism. Through these interwoven spheres, Jews on the Central Victorian Goldfields seamlessly occupied a duality of international and imperial roles. In 1891, Israel Goldreich, the Ballarat Jewish minister, connected the British Empire and global Jewries when he referred to the sufferings of Russian Jewry, noting during a synagogue sermon how,

everyone whose lines were cast under happier climes, under civilised and liberal government, was especially bound to regard himself according to the means with which God had blest him, as the keeper of his persecuted brother.<sup>1</sup>

While Goldreich defined global Jewish relations based on ideas of blood and faith, he simultaneously positioned colonial Jews as imperial subjects enjoying the liberty and freedom of British citizenship. When colonial Jews advocated for overseas Jewries, they did so from a specific imperial place, which shaped international links and conceptions in ways that differed from previous understandings of the Jewish diaspora.

Transnationalism was a central element in the Jewish diaspora, which incorporated notions of a shared history, faith, and homeland, as well as religiously motivated transcultural and personal communicative networks that spanned long distances and date back to antiquity, as will be discussed more below.<sup>2</sup> These links underwent transformation from the 1840s to produce a realm of political and social activism that

---

<sup>1</sup> 'Ballarat', *Jewish Herald*, 23 Oct. 1891, 3.

<sup>2</sup> Abigail Green, 'Sir Moses Montefiore and the Making of the "Jewish International"', *Journal of Modern Jewish Studies*, 7/3 (2008), 290; Mirjam Thulin, 'Jewish Networks', *Institute of European History (IEG)* [website], (2010) <<http://ieg-ego.eu/en/threads/european-networks/jewish-networks/mirjam-thulin-jewish-networks#IntroductionTheDamascusAffairof1840>>, para. 209, accessed 3 May 2019. The main expression of diaspora was through shared histories and rituals as well as through charity. In Judaism, tzedakah (roughly translates to charity) is considered a fundamental duty. Tzedakah is a *mitzvah*, a religious obligation commanded by the Torah. Charity, both the giving of money as well as time to the needy, is a central element in the religious life of Jews. While the principle of tzedakah in Judaism stresses that the local poor take precedence over the poor of any other settlement, those in the Land of Israel are considered to take primacy over all. For centuries, Jews have maintained and contributed towards charitable organisations, displaying a sense of brotherhood as well as their feeling of mutual responsibility.

historians have termed ‘Jewish internationalism’.<sup>3</sup> The Jewish international sphere refers to an arena of political and philanthropic action undertaken on behalf of overseas Jewry, with individuals mobilising funds, employing political pressure, and disseminating information to help distressed Jews who were usually located elsewhere.<sup>4</sup> Across the Modern period, Jewish communities experienced significant alterations in how they conceptualised and interacted with imperial and international networks, as advances in technology and transportation expanded their global access and communication channels. The colonial position of Jews in the British Empire shaped how goldfields Jews understood and engaged in Jewish international activism and their use of British imperial symbols, which in turn recast their identifications and understandings of Britishness.

This chapter explores the relationship between Jewish internationalism, British imperialism, and the identities of Jews on the Central Victorian Goldfields. The first section expands upon the emergence of Jewish internationalism and the shifting position of Jews in European and British empires in the nineteenth century. This section also discusses the role and importance of newspapers in framing and conceptualising these international links for colonial Jews. The next section examines the Anglo-Jewish Association and campaigns for Russian Jews. While both the Anglo-Jewish Association and advocacy for Russian Jewry supported Jewish relatedness, these movements also confirmed the imperial positions of colonial Jews. The section that follows investigates how the Royal Family emerged as a symbol of imperial fellowship in the synagogue space. Through this British phenomenon, Jews displayed and performed ideals of liberty and freedom which asserted their colonial place and British imperial subjecthood. Although colonial Jews engaged with a range of international spheres, networks, and symbols, the chapter only discusses the Anglo-Jewish Association, campaigns for Russian Jewry, and public services held to commemorate the Royal Family. By focusing on these

---

<sup>3</sup> A recent area of literature has emerged that examines ‘Jewish internationalism’, focusing on the shift which occurred to Jewish transnational conceptions and connections from the mid-nineteenth century to the early twentieth century. For some of this literature, see Jonathan Dekel-Chen, ‘Activism as Engine: Jewish Internationalism, 1880s-1980s’, in Abigail Green and Vincent Viaene (eds.), *Religious Internationalism in the Modern World: Globalization and Faith Communities since 1750* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2012); Abigail Green, ‘Nationalism and the “Jewish International”’: Religious Internationalism in Europe and the Middle East c.1840-c.1880’, *Comparative Studies in Society and History*, 50/2 (2008), 535-558; Abigail Green, ‘Old Networks, New Connections: The Emergence of the Jewish International’, in Abigail Green and Vincent Viaene (eds.), *Religious Internationalism in the Modern World: Globalization and Faith Communities since 1750* (Hampshire: Palgrave Macmillan, 2012); Green, ‘Sir Moses Montefiore’, 287-307; Green, ‘The British Empire and the Jews’, 175-205.

<sup>4</sup> Rony Yona, ‘Anti-Semitism and the Emergence of Jewish Internationalism, 1840-1914’, *Nineteenth-Century Anti-Semitism in International Perspective* [website], (2016) <<https://antisem19c.hypotheses.org/795>>, para. 8, accessed 12 Mar. 2020.

three aspects, the chapter argues that Jewish internationalism and the British Empire could merge for goldfields Jews, a coalescence which defined their place in the colonial, the international, and the imperial. This convergence of British imperialism and Jewish internationalism, as well as its ability to negotiate identities, was the result of wider reconstructions in how individuals and communities engaged with and understood international religious groups.

### **‘In Faith, in Hope, and in Earthly Destiny’: Colonial Jews in Empires and Jewish Internationalism**

Across the nineteenth century, Jewish communities experienced important transformations as modern technological advances and mass migration gave rise to Jewish internationalism and expanded access to the British Empire. Drawing upon the Jewish diaspora, these developments continued to advocate for the development or maintenance of deep connections between Jews, regardless of their location. In 1874, British-born Jew Solomon Joseph, the editor of the Melbourne-based Jewish newspaper *Australian Israelite*, portrayed one global Jewish community, remarking,

All Jews, however widely separated from each other they may be by differences of country, fortune, social position, or education, are, nevertheless, units in one great and indivisible community, whose origin is of direct Divine appointment; one in original nationality, one in faith, in hope, and in earthly destiny.<sup>5</sup>

For colonial Jews, international Jewish networks were overlaid with conceptions of religious and ethnic connection that supported Jewish interrelatedness. Alongside these Jewish links, however, colonial Jews also claimed belonging to another transnational group- the British Empire- which complicated and at times recast ideas of Jewish transnational connection towards Jewish internationalism. This recasting of imperial and international links could be particularly fraught for Jews. As David Feldman argued, imperialism and modernity were a “concern for both Jews and non-Jews as they tried to shape and comprehend the relationship of Jews to the British Empire”.<sup>6</sup> The reshaping of

---

<sup>5</sup> ‘A Bond of Brotherhood’, *Australian Israelite*, 4 Sep. 1874, 76.

<sup>6</sup> Feldman, ‘Jews and the British Empire’, 74. A large body of literature within Jewish Studies focuses on Jews and modernity, examining religious, social, and cultural shifts that occurred as Jews responded to modernity. For some of this literature, see Freedman, *Klezmer America: Jewishness, Ethnicity, Modernity*; Jonathan M. Hess, *Germans, Jews and the Claims of Modernity* (London: Yale University Press, 2002); Hoffman, ‘Constructing Jewish Modernity: Mendelssohn Jubilee Celebrations within Germany Jewry 1829-1929’; Chad Alan Goldberg, *Modernity and the Jews in Western Social Thought* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2017); Michael A. Meyer and David N. Myers (eds.), *Between Jewish Tradition and*



imperial and Jewish ties found further support through Jewish newspapers and the colonial press, which provided channels of information and spaces for discussion that shaped ideas of local and international relations. For colonial Jews, these connections were rooted in, yet would diverge from, understandings of the Jewish diaspora.

The Jewish diaspora, which refers to the dispersion and connection cultivated between Jews and to a common Jewish homeland, predates Jewish internationalism by nearly two millennia.<sup>7</sup> The Jewish diaspora is often defined as the voluntary dispersion and settlement of Jews outside of Israel, in contrast to *galut*, which relates to their forced movement, and incorporates the experiences, conceptions, and practices of a shared Jewish identity as well as the idea of their return to Israel.<sup>8</sup> For some Jews, diaspora was associated with conditions of exile, minority status, and powerlessness, denoting a sense of insecurity as Jews have been labelled as the Other in their places of settlement.<sup>9</sup> Whilst possibly noting a sense of exclusion from local societies, the Jewish diaspora also worked to maintain a sense of Jewish cohesion and identification.<sup>10</sup> Across the Jewish diaspora, Jews have relied upon a shared language, memory, and religion to express and maintain a collective identity, developing institutions and ethno-national and/or faith symbols to connect Jews located in the diaspora.<sup>11</sup> Philanthropy was a major aspect of the Jewish diaspora, which included sending remittances to Jews both in the homeland (Israel) and those who lived in impoverished conditions elsewhere in the world.<sup>12</sup> Scholars have commonly discussed diasporas as being structured by relationships that include centres,

---

*Modernity: Rethinking an Old Opposition* (Detroit, Michigan: Wayne State University Press, 2014); Michael A. Meyer, 'Modernity as a Crisis for the Jews', *Modern Judaism*, 9/2 (1989), 151-164; Michael A. Meyer, *Judaism within Modernity: Essays on Jewish History and Religion* (Detroit, Michigan: Wayne State University Press, 2001).

<sup>7</sup> The research on the Jewish diaspora comprises a large and varied area of study as scholars have sought to examine the theological aspects of the diaspora or the creation of specific diaspora communities. For some of this literature, see Ben-Moshe and Segev, *Israel, the Diaspora and Jewish Identity*; Boyarin and Boyarin, 'Diaspora: Generation and the Ground of Jewish Identity'; Erik H. Cohen, 'Symbols of Diaspora Jewish Identity: An International Survey and Multi-Dimensional Analysis', *Religion*, 38/4 (2008), 293-304; Mendelsohn, 'Tongue Ties'.

<sup>8</sup> *Encyclopaedia Judaica*, s.v. 'Diaspora'; Safran, 'The Jewish Diaspora in a Comparative and Theoretical Perspective', 36-37. *Galut* refers to and expresses the ideas and feelings of Jewish people uprooted from their homeland and forced to dwell under foreign rule. This often includes feelings of alienation in the diaspora, a yearning for the past, and a persistent questioning of the meaning and causes of exile. Whilst suggesting absence from a centre, whether political, cultural, or religious, diaspora tends to lack the negative connotation of *galut*. *Encyclopaedia Judaica*, s.v. 'Galut'; Caryn S. Aviv and David Shneer, *New Jews: The End of the Jewish Diaspora* (New York: New York University Press, 2005), 17.

<sup>9</sup> Aviv and Shneer, *New Jews*, 3; Safran, 'The Jewish Diaspora in a Comparative and Theoretical Perspective', 38.

<sup>10</sup> Aviv and Shneer, *New Jews*, 4.

<sup>11</sup> Safran, 'The Jewish Diaspora in a Comparative and Theoretical Perspective', 48.

<sup>12</sup> *Ibid.* 54-55.

peripheries, and homelands, a conception which some in Jewish Studies are seeking to expand.<sup>13</sup>

Whilst the relationship to a Jewish homeland has been one of the markers of Jewish difference, Jews have also maintained many various homelands and diasporas. Recognising this range of Jewish experiences, scholars have sought to provide more nuance to the concept. Historian James Clifford suggested that diasporas could be less concerned with the connections people maintain through a common relationship to a centre or homeland, and may instead be about the creation of displaced communities, shifting the focus from the centre to the periphery.<sup>14</sup> This conceptualisation continued to emphasise the relationship to a Jewish centre or homeland: to Israel. Influential Australian academic, John Docker, provided a more expansive understanding of diaspora, arguing that it includes “a sense of belonging to more than one history, to more than one time and place, more than one past and future”, as “belonging to both here and there, now and then”.<sup>15</sup> For Docker, “diaspora suggests the omnipresent weight of pain of displacement from a land or society, of being an outsider in a new one”.<sup>16</sup> Docker’s conception of diasporas allowed the incorporation of multiple histories, knowledge, and the ever-evolving nature of identities, yet continued to place importance on relationships to the homeland and on difference, displacement and loss. Irrespective of the conception utilised, the term diaspora risks homogenising the diverse experiences and expressions of distantly located groups, of narrowing the range of experiences by claiming a commonality which may not necessarily exist.<sup>17</sup> Nor does the term allow for adequate focus to be placed on how Jews claimed ‘homes’ or homelands other than Israel.

Diaspora – in its more normative uses – can connote powerlessness and often focuses examination on a single Jewish centre, discounting forms of ‘home’ created in an

---

<sup>13</sup> Gilman, ‘The Frontier as a Model for Jewish History’, 1; Jordana Silverstein, ‘Anxious Jewish Diasporas: Narrating the Holocaust, Negotiating Displacement’, Ph.D. thesis (University of Melbourne, 2009), 20.

<sup>14</sup> James Clifford, *Routes: Travel and Translation in the Late Twentieth Century* (Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 1997), 249-250.

<sup>15</sup> Docker, *1492*, vii-viii.

<sup>16</sup> Ibid.

<sup>17</sup> Silverstein, ‘Anxious Jewish Diasporas’, 23. Numerous scholars have called for a re-examination of the diaspora, as the term can reduce histories of difference. The very use of the term ‘diaspora’ projects a type of similarity and connection between distantly located communities and a homeland, a relationship that may not exist. For literature from scholars critically challenging the use of diaspora, see Ammiel Alcalay, ‘Exploding Identities: Notes on Ethnicity and Literary History’, *Jewish Social Studies*, 1/2 (1995), 15-27; Yossi Shain, ‘Jewish Kinship at a Crossroads: Lessons for Homelands and Diasporas’, *Political Science Quarterly*, 117/2 (2002), 279-309; Jonathan Ray, ‘New Approaches to the Jewish Diaspora: The Sephardim as a Sub-Ethnic Group’, *Jewish Social Studies*, 15/1 (2008), 10-31.

increasingly mobile world. In the nineteenth century, power within Jewish networks flowed in diverse directions as well as from and to different places, nor was there always only one centre to which Jews could connect and claim an identification.<sup>18</sup> The primary sources examined in this chapter required a theory that recognised the uneven power relations present across Jewish international networks and needed to allow for focus on claims to another, non-Jewish homeland, to Britain and the British Empire. What I wanted to examine was how colonial Jews conceived of distant Jewish communities in relation to British imperialism and their British or class identity in the colonies. As a result, I have relied on theories and conceptions of Jewish internationalism that accounted for contemporary shifts in power, identity, and religion but did not restrict the range of study to a single type of relationship or to only one homeland. Jewish internationalism was defined in part through earlier diaspora ideas, as discussed more below, yet it also drew upon contemporary changes in traditional religious structures and identities.

As the world entered the modern era, a distinct, new phenomenon arose known as the religious international. Historians Abigail Green and Vincent Viaene defined this phenomenon as “a cluster of voluntary transnational organizations and representations crystallizing around international issues, in which both ‘ordinary’ believers and religious specialists could serve as protagonists”.<sup>19</sup> These new configurations drew upon traditional communities and practices, yet also remained distinct from them. This rising religious internationalism emerged through developments in communications, colonial expansion, mass migration, and the rising nation-state model that acted to recast the types of religious interactions and associations maintained across vast distances.<sup>20</sup> Religious internationalism reforged faith identities in imperial and transatlantic encounters and led to the development of new forms of philanthropy, sectarian politics, and press networks.<sup>21</sup> The most discernible religious communities to experience this change were Christian faiths, with historians paying particular attention to this phenomenon in Catholicism.<sup>22</sup> Following the deterritorialisation of Catholicism after the French Revolution, Catholics

---

<sup>18</sup> Aviv and Shneer, *New Jews*, 20-21.

<sup>19</sup> Abigail Green and Vincent Viaene, ‘Introduction: Rethinking Religion and Globalization’, in Abigail Green and Vincent Viaene (eds.), *Religious Internationals in the Modern World: Globalization and Faith Communities since 1750* (Hampshire: Palgrave Macmillan, 2012), 1.

<sup>20</sup> Ibid.

<sup>21</sup> Ibid.

<sup>22</sup> See Peter Heyrman, ‘Belgian Catholic Entrepreneurs’ Organizations, 1880 to 1940’, *Zeitschrift für Unternehmensgeschichte*, 56/2 (2017), 163- 186; Sophie Heywood, ‘Missionary Children: The French Holy Childhood Association in European Context, 1843-1914’, *European History Quarterly*, 45/3 (2015), 446-466; Vincent Viaene, ‘Nineteenth-Century Catholic Internationalism and its Predecessors’, in Abigail Green and Vincent Viaene (eds.), *Religious Internationals in the Modern World: Globalization and Faith Communities since 1750* (Hampshire: Palgrave Macmillan, 2012), 82-110.

from disparate ethnicities and countries united through ecclesiastical structures, devotional symbols, and organisations in a global effort to reform modern society according to the Church's principles.<sup>23</sup> This Catholic internationalism remained distinct from traditional ceremonies and formal Church hierarchies. Similarly, a Protestant internationalism existed as an informal spiritual empire that was created through a network of official bodies which federated believers across vast imperial distances.<sup>24</sup> This Protestant internationalism was increasingly mapped onto the 'Anglo-world' and defined by the mass movement of information and money, as well as through missionary work.<sup>25</sup> Religious internationalism was not, however, a solely Christian construct, as similar connections occurred for Jewish communities.<sup>26</sup>

Jewish internationalism was grounded in the Jewish diaspora, yet it also altered these earlier conceptions and expressions to allow for claims of belonging to a non-Jewish group and place. Jewish internationalism saw colonial Jewries utilise terminology such as "brother" and "brethren", referring to distant Jewries as "our people", relying on conceptions of the People of Israel (not the state) and the Jewish diaspora to define international Jewish connection.<sup>27</sup> Additionally, Jewish internationalism also relied on earlier notions of philanthropy and the giving of aid to impoverished Jewish communities. As a realm of Jewish political activism, Jewish internationalism altered the Jewish diaspora and replaced traditional links of trade, rabbinic authority, and kinship with new kinds of communal and religious action.<sup>28</sup> Jewish international activity included donations, concerts, campaigns, meetings, and sermons, as well as articles or letters written to newspapers, prominent persons, or Governments. Jewish internationalism also shifted understandings of distantly located Jewish communities and what these contributions meant, as the next section discusses. Many of the earliest contributors were

---

<sup>23</sup> Viaene, 'Nineteenth-Century Catholic Internationalism and its Predecessors', 83, 87.

<sup>24</sup> Christopher Clark and Michael Ledger-Lomas, 'The Protestant International', in Abigail Green and Vincent Viaene (eds.), *Religious Internationals in the Modern World: Globalization and Faith Communities since 1750* (Hampshire: Palgrave Macmillan, 2012), 23.

<sup>25</sup> Ibid. 31.

<sup>26</sup> See Jonathan Frankel, *The Damascus Affair: "Ritual Murder", Politics, and the Jews in 1840* (Cambridge, England: Cambridge University Press, 1997); Paul Knepper, 'The British Empire and Jews in Nineteenth Century Malta', *Journal of Modern Jewish Studies*, 9/1 (2010), 49-69; Green, 'Nationalism and the "Jewish International"', 535-558; Green, 'Sir Moses Montefiore'; Green, 'The British Empire and the Jews'; Sarah Abrevaya Stein, *Plumes: Ostrich Feathers, Jews, and a Lost World of Global Commerce* (New Haven, Connecticut: Yale University Press, 2008).

<sup>27</sup> For examples, see 'Ballarat', *Jewish Herald*, 10 Mar. 1882, 4; 'The Famine in Persia', *Australian Israelite*, 19 Apr. 1872, 2; 'News and Notes', *Ballarat Star*, 31 Dec. 1878, 2; 'Notes and News', *Jewish Herald*, 25 Aug. 1882, 9.

<sup>28</sup> Yona, 'Anti-Semitism and the Emergence of Jewish Internationalism, 1840-1914', para. 8.

elite members of communities; however, from the 1880s onwards Jewish internationalism was driven by activists from below.<sup>29</sup>

While Jewish internationalism emerged as a distinct sphere of activism, scholars have questioned the use of the term and meaning of ‘internationalism’. Jonathan Dekel-Chen has preferred the term ‘transnationalism’, claiming that “at no point has the mere fact of a Jewish communal presence in multiple countries automatically constituted a Jewish internationalism”,<sup>30</sup> an argument this chapter does not support. Rather, this chapter demonstrates that international Jewish networks were understood by colonial Jews in relational and bounded terms. Goldfields Jews were highly aware of distant Jewries and formed significant connections through this consciousness which were used to also define the imperial place of colonial Jews. As a result, this chapter will adopt the term ‘Jewish internationalism’ to refer to this field of activity, recognising the unique connections formed through this sphere. The rising popularity of Jewish internationalism supplemented the changing roles and positions of Jews in the colonies, and within European empires.

Across the Modern era, Jews maintained varied and multifaceted positions in European imperialist regimes as colonisers or part of colonising regimes. A significant body of research has emerged that discusses the history of Jewish settler colonialism, mainly as part of British, Dutch, or Israel forces, revealing the role of Jews as colonisers or part of colonising regimes, particularly in the Early Modern Period.<sup>31</sup> For most of the Early Modern Period, Jews could settle as citizens in British and Dutch Atlantic colonies, meaning that they could openly and without hinderance practice Judaism whilst integrating into local social and economic structures, a right at the time denied in much of

---

<sup>29</sup> Dekel-Chen, ‘Activism as Engine’, 273.

<sup>30</sup> Ibid. 285–286.

<sup>31</sup> See for example, Jessica Vance Roitman, ‘Creating Confusion in the Colonies: Jews, Citizenship, and the Dutch and British Atlantics’, *Itinerario*, 36/2 (2012), 55–90; Jonathan I. Israel, *Diasporas within a Diaspora: Jews, Crypto-Jews and the World Maritime Empires (1540–1740)* (Leiden, The Netherlands: Brill, 2002); Jessica Vance Roitman, ‘Portuguese Jews, Amerindians, and the Frontiers of Encounter in Colonial Suriname’, *New West Indian Guide*, 88 (2014), 18–52; Natalie Zemon Davis, ‘Regaining Jerusalem: Eschatology and Slavery in Jewish Colonization in Seventeenth-Century Suriname’, *The Cambridge Journal of Postcolonial Literary Inquiry*, 3/1 (2016), 11–38; Jessica Vance Roitman, ‘Economics, Empire, Eschatology: The Global Context of Jewish Settlement in the Americas, 1650–70’, *Itinerario*, 40/2 (2016), 293–310; Barry L. Stiefel, ‘Experimenting with Acceptance, Caribbean-style: Jews as Aliens in the Anglophone Torrid Zone’, in L. H. Roper (ed.) *The Torrid Zone: Caribbean Colonization and Cultural Interaction in the Long Seventeenth Century* (Columbia, South Carolina: University of South Carolina Press, 2018); David Ruderman, *Early Modern Jewry*; Lorenzo Veracini, ‘The Other Shift: Settler Colonialism, Israel, and the Occupation’, *Journal of Palestine Studies*, 42/2 (2013), 26–42.

Europe.<sup>32</sup> British and Dutch governments hoped to attract settlers to colonised lands, and Sephardic Jews in particular, by offering the incentive of citizenship, which could be gained after spending a certain number of years in the colony.<sup>33</sup> Tempted by economic potential and religious freedom, significant numbers of Jews migrated.<sup>34</sup> In this way, settler colonialism for Jews was deeply connected with the process of gaining citizenship, of belonging to an empire, though in practice this negotiation proved more complicated, both of which were also noted in the Introduction. As research attests, Jewish settlers in Dutch and British colonies were placed in an uneasy position as citizenship was at times granted and then taken away, depending on the advantages that could be gained by ruling powers and local elite society.<sup>35</sup> Prejudices and stereotypes against Jews continued to exist in the colonies, despite government rulings. In these colonial places, Jews were required to negotiate and renegotiate for their rights as recognised citizens, to demonstrate their belonging to a larger empire. Whilst Jewish settlers engaged in processes of enslavement and colonisation, including the ownership of slaves, it is important to note that they also acted in cooperation, alliance, and cultural brokerage with Indigenous people.<sup>36</sup> Significantly, Judaism and Jews did not control nor represent an invading metropolitan European power during this period under discussion, although they could hold high positions in occupying forces.<sup>37</sup>

The political and social value of Jews across European empires ranged from being elite power brokers in British or French terrains to the status of undesirables on Russian imperial frontiers.<sup>38</sup> More commonly, the economic position held by Jews in empires was as intermediaries between metropolitan-based officials or companies and colonised services or products.<sup>39</sup> This pattern, however, began to alter after the American war as Britain expanded its second empire to establish settlement colonies in the antipodes and the Cape while consolidating and amassing more territory in the Middle East and South Asia. In the nineteenth century, Jews increasingly interacted with the British Empire as settlers and colonialists as they participated in the mass migratory flows of people from European centres to colonial outposts. As colonialists settling in colonies with different

---

<sup>32</sup> Jessica Vance Roitman, 'Creating Confusion in the Colonies', 54.

<sup>33</sup> *Ibid.*, 58- 59.

<sup>34</sup> Jessica Vance Roitman, 'Economics, Empire, Eschatology', 303-304.

<sup>35</sup> See Jessica Vance Roitman, 'Economics, Empire, Eschatology'; Jessica Vance Roitman, 'Portuguese Jews, Amerindians, and the Frontiers of Encounter'.

<sup>36</sup> Jessica Vance Roitman, 'Portuguese Jews, Amerindians, and the Frontiers of Encounter', 21.

<sup>37</sup> Katz, Leff, and Mandel, 'Engaging Colonial History and Jewish History', 11.

<sup>38</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>39</sup> *Ibid.*

racial relations, Jews could access imperialist conceptions and networks, including the adoption and integration of a British settler identity. This identity was underpinned by supposed metropolitan values of the British Empire as places of equality and liberty, despite the widespread use of military conquest, economic exploitation, and racial subjection to acquire land and unwilling subjects.<sup>40</sup> In Australia, Jews did not publicly engage with Indigenous rights campaigns until post-WWII. For colonial Jews, the British Empire offered the means to access equal liberties, although some Jews did recognise and speak out against its more repressive aspects.<sup>41</sup> British subjecthood, as well as the privileges it endowed, required certain channels for articulation, performance, and wide dissemination, with newspapers proving an ideal means to maintain such networks.

Jewish internationalism and British imperialism were in part supported through a rapidly expanding print culture. Aided by advances in technology and transportation, the Jewish press experienced a sudden growth from the mid-nineteenth century; while only one Jewish periodical was produced in 1838, by 1880, there were over a hundred being published across the globe.<sup>42</sup> In the Australian colonies, newspapers fuelled Jewish internationalism and British imperialism by becoming a medium through which knowledge on distant groups was articulated and shared. Through these means, links could be drawn between distant Jewries, local communities, and British institutions as newspapers acted to coordinate fundraising campaigns and publish international correspondence.<sup>43</sup> This not only led to a new heightened sense of cohesiveness and international connection among colonial Jews, but also challenged Jewish religious awareness.<sup>44</sup> Alongside the Hebrew press, Jewish ministers also utilised colonial non-Jewish newspapers to contribute to Jewish internationalism and the imperial connection of Jews.<sup>45</sup> In Ballarat, Israel Goldreich often published in regional papers to highlight to local audiences the suffering of overseas Jewries, responding to published articles and

---

<sup>40</sup> David Armitage, *The Ideological Origins of the British Empire* (Cambridge, England: Cambridge University Press, 2000), 3.

<sup>41</sup> For an example, see the sermon delivered by A. T. Boas, the Jewish minister of the Adelaide synagogue, on the first day of Passover in 1889. 'Liberty A Sermon Preached at the Adelaide Synagogue on the First Day of Passover, by the Rev. A. T. Boas', *Jewish Herald*, 10 May 1889, 6.

<sup>42</sup> Green, 'Old Networks, New Connections', 58.

<sup>43</sup> For examples, see 'Russian Jews Relief', *Ballarat Star*, 30 Apr. 1892, 4; 'Russian Jews Relief', *Ballarat Star*, 27 May. 1892, 2; 'Russian Jews Relief', *Ballarat Star*, 11 Jun. 1892, 2; 'The Situation in Russia', *Jewish Herald*, 27 Jan. 1882, 4; 'The Queen', *Australian Israelite*, 24 May 1872, 4.

<sup>44</sup> Green, 'Nationalism and the "Jewish International"', 537.

<sup>45</sup> 'A Curious Cablegram', *Ballarat Star*, 3 Jul. 1883, 4; 'The Jews and Southern Russia', *Bendigo Advertiser*, 13 Aug. 1881, 2; 'The Jewish Relief Fund', *Bendigo Advertiser*, 15 Sep. 1882, 3; 'Russian Atrocities on the Jews', *Ballarat Star*, 10 Apr. 1882, 2; 'Russian Jews Relief', *Ballarat Star*, 30 Apr. 1892, 4; 'Russian Jews Relief', *Ballarat Star*, 27 May. 1892, 2; 'Russian Jews Relief', *Ballarat Star*, 11 Jun. 1892, 2.

referring to local and international persons and opinions.<sup>46</sup> While Goldreich discussed how “the great English heart” was moved to pity towards the suffering of Russian Jewry, in the same letter to the editor of the *Ballarat Star* he questioned “the great English Premier, Mr. Gladstone, [who] contented himself with mere expressions of regret that he could not interfere or intercede diplomatically”.<sup>47</sup> The non-Jewish press acted as a space through which goldfields Jewish observers could denounce and hold leading men accountable, though the effect of such appeals could be questioned and acted more to raise local consciousness. It was not, however, solely Jewish voices which found expression on these issues in local papers.

The *Ballarat Star* and the *Bendigo Advertiser* often published articles on international Jewish activity, with persons from the wider non-Jewish community raising their concerns and expressing their indignation through regional newspapers.<sup>48</sup> As a result, the colonial non-Jewish press linked sections of local society to create and maintain a common conversation between a range of individuals. In these spaces, individuals and groups voiced ideas of togetherness, such as when Isidore Myers, the Bendigo Jewish minister, claimed that Christians and Jews worked “hand in hand” towards a shared sacred cause.<sup>49</sup> In Meyer’s concept of aesthetic formations, this shared conversation acts to support an ‘imagined’ colonial and imperial community by providing a means to voice and feel interconnected with others in society who held similar views. Jewish and non-Jewish newspapers framed conceptions of communal and imperial ties that defined how and to whom colonial Jews were affixed. For colonial Jews, newspapers generated a sense of interconnection and a means of performance to both a wider imperial society and a global Jewish community, as the rest of the chapter demonstrates. The information included in these newspapers was critical, yet the silences and absences of the press were just as important.<sup>50</sup> The colonial Jewish press tended not to include the voices of non-European or non-Anglo Jews, or when included, such voices were filtered through

---

<sup>46</sup> ‘A Curious Cablegram’, *Ballarat Star*, 3 Jul. 1883, 4; ‘Russian Atrocities on the Jews’, *Ballarat Star*, 10 Apr. 1882, 2; ‘Russian Jews Relief’, *Ballarat Star*, 30 Apr. 1892, 4; ‘Russian Jews Relief’, *Ballarat Star*, 27 May. 1892, 2; ‘Russian Jews Relief’, *Ballarat Star*, 11 Jun. 1892, 2.

<sup>47</sup> ‘Russian Atrocities on the Jews’, *Ballarat Star*, 10 Apr. 1882, 2.

<sup>48</sup> ‘The Appeal, Russian Jews Relief’, *Ballarat Star*, 30 Apr. 1892, 4; ‘The Famine in Russia’, *Bendigo Advertiser*, 29 Sep. 1891, 2; ‘How Russia Persecutes the Jew’, *Bendigo Advertiser*, 25 Dec. 1890, 4; ‘Miscellaneous English and Foreign News’, *Ballarat Star*, 13 Aug. 1881, 4; ‘The Outrages on the Jews in Russia’, *Ballarat Star*, 11 Apr. 1882, 3.

<sup>49</sup> ‘The Jews and Southern Russia’, *Bendigo Advertiser*, 13 Aug. 1881, 2.

<sup>50</sup> Roberto Franzosi, ‘The Press as a Source of Socio-Historical Data: Issues in the Methodology of Data Collection from Newspapers’, *Historical Methods: A Journal of Quantitative and Interdisciplinary History*, 20/1 (1987), 7.



Western observations made by reporters and travellers.<sup>51</sup> As a result, portrayals of these Jewries remained largely unchallenged, in part acting to support British imperialism.

### **‘The Passions of Britain’s Children’: British Subjecthood and Jewish Internationalism**

Jewish internationalism developed as a realm of activism through which colonial Jews negotiated their Jewish interconnection with their sense of place in the British Empire. In 1901, a letter to the editor published in the *Jewish Herald* discussed the work undertaken by the Anglo-Jewish Association. Signing their name simply as ‘R’, the author linked Jewish internationalism to the position of colonial Jews, noting that,

under British institutions we enjoy the fullest liberty. It is for us to show that we deserve it by unanimous action in defence and support of those who are still writhing under the heel of religious oppression. Not merely a contribution in money, but warm, generous advocacy from the many (rich and poor) is required.<sup>52</sup>

While focused on the distress of Jews suffering overseas, Jewish internationalism was also deeply entangled with British imperial ideologies and sovereign authority, imbuing this sphere with understandings of British subjecthood. Two of the most significant areas of Jewish internationalism for Jews on the Central Victorian Goldfields, as well as in the Victorian colony more generally, were the Anglo-Jewish Association and campaigns for Russian Jewries.

The Anglo-Jewish Association was a British organisation established in 1871 to protect the rights of Jews in less developed countries through diplomatic advocacy and educational expansion.<sup>53</sup> Originally part of the *Alliance Israélite Universelle*, a French based Jewish society created in 1860, the Anglo-Jewish Association formed as a separate organisation as a result of conflicting national interests.<sup>54</sup> Branches of the Anglo-Jewish Association were developed across the British Empire, with the headquarters and parent group remaining in London. Colonial subsections of the Association formed on the Central Victorian Goldfields. Ballarat created a local branch in 1872 and Bendigo

---

<sup>51</sup> For example, when Ballarat Jewish minister, Israel Goldreich, discussed Russian Jews. His quoted observations of the miseries experienced by Russian Jews was from a Western observer who went to Russia to investigate. ‘The Jews and Southern Russia’, *Bendigo Advertiser*, 13 Aug. 1881, 2.

<sup>52</sup> ‘The Anglo-Jewish Association’, *Jewish Herald*, 4 Jan. 1901, 12.

<sup>53</sup> *Encyclopaedia Judaica*, s.v. ‘Anglo-Jewish Association (AJA)’.

<sup>54</sup> Yona, ‘Anti-Semitism and the Emergence of Jewish Internationalism, 1840-1914’, para. 24.

established a division in 1873, both of which formed before a branch was appointed in Melbourne.<sup>55</sup> While mainly concerned with the Middle East (or the Ottoman Empire), this association often turned their attention towards the plight of Russian Jewry, who suffered under discriminatory and hostile treatment in the Russian Empire. In doing so, Jews formally and informally advanced England's imperial interests, turning this activism into a means to legitimise and engage with the British Empire. While Jewish internationalism was directed mainly towards suffering Jewries, the individuals and groups who participated in this sphere, and their reasons for doing so, diverged considerably.

In the colonies, Jewish internationalism found appreciable patronage from Christian colonialists, who were at times motivated by their faith in biblical prophecies. The French Revolution had reinvigorated prophetic concern, with many contemporaries believing that the prophecies of Daniel and Revelation were being realised.<sup>56</sup> The social and geographic location of Jews was (and continues to be) positioned as essential to the Christian doctrines such as Christian Zionism and Millennialism. Christian Zionism refers to the return of Jews to Israel, an event that is believed to usher in the Second Coming of Christ.<sup>57</sup> Similarly, Millennialism is the belief that in the future, generally the imminent future, there will be a thousand-year age of peace, either beginning with or culminating in the Second Coming of Christ.<sup>58</sup> Millenarian ideas were significant for several well-established Christian denominations in the colonies, particularly for some Presbyterian groups. In Ballarat and Bendigo, millenarian doctrines motivated Christian involvement in Jewish internationalism, particularly for Baptists and Presbyterians.<sup>59</sup> When William Clark, a Baptist minister in Ballarat, presented a speech at a public meeting for persecuted Russian Jewry in 1882, he related his involvement with Christian Zionism. At the meeting, Rev. Clark noted that "he believed God would yet call [Jews] back to Palestine, and it was because of this that his heart went with the meeting that night".<sup>60</sup> In Bendigo,

---

<sup>55</sup> 'Anglo-Jewish Association', *Australian Israelite*, 11 Oct. 1872, 2; 'Sandhurst', *Australian Israelite*, 22 Aug. 1873, 5.

<sup>56</sup> Guy Featherstone, 'The Nunawading Messiah: James Fisher and Popular Millenarianism in Nineteenth-Century Melbourne', *Journal of Religious History*, 26/1 (2002), 45.

<sup>57</sup> For more on Zionism, see Walter Laqueur, *A History of Zionism* (London: Weidenfeld and Nicolson, 1972). For more on Christian Zionism, see Yaakov Ariel, 'An Unexpected Alliance: Christian Zionism and its Historical Significance', *Modern Judaism*, 26/1 (2006), 74-100; Victoria Clark, *Allies for Armageddon: The Rise of Christian Zionism* (London: Yale University Press, 2007); Stephen Spector, *Evangelicals and Israel: The Story of American Christian Zionism* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2009).

<sup>58</sup> For more on Millennialism, see *Historical Dictionary of New Religious Movements*, s.v. 'Millennialism'.

<sup>59</sup> 'The Jews in Russia', *Bendigo Advertiser*, 23 May 1882, 3; 'The Jews in Russia', *Bendigo Advertiser*, 23 May 1882, 3; 'Prophetic Conference at Alfred Hall', *Ballarat Star*, 8 Dec. 1887, 4; 'Religious Services', *Bendigo Advertiser*, 11 Jun. 1888, 2.

<sup>60</sup> 'The Persecuted Jews in Russia', *Ballarat Star*, 30 May 1882, 3.

Baptists and Presbyterians espoused pre-Millennialism, which could account for their involvement in Jewish internationalism. Pre-Millennialism advocates that before Christ's return, the state of the world will decay into crisis with war and suffering.<sup>61</sup> The distress of Jews in Russia, God's chosen people, may have been considered as indicating the beginning of this decay. This should not, however, lead to assumptions that Christian colonialists contributed for religious reasons alone.

Whether Jews or Christians, individuals and groups may have participated in Jewish internationalism due to their class and political beliefs. Jewish internationalism sustained ideas of liberalism and freedom that flourished in the colonies. The Australian settler colonies were simultaneously one of the most progressive and repressive polities in the British world.<sup>62</sup> Across the nineteenth century, the Australian colonies established a range of institutions that marked a free society, including the rule of law, freedom of ideas, and representative institutions.<sup>63</sup> These aspects of civic society fostered a sense of democracy that was, however, delimited to men of European descent. Racial minorities remained marginalised. The Central Victorian Goldfields in particular gained renown as places of social and political dissent, which may explain why Jewish international institutions developed in Bendigo and Ballarat before they did in Melbourne. Whether for Jewish or non-Jewish causes, international philanthropy meant propagating and identifying with ideas of liberty, demonstrating the freedoms that comprised the British Empire and were the foundations of a settler identity. These ideals of civil liberty and autonomy, as well as their opposite values, were also central in framing the aid, action, and recipients of Jewish internationalism.

Whilst drawing upon earlier conceptions of the Jewish diaspora, Jewish internationalism was also underpinned by British philanthropic and imperialistic ideology, which further legitimised and extended the interests of the British Empire. By the mid to late nineteenth century, British and colonial Jews had embraced the humanitarian practices, attitudes, and principles of Evangelical Christians, including the belief of empire or internationalism as an arena of missionary endeavour.<sup>64</sup> This concern for Jews elsewhere was reflected in the attitudes of the Anglo-Jewish Association, which

---

<sup>61</sup> Clyde Wilcox, Sharon Linzey, and Ted G. Jelen, 'Reluctant Warriors: Premillennialism and Politics in the Moral Majority', *Journal for the Scientific Study of Religion*, 30/3 (1991), 245.

<sup>62</sup> Boucher, 'Race, Rights and the Re-forming Settler Polity in Mid-Nineteenth Century', 83.

<sup>63</sup> Gregory Melleuish, 'The History of Liberty in Australia', *Policy: A Journal of Public Policy and Ideas*, 23/1 (2007), 34.

<sup>64</sup> Green and Vienne, 'Rethinking Religion and Globalization', 17.

utilised charity and volunteer efforts to bring education and knowledge to Middle Eastern Jewries through schooling. The Anglo-Jewish Association established educational institutions in Jewish communities located in Aden, Jerusalem, Baghdad, and in various other Middle Eastern countries.<sup>65</sup> The schools developed by the association aimed to provide religious instruction as well as to train children for useful employment, which were fundamental elements of child rescue in nineteenth century Britain.<sup>66</sup> In positioning Middle Eastern Jewries as requiring philanthropically funded education, a type of imperial and often racialised hierarchy was relied upon and perpetuated. Writing in colonial Jewish newspapers, colonial branches of the Anglo-Jewish Association often referred to Middle Eastern Jewries as being “unadvanced”, as residing “in semi-civilised countries” where there was a “prevalence of ignorance”.<sup>67</sup> Through the Anglo-Jewish Association and the press, the idea of an ‘unenlightened’ Middle Eastern Jewry was perpetuated while the participation of colonial Jews in this sphere of action affirmed that Anglo-Jews were clearly part of the ‘civilised’ British sphere.

The focus on human rights in this association also connected Jewish internationalism with the Protestant and Catholic internationalism present at this period which also held notions of equality as an important symbolic marker.<sup>68</sup> While Catholic clergy campaigned for the liberty of converts and coreligionists, this rarely extended to non-Catholics; for many Catholic clergy, the ‘Rights of Man’ expressed through the French Revolution remained entangled with persecution, and therefore opposed to the ‘Rights of God’.<sup>69</sup> The Anglo-Jewish Association and their activism on behalf of Middle Eastern Jewries, however, also indirectly aided British imperial interests through the maintenance of Eastern trade.

Like the *Alliance Israélite Universelle*, the Anglo-Jewish Association did not pursue legal equality for Middle Eastern Jewries, but rather strove to grant them privileges under the protection of European powers. While this improved the legal status of Middle Eastern Jews, it also further increased their separation from local societies by granting

---

<sup>65</sup> *Encyclopaedia Judaica*, s.v. ‘Anglo-Jewish Association (AJA)’.

<sup>66</sup> Patricia T. Rooke and R. L. Schnell, ‘Childhood and Charity in Nineteenth-Century British North America’, *Social History*, 15/29 (1982), 159.

<sup>67</sup> ‘Advertising’, *Jewish Herald*, 12 Dec. 1879, 12; ‘News and Notes’, *Ballarat Star*, 31 Dec. 1878, 2; ‘The Proposed Intercolonial Jewish Conference’, *Jewish Herald*, 8 Oct. 1880, 6.

<sup>68</sup> Viaene, ‘Nineteenth-Century Catholic Internationalism and its Predecessors’, 88.

<sup>69</sup> *Ibid.*

them a protected status under European countries.<sup>70</sup> Such enfranchisement was particularly useful for the British Empire and its advancing agents who encountered different Jewries as they moved into the Middle East and North Africa. During this Eastern movement, Jews emerged as key intermediaries for the British, both as employees of the growing consular corps and as local partners for British merchants.<sup>71</sup> Gaining the cooperation of Jews located in the Middle East was likely easier when such individuals and communities had vested interests in supporting British power, which had granted them specific privileges. These liberties were further supported by the Anglo-Jewish Association and their granting of a protected status to Jews located in the Middle East. Jewish internationalism had turned colonial and British Jews into agents of empire who informally advanced the imperial regime. As colonial Jews campaigned for their co-religionists in the Middle East, many likewise surveyed even further afield to Russia and its suffering Jewish population.

The anguished state of Russian Jewry became a prevalent aspect of Jewish internationalism and in the colonial Jewish consciousness as the century progressed. While Jews have a complicated history in Russia and its territories, their position deteriorated even further from the late eighteenth century as the growing population lost control over their labour and were progressively confined to the Pale of Settlement.<sup>72</sup> Lasting from 1791 to 1917, the Pale of Settlement existed as a region to the west of Imperial Russia in which Jews had permanent residency; beyond this area Jewish habitation was mostly forbidden.<sup>73</sup> Life for Jews in Russia worsened when Nicholas I became Czar in 1825. After his coronation the following year, a number of repressive laws and taxes were introduced that disenfranchised Jews and prohibited cultural and religious practices such as the growing of side locks.<sup>74</sup> When Alexander II became Czar in 1855, he gradually repealed these oppressive laws and Jews began to appear more fully in political, cultural, and economic spheres.<sup>75</sup> The situation, however, deteriorated with the assassination of Alexander II in 1881, who was followed in succession by Alexander III and the introduction of the infamous May Laws of 1882.<sup>76</sup> The distressed plight of

---

<sup>70</sup> Green, 'The British Empire and the Jews', 180; Yona, 'Anti-Semitism and the Emergence of Jewish Internationalism, 1840-1914', para. 31.

<sup>71</sup> Green, 'The British Empire and the Jews', 179.

<sup>72</sup> *Encyclopaedia Judaica*, s.v. 'Russia'.

<sup>73</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>74</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>75</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>76</sup> William D. Rubinstein and Hilary L. Rubinstein, *Philosemitism: Admiration and Support in the English-Speaking World for Jews, 1840-1939* (Hampshire: Macmillan Press, 1999), 39-40. The May Laws refer to regulative laws introduced concerning Jews, which were enacted in Russia in 1882. These laws included

Russian Jewry quickly became a popular topic in the Australian colonies and numerous public meetings were held in Melbourne, Sydney, and Adelaide, even before action was prompted amongst their English counterparts. For colonial Jewry, the contrast in positions between Russian persecution and colonial liberties may have helped to fuel this activism, nurturing a sense of responsibility to be “the keeper of his persecuted brother”, a sentiment expressed by Goldreich noted earlier in this chapter.<sup>77</sup> At times the Anglo-Jewish Association turned its attention towards Russian Jewry, using the emancipated position of British Jews to rally for communal action and to raise funds.<sup>78</sup> Advocacy on behalf of Russian Jewry was a multifaceted phenomenon that spoke to both the Jewish and imperialist understandings of colonial Jews with localised action a significant aspect of this activity.

In colonial Victoria, activism for Russian Jewry involved localised and interreligious action, which promoted ideas of empire union and colonial attachment. In 1882, Isidore Myers, the Bendigo Jewish minister, undertook a tour of the remote and regional towns in the Victorian colony to collect donations for Russian Jewry, carrying with him letters of introduction from the Church of England clergy.<sup>79</sup> Travelling to Woodend, Maldon, Echuca, and Clunes, Myers called upon both Jews and Christians to donate by holding public meetings and forming various committees to raise subscriptions after his departure.<sup>80</sup> In a public meeting held in Daylesford, Myers “gave a graphic account of the persecutions, and made a stirring appeal on behalf of the Russian sufferers”.<sup>81</sup> The meeting was “interspersed with vocal and instrumental music by local amateurs, and some humorous recitals by the Rev. Mr. Myers”.<sup>82</sup> At the end, the national anthem was sung, a dynamic and malleable symbol of collective unity, here a union of colony and empire, that was further defined by the context of its performance.<sup>83</sup> The inclusion of the national anthem suggested that those gathered for the occasion viewed their contribution

---

restricting the settlement of Jews, forbidding the issuing of loans for property or owning property outside of certain areas, and the prohibition of transacting business on Sundays or any other Christian holiday. While these laws were intended to be only temporary, they were in effect for more than thirty years.

<sup>77</sup> ‘Ballarat’, *Jewish Herald*, 23 Oct. 1891, 3.

<sup>78</sup> See ‘Anglo-Jewish Association’, *Jewish Herald*, 10 Aug. 1894, 12; ‘The Anglo-Jewish Association’, *Jewish Herald*, 27 Nov. 1896, 5; ‘The Anglo-Jewish Association’, *Jewish Herald*, 6 Dec. 1889, 12; ‘Anglo-Jewish Association’, *Jewish Herald*, 29 Aug. 1890, 10.

<sup>79</sup> ‘Notes and News’, *Jewish Herald*, 16 Jun. 1882, 7; ‘Notes and News’, *Jewish Herald*, 25 Aug. 1882, 9; ‘Notes and News’, *Jewish Herald*, 20 Oct. 1882, 9; ‘The Russo-Jewish Persecutions’, *Jewish Herald*, 2 Jun. 1882, 10.

<sup>80</sup> See above footnote.

<sup>81</sup> ‘Notes and Notes’, *Jewish Herald*, 3 Nov. 1882, 9.

<sup>82</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>83</sup> Abril, ‘A National Anthem’, 81.

towards this Jewish relief effort through their imperial subjecthood and ideals. Concerts and meetings held within local settings served to gather funds and rally support, but also to foster a sense of imperial solidarity and a British identification, as Meyer's aesthetic formations suggests. In this way, these concerts became a means to articulate, practice, and reinforce Britishness, one that drew upon Jewish international activity. Whether this communal response was localised or enacted elsewhere, the plight of Russian Jewry drew upon clear imperial ideologies.

In colonial Victoria, Jewish international activity on behalf of Russian Jewry circulated negative depictions of the Russian Empire. The colonial press often depicted Russia as "barbarous" and "backwards", or frequently referred to Russian persons as "nihilists", people who believe life to be meaningless and reject all moral and religious principles.<sup>84</sup> As an article in the *Bendigo Advertiser* claimed in 1879, Russian nihilists "wish not for the reform of political institutions, but their abolition- their annihilation", portraying the "backwards civilisation of Russia" as having "an aristocracy without political influence" and "a middle-class as scanty as unambitious".<sup>85</sup> These amoral descriptions directly contrasted the portrayal of the British Empire, a disparity that the colonial press overtly exploited. In 1878, an article published in a colonial newspaper described the Russian cruelties to Jews as "awak[ening] the passions of Britain's children in these distant colonies [that] are to be held in abhorrence".<sup>86</sup> This representation, expressed and perpetuated through Jewish internationalism, held considerable relevance for the British Empire and its ideas of imperial hegemony. Like the anti-slavery movement enacted decades before in Britain, campaigns against Russia barbarity symbolised the superiority of British political institutions.<sup>87</sup> This acted as a powerful means to legitimise Britain's claim to be arbiter of both the civilised and uncivilised world. Jewish international activism for Russian Jewry indirectly advanced the ideologies of the British Empire, developing as an arena of charitable endeavour that reinforced British hegemony and shaped colonial Jews into imperial agents.

---

<sup>84</sup> For some examples, see 'Ballarat', *Jewish Herald*, 29 Jan. 1892, 6; 'The Eastern Difficulty', *Herald*, 23 May 1878, 3; 'To-Day in Europe', *Leader*, 13 Sep. 1873, 13; 'England and Russia', *Ovens and Murray Advertiser*, 1 Jun. 1878, 3; 'Impartial Testimony', *Geelong Advertiser*, 7 Nov. 1877, 3; 'The Nihilists of Russia', *Bendigo Advertiser*, 14 Jun. 1879, 3; 'Our London Letter', *Bendigo Advertiser*, 8 Dec. 1877, 1; 'The Persecuted Jews in Russia', *Argus*, 29 May 1891, 7; 'Russia', *Advocate*, 20 Sep. 1879, 5; 'The State of Russia', *Australasian*, 7 Feb. 1880, 17.

<sup>85</sup> 'The Nihilists of Russia', *Bendigo Advertiser*, 14 Jun. 1879, 3.

<sup>86</sup> 'England and Russia', *Ovens and Murray Advertiser*, 1 Jun. 1878, 3.

<sup>87</sup> See Green, 'The British Empire and the Jews'.

Jews emerged not only as colonialists on the goldfield frontier, but also as agents who engaged in imperialistic aid and progress, impacting their place in and understandings of the British Empire. While their role as frontier colonisers diminished as settlements urbanised, their position as agents who furthered the interests of and legitimised the British Empire increased across the century. This status and the connections established through these spheres held significant relevance to their identifications. As historian Hanna Weiss Muller argued, “inhabitants who articulated their belonging to a wider community of fellow subjects also participated in a process of binding themselves to the empire”.<sup>88</sup> Jewish internationalism drew upon divergent symbols, groups, and ideals, becoming a realm of action that stretched far beyond Jews alone yet reflected their position between Judaism and British imperial subjecthood.

Through the Anglo-Jewish Association and campaigns for Russian Jewry, colonial Jews voiced and disseminated ideas of being ‘fellow subjects’ that bound them to the British Empire and to global Jewish groups. Most interestingly, the empathy displayed by both Jews and non-Jews towards Jewish international causes, such as persecuted Russian Jewry, did not extend to migration. The migration of Russian Jews to the colonies was strenuously opposed, even by assimilated Anglo Jews, as discussed in the Section Two Introduction. In participating in Jewish internationalism, Jews created and performed symbolic as well as functional relations to two global networks and imagined communities. Jewish internationalism supported a more fluid or ‘blurred’ conception of identity that could alternate between Jewish and British attachments, or expressed both simultaneously, revealing the complicated and contested nature of this activism to link disparate groups. In Bendigo and Ballarat, the British monarchy and special services further negotiated the Jewish religiosity and imperial subjecthood of colonial Jews.

### **‘God Save the Queen’: The Royal Family, Empire Belonging, and Colonial Judaism**

During the nineteenth century, the British monarchy emerged as a significant symbol of the British Empire and imperial belonging for colonial Jews, inspiring deep feelings of loyalty that found expression in the synagogue and the Jewish press. To celebrate Queen Victoria’s birthday in 1872, the *Australian Israelite* published a patriotic article on the monarch, extolling her virtues and morality by noting that she was,

---

<sup>88</sup> Hannah Weiss Muller, ‘Bonds of Belonging: Subjecthood and the British Empire’, *Journal of British Studies*, 53/4 (2014), 54.



a truly good and noble woman; the influence throughout the civilised world of the transcendent virtues of Queen Victoria will, perhaps, never be correctly estimated. Beloved and respected no less by the subjects of foreign powers than by those who owe allegiance to her, the example of her Majesty of England in her domestic as in her monarchical relations has undoubtedly had much to do in fashioning the morals of the nineteenth century... God save the Queen!<sup>89</sup>

Victoria was crowned Queen in 1838 and ascended to the throne at the age of twenty-four, the last of the House of Hanover.<sup>90</sup> With a clear grasp of constitutional principles and the scope of her own prerogative, Queen Victoria's reign saw incredible advances in communication, industry, and transportation that resulted in social upheaval for many. Victoria did not always enjoy wide public support through her rule. When the Prince Consort, Albert, died in 1861, Victoria entered into a lengthy seclusion and neglected many of her public duties, resulting in the rising unpopularity of the monarchy.<sup>91</sup> The recognition of the Queen as Empress of India in 1876 through the work of Benjamin Disraeli increased public favour. As their popularity increased, the Royal Family became central to a British identity and ideas of Britishness.<sup>92</sup>

As this chapter demonstrates, colonial Jews celebrated events held for the British monarchy, observing holidays, uttering special prayers, and holding services of thanksgiving in synagogues. Through this means, Jews defined and proclaimed their imperial subjecthood, their loyalty, and their attachment to empire ideals, whilst also maintaining a distinct Jewish religiosity. Most frequently, the Royal Family appeared in synagogue worship in the form of prayers.

Colonial Jews articulated allegiance to the Royal Family through prayers and sermons delivered during synagogue services. Customarily, public worship in synagogues included a prayer for either the monarchy or the government in power.<sup>93</sup> This act of homage often moved beyond a simple blessing, with congregations in Bendigo and Ballarat incorporating additional prayers and addresses to note specific imperial events or

---

<sup>89</sup> 'The Queen', *Australian Israelite*, 24 May 1872, 4.

<sup>90</sup> Walter L. Arnstein, *Queen Victoria* (Hampshire: Palgrave Macmillan, 2003), 42.

<sup>91</sup> *Ibid.* 109-111.

<sup>92</sup> Ward, *Britishness since 1870*, 10.

<sup>93</sup> *Encyclopaedia Judaica*, s.v. 'Government, Prayer for the'.

grievances.<sup>94</sup> These moments could be utilised by Hebrew congregations to convey specific images of colonial Jews. For example, in 1882, Israel Goldreich presented a sermon to the Ballarat Hebrew congregation on the recent failed assassination attempt on the Queen, in which he claimed that “it would be quite impossible for the synagogue to remain unmoved” by this incident.<sup>95</sup> As Goldreich noted, colonial Jews were particularly affected, “[n]ot, indeed, because the Jew claimed to be more patriotic or loyal than his non-Jewish brethren, but rather because the Jew had more reason for gratitude to the English form of Government”.<sup>96</sup> Goldreich likely felt that Jews had ‘more reason for gratitude’ as he was well-aware of the position of Jews in other countries such as Russia. While references to the failed assassination attempt may have been expected under proscribed imperial formalities, this expression of sadness was deemed natural for colonial Jews. Goldreich portrayed the Ballarat Hebrew congregation, indeed colonial Jews generally, as being in sympathy with the Royal Family, that they were moved emotionally by events surrounding the monarchy and therefore deeply attached. Alongside these special prayers and sermons to the monarchy, colonial Hebrew congregations also participated in special services for the Royal Family.

Special services, refers to the religious gatherings held in places of worship across the British Empire to commemorate the same event and date back to the sixteenth century. The practice of special services or observance was largely English in origin, and formed as a result of the perceived limitation in the Book of Common Prayer, a liturgical text then used by churches of the Anglican Communion.<sup>97</sup> While the Book of Common Prayer contained prayers of thanksgiving for several different occasions, no such prayer existed for weather events, sickness, or wars, and those included were soon deemed insufficient. Yet the Acts of Uniformity prohibited any departure from the Book of Common Prayer unless this was ordered by special authority, and when this concerned an issue of national or imperial significance, this authority was understood to mean royal power.<sup>98</sup> This also applied to Ireland, and later to Scotland, where Presbyterianism became the established church in 1689 and initially did not recognise royal supremacy.<sup>99</sup> Special services existed alongside other types of empire observance, such as fast days (which later became days of

---

<sup>94</sup> See ‘Thanksgiving for the Recovery of the Prince’, *Bendigo Advertiser*, 22 Feb. 1872, 3.

<sup>95</sup> ‘The Synagogue’, *Ballarat Star*, 6 Mar. 1882, 2.

<sup>96</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>97</sup> Philip Williamson, ‘State Prayers, Fasts and Thanksgivings: Public Worship in Britain, 1830-1897’, *Past and Present*, 200/1 (2008), 125.

<sup>98</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>99</sup> *Ibid.*

humiliation, as fast days retained ‘distasteful’ Roman Catholic connotations) or days of thanksgiving. Imperial days of fasting acted to address the collective sins of the British people which were perceived as resulting in droughts, disease, or losses at war. Whilst this type of empire observance declined from the 1860s, special services for the Royal Family remained popular.<sup>100</sup> The colonial observance of special services for the Royal Family was intended to remind settlers and migrants of their subjecthood under God and the British monarchy, that they resided in an extended British nation and were expected to demonstrate their allegiance.<sup>101</sup>

Before the mid-nineteenth century, special services in the colonies occurred weeks later than the date of observance in Britain.<sup>102</sup> As technological progress created faster ships and a wider spread of telegraph cables, special services in the colonies began to be observed simultaneously with Britain, enhancing its ability to act as a means of imperial unity. Special services was initially left to colonial governors and executives to appoint and declare observance; however, from the 1850s, missives arrived for colonial governments as imperial orders or proclamations.<sup>103</sup> While special services were not promoted by religious leaders, who were not usually consulted in advance, they remained striking instances of how governments acknowledged divine superintendence over the empire and the religious interpretations of famine, epidemics, and Royal events.<sup>104</sup> As moments of imperial unity that spanned vast geographical spaces, special services could also reveal tensions between colonial communities and groups.

Special services and days of thanksgiving could highlight religious and communal divides in colonial society. In the Australian colonies, many settlers and migrants felt a personal sense of loyalty to the Crown that resulted in the wide popularity of events celebrating the Royal Family with grandiose festivities.<sup>105</sup> For the Queen’s Golden Jubilee in 1887, the Victorian colony granted a two-day holiday and Melbourne was decked in flags and bunting which were illuminated at night, creating a festive and momentous feeling, as can be seen in Figure 7.1.<sup>106</sup> Great crowds gathered to sing ‘Rule

---

<sup>100</sup> Ibid. 124.

<sup>101</sup> Joseph Hardwick and Philip Williamson, ‘Special Worship in the British Empire: From the Seventeenth to the Twentieth Centuries’, *Studies in Church History*, 54 (2018), 260.

<sup>102</sup> Ibid. 270.

<sup>103</sup> Ibid. 271.

<sup>104</sup> Williamson, ‘State Prayers, Fasts and Thanksgivings: Public Worship in Britain, 1830-1897’, 122.

<sup>105</sup> Douglas Cole, ‘The Problem of “Nationalism” and “Imperialism” in British Settlement Colonies’, *Journal of British Studies*, 10/2 (1971), 179; Serle, *The Rush to be Rich*, 220.

<sup>106</sup> Serle, *The Rush to be Rich*, 283.

Britannia' while naval and military tournaments, a music festival, and a 'monster' demonstration were held to celebrate the jubilee.<sup>107</sup> Similar demonstrations were held in Bendigo and Ballarat as buildings were illuminated, sports events were organised, flags were hung from buildings, and great processions of bands, friendly societies, and fire brigades marched in full regalia.<sup>108</sup>

While contemporary observers remarked on the fervent loyalism of the colonies, the dedication of certain sections of society was questioned, such as the Roman Catholics.<sup>109</sup> After the 'papal aggression' in the early 1850s and later the Fenian activities of the 1860s, colonial society was critical of how Catholics participated in special services. When Catholics appointed a different fast day for the war with Russia, the newspaper *Sydney Morning Herald* considered it a "wanton and uncalled for affront to the community".<sup>110</sup> Imperial days of thanksgiving and prayer involved certain guidelines of observance, with deviance away from wider communal conventions closely watched and regarded with mistrust by others in colonial society. In this climate of both royal enthusiasm and suspicion, colonial Jews closely considered how their involvement in special services would be enacted and perceived. This negotiation was further complicated by the assumptions made regarding the religious affiliations of British subjects.

Figure 7.1: Melbourne Illuminated for the Queen's Jubilee in 1887

---

<sup>107</sup> Ibid.

<sup>108</sup> 'The Queen's Jubilee in Ballarat', *Ballarat Star*, 23 Jun. 1887, 4; 'The Queen's Jubilee', *Bendigo Advertiser*, 23 Jun. 1887, 3.

<sup>109</sup> Serle, *The Rush to be Rich*, 217.

<sup>110</sup> Joseph Hardwick, 'Special Days of Worship and National Religion in the Australian Colonies, 1790–1914', *The Journal of Imperial and Commonwealth History*, 45/3 (2017), 375.



Source: 'The Illuminations of Melbourne in Honor [sic] of the Queen's Jubilee', Samuel Calvert, 1887, David Syme and Co., accessed from the State Library of Victoria

Across the British Empire, special services directly aligned with Protestantism, which supported the Christian foundation of Britishness; however, these events could also obscure religious and ethnic boundaries. All orders for special services assumed colonists were members of a Christian faith, and were addressed specifically to clergy of the Church of Ireland, the Church of Scotland, and the Church of England.<sup>111</sup> Despite this, special services provided an opportunity for marginal sections of colonial society to signal their desire to be accepted as members of the British Empire. The British monarchy lessened divisions in the British Empire by crossing class, national, ethnic, and gendered boundaries to promote a sense of belonging without confining individuals to a single identity.<sup>112</sup> Special services enabled colonial Hebrew congregations to perform their loyalty through their distinct religiosity, which reduced perceptions of religious separateness. The Chief Rabbi of the British Empire, itself a Jewish institution shaped by

<sup>111</sup> Hardwick and Williamson, 'Special Worship in the British Empire', 272.

<sup>112</sup> Hardwick and Williamson, 'Special Worship in the British Empire', 281; Ward, *Britishness since 1870*, 28; Serle, *The Rush to be Rich*, 221.

British imperialism, issued colonial circulars that ordered and outlined a thanksgiving service of prayers for colonial synagogues that replicated worship in Christian churches. Through this means, Jewish religious adherence and wider empire allegiance were merged, coalescing the divide between the religious and the imperial for British Jews. To further demonstrate their subjecthood, Jews utilised special services to communicate their adherence to British imperial ideals.

In colonial Hebrew congregations, special services were moments of interfaith communal gathering where Jews confirmed their attachment to ideas of liberty, freedom, and enlightened government. On the Central Victorian Goldfields, special services were held in synagogues to commemorate events relating to the Royal Family with jubilee celebrations becoming a particularly pronounced occasion that included choirs, sermons, and prayers.<sup>113</sup> For the Queen's Jubilee Day in 1887, a special service was held in the Ballarat synagogue which was decorated for the occasion, much to the delight of the large numbers of Christians and Jews in attendance.<sup>114</sup> In this service, Israel Goldreich delivered an address where he discussed how during,

the reign of Queen Victoria the children of Israel had enjoyed religious and political freedom, and such being the case it was the duty of the Jews to thank God that day for the happiness and prosperity that they were enjoying under the rule of Queen Victoria.<sup>115</sup>

Goldreich's sermon was described by the local press as being "characterised by loyalty and learning", impressing his fellow imperial subjects as a worthy and fitting tribute to the Queen.<sup>116</sup> In Bendigo, the local Hebrew congregation and its presiding Jewish minister made similar allusions. When the Bendigo synagogue commemorated the Queen's Diamond Jubilee in 1897, the Jewish minister, Goldstein, "delivered an excellent address in which he referred in feeling terms to the increased liberty the Jews had obtained during the Queen's reign".<sup>117</sup> Through special services, loyalty to the Royal Family and by extension the British Empire was expressed in the synagogue space, imbuing this loyalty with faith overtones. This sentiment, however, extended beyond demonstrations of fidelity to proclaim the alliance of Jews to British imperial ideals.

---

<sup>113</sup> See 'Ladies' Column', *Ballarat Star*, 5 Jun. 1897, 1; 'The Queen's Jubilee, Services in the Churches', *Bendigo Advertiser*, 20 Jun. 1887, 3.

<sup>114</sup> 'Religious Services', *Ballarat Star*, 23 Jun. 1887, 4.

<sup>115</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>116</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>117</sup> 'The Record Reign', *Bendigo Advertiser*, 21 Jun. 1897, 3.

When Jewish ministers delivered a sermon or address on Jubilee days, imperial ideologies of liberty and freedom were frequently incorporated and connected to colonial Jewish experiences. These references to British Jews as citizens enjoying liberty and emancipation affirmed their British subjecthood, binding them to empire through shared ideals and practices conducted in a distinctly Jewish space.

Special services enabled colonial Jews to display loyalty and good imperial citizenship that defined them as part of the British Empire while simultaneously maintaining their Jewish religiosity. The Royal Family functioned as a malleable symbol, allowing religious minorities to incorporate them into alternative spaces and faith practices. This adaptability linked Jews to the British Empire as specifically Jewish citizens, who used and understood these British symbols in slightly different ways. Historian Joseph Hardwick argued that “days of prayer ... imparted a feeling of imperial belonging in the sense that they told colonists what a good citizen of empire was”.<sup>118</sup> Colonial Jews were well aware that good citizens of empire not only displayed approved modes of royal patriotism, but that subjects enjoyed and promoted the liberties of others. The opportunities provided by special services and sermons enabled goldfield Jews to practice, and more importantly to remind others, that colonial Jews were liberated British subjects, unlike their coreligionists in the Middle East and Russia. Through this means, special services in the synagogue acted to shape and reinforce Britishness, as outlined by Meyer’s concept of aesthetic formations, becoming a means to practice this ‘imagined community’ in a Jewish space. Synagogue prayers and special services for the Royal Family evolved as a religiously charged means for goldfields Jews to demonstrate their loyalty to the empire and their attachment to British imperial and colonial ideals of civilised liberty.

The different discourses which underlined the imperial and international networks of colonial Jews, of Jewish ‘blood ties’, the unenlightened Orient, and British freedom, could be modified to highlight specific relations at appropriate times. While the international and imperial activity of colonial Jews articulated disparate links, it also defined the limits of their fellowship; though they shared blood and faith ties to overseas Jewries, colonial Jews were unlike their ‘backwards’ and ‘uneducated’ brethren. In the colonial setting, their Jewish faith continued to distance them from the British Christian

---

<sup>118</sup> Hardwick, ‘Special Days of Worship and National Religion’, 373.

majority while their settler identity and claims of freedom acted to secure their imperial position. To advocate for connections with two groups was to never occupy either completely, but rather to move between them and, to certain degrees, to be both, which the 'blurring' of identifiable boundaries allowed. For Jews on the Central Victorian Goldfields, Jewish internationalism and British imperialism were not separate spheres of empire and Jewish action, but rather deeply interconnected. These joined realms were representative of Jewish and British belonging of colonial Jews. Their cries of liberty were acts of recognition, their charity towards distant Jewries a way to reinforce their colonial and imperial place; both were a means to demonstrate and assert their British privileges and entitlements, to stake their claim of a British Jewish subjecthood and Anglo-Judaism.



## Conclusion

From their beginning in the 1850s, Jewish communities and Hebrew congregations on the Central Victorian Goldfields actively negotiated their Jewish religiosity, rituals, and practices. They also considered what these shifts meant in relation to their identity and their place in colonial society. Initially, these mediations were in part a response to the limitations of the goldfield frontier and pervasive Protestant authority; however, later changes aligned more directly with the middle-class and British identifications of goldfields Jews. These negotiations worked to advance their position, with some individuals progressing from frontier settlers to imperial servicemen by the end of the century. Samuel Goldreich and his brother Leisser, the sons of Israel Goldreich, were raised in Ballarat and both became soldiers of the British Empire, fighting in the Boer War between 1900 and 1901. Throughout his enlistment, Samuel sent letters to his father which appeared as a series in the *Ballarat Star*, recounting his experiences in South Africa. As Samuel detailed in one letter,

When I last wrote I was in P.M. Burg hospital with my arm. I am pleased to inform you how well I am now, and am able to be back again to the front. I can assure you we are having quite a rough time of it now. We come in contact with the Boers nearly every day.<sup>1</sup>

From colonialists to imperial soldiers, goldfields Jews had become further embedded within the British Empire, occupying a deeply integrated place that reflected their development as British Jews.

Over half a century, the way Jews prayed, worshipped, and even how they understood themselves and their place in the colonies was negotiated as they developed and confirmed their British identity, middle-class status, and their place as equal members of colonial society. Such negotiations were complex and multifaceted as goldfields Jews sought to simultaneously maintain their religious difference, to continue to be Jewish without being the Other, a process in which they were largely successful. On the Central Goldfields, the presence of more obvious ‘Others’ who were noticeably different did also shape understandings of how Jewish settlers were positioned in a hierarchy of difference, one where Jews tended to be viewed as displaying fewer differences compared Chinese and Indigenous communities. This thesis has undertaken an in-depth examination into this

---

<sup>1</sup> ‘Letters from the Front’, *Ballarat Star*, 29 Aug. 1900, 6.

formation of a British, middle-class, and Jewish identity for goldfields Jewry. In doing so, this research has revealed the deeper tensions that emerged as identifiable boundaries blurred, as the limits of Jewish institutions were contested, and as Jewish communities debated the meaning of these shifts.

### **Negotiating Identity: New Practices and Altered Symbols**

As Jews migrated and settled on the Central Victorian Goldfields, they mediated their Jewish religiosity with their sense of Britishness and class, a tension-filled process through which new forms of religious expression emerged and traditional Orthodox practices were renegotiated. Jews adapted their religious practices in ways that were relevant and meaningful for them, seizing the opportunities provided on the goldfields to form congregations, families, and institutions that reflected their British and middle-class identity. The blurred boundary that formed between Jewish and British identifications enabled the alteration of identity symbols to become an expression of both. This negotiation resulted in disagreements within Jewish communities and Hebrew congregations as they debated the limits of acceptable reform. Often finding expression in newspapers, Jews disputed what introduced practices and symbols meant for a Jewish identity and their sense of religious distinctiveness, revealing the tensions and concerns that accompanied such shifts. In focusing on such discussions, this thesis has examined the interplay between individual decision making and collective agency in the process of acculturation and assimilation in colonial Victoria during the second half of the nineteenth century.

While most changes were sanctioned by religious leaders and congregations, goldfields Jews also contested institutional decrees and communal limits to reimagine themselves and what it meant to be a religious Jew in a colonial place. In this thesis, a more complicated narrative of acculturation and assimilation has emerged, revealing communities which not only instigated change, but continued to strongly identify with Judaism and worked to maintain some particularism. A British and Jewish identification did not become an ‘either/or’ choice as Jews maintained ties with both; however, it did require a serious and careful consideration of what this dual identity meant and how it would be expressed or performed. Such decisions were also defined by the frontier setting of the Ballarat and Bendigo Jewish communities, a process which was previously unexplored by Australian historians.

## **Colonial Society and Judaism: Beyond the Metropolitan City**

This thesis has presented the first in-depth research into the Jewish community in Bendigo, a major goldfields settlement, whilst broadening knowledge on the Ballarat Jewish community, augmenting previous histories into colonial Jewry. The current Jewish historiography centres on metropolitan cities such as Melbourne and Sydney, presenting a narrower and more urbanised narrative of colonial Judaism. This research has exposed the diverse Jewish experiences of the goldfield regions, noting how they varied from more established cities as they contended with the limitations of the frontier. The regional setting decreased accessibility to Jewish knowledge and institutions, which complicated the decisions of Jews regarding how and when they observed Jewish law. This thesis has provided an alternative reading from earlier histories which viewed acculturation and assimilation as secularising and driven by choice. Each of the thesis chapters brought scholarly focus to previously unexplored aspects of the colonial Jewish migration experience: to their sea voyages, their congregational formations, engagement with the British Royal Family, and to international voluntary action, providing foundational research into a largely forgotten part of Australian Jewish historiography.

What makes the Jewish communities and Hebrew congregations on the Central Victorian Goldfields unique was their location between the more extreme shifts underway in America and the more conservative changes enacted in Britain and Europe. As evidence in this thesis demonstrated, some synagogue and congregational changes occurred earlier on the goldfields than in other places, including Melbourne. Across the Victorian colony, the Jewish communities on the goldfields were the first to create a branch of the Anglo-Jewish Association and enabled Jewish women to decorate the synagogue or to participate in choirs earlier and more frequently. The laissez-faire attitudes of the colony and the small size of the Jewish community on the goldfields likely encouraged earlier shifts towards these changes as communities and congregations had to 'make do' with what was available. The Jewish communities and Hebrew congregations of the Central Goldfields were special not only for their differences, but also for their similarity with other colonial Jewish groups, either in Australia or America, demonstrating the enduring impact imperialism, migration, and the frontier had on Jews. Additionally, this thesis undertakes one of the first studies into the religious and social

lives of Jewish women and children on the goldfields, a significant but previously neglected area of scholarship.

The current literature on Jews in Victoria, indeed in the colonies more generally, has overlooked Jewish women and children in favour of men and male dominated institutions. This thesis builds upon the recent work undertaken by Sue Silberberg on colonial Jewish women, yet my research has extended this historiography by revealing deeper dialogues on how Jewish women interacted with and challenged both institutional, economic, and communal limits.<sup>2</sup> Few histories have been produced on faith and children in colonial Australia generally, highlighting the important contribution of this thesis, which has undertaken the first in-depth research into the complex ways gender, faith, and class impacted Jewish children and childhoods. Women and children played an important role in the changes that occurred in these Jewish communities. As this research has shown, Jewish women and children were both influenced by and contributed towards the development of a British and middle-class identity. These new histories of Jewish women and children have expanded Jewish historical knowledge on the interaction between religion, gender, and class in colonial Victoria. This research has further built upon the current religious historiography of colonial Australia to uncover how Jews contributed to larger dialogues concerning the place and role of faith on the Central Victorian Goldfields.

While this research uncovers the unique history of the Bendigo and Ballarat Jewish communities, this thesis also reveals the religious diversity of the Central Victorian Goldfields, a significant contribution towards Australian and goldfields religious history. By focusing on these Jewish communities, this investigation has added complexity to current scholarship that discusses how faith influenced families and society on the Central Victorian Goldfields, extending this discussion beyond Christian denominations to incorporate significant minority faiths. In this way, this thesis is a history of both religion in colonial society and the Jewish communities on the Central Victorian Goldfields. Alongside these contributions, the identity negotiations of the Jewish communities on the Central Victorian Goldfields emerged as a significant means to complicate current debates surrounding Britishness, religion, and colonial belonging in the nineteenth century.

---

<sup>2</sup> Silberberg, *A Networked Community* (2020).

## **Britishness in a Jewish Way: Jewish Religiosity and a British Class Identity**

While Orthodox Jewish practices and ideas were challenged or altered on the goldfields, British symbols and ideals were also amended to fit within Jewish spaces and ritual. Performing Britishness while holding other identifiable attachments could also alter the practice of Britishness itself. The action of affirming Britishness was a dialectical process that entailed significant alterations to practices and ideas, to both Britishness and to any other claimed connections. This complicates the scholarly literature that positioned this identification as an overarching identity, as was discussed in the Introduction. Britishness did not supplant older identifiable ties, yet it could redefine them, transforming the expression, performance, and understanding of earlier identifications. Through such means, Jewish settlers maintained and extended imperial discourses on Britishness, asserting its place as a felt community and connection by its shared symbols and action, a view revealed through Meyer's theory of aesthetic formations. Britishness did not stand as a separate or overarching identity, but rather became deeply entangled with other identifications. The thesis has demonstrated the primacy of British imperialism in driving social, cultural, and religious shifts within a coloniser group, whilst highlighting the ability of communities to adapt British symbols to fit within specific identities and spaces.

This thesis has built upon current historiography on the British Empire, Britishness, and religion to demonstrate how religiosity could forge a sense of similarity and connection across religious affiliations, developing further the current literature which focuses on how faith defined difference in the colonial context. Non-Christian religions were significant in shaping a sense of Britishness in the colonial setting, influencing how and in what ways both Jews and non-Jews accessed and performed imperial ideals and identities. This research has extended historical discussions of Britishness and colonial identities beyond Christian faiths, providing a more nuanced and integrated history of Britishness and religion in colonial Australia. Alongside this contribution, new theoretical approaches and primary sources were utilised, demonstrating the benefits of adopting a more inclusive framework when examining past religious groups.

## **Theory and Materials: Uncovering Religious Practice in the Past**

The incorporation of new material and novel theoretical methods provided the means to dispute older historical narratives which interpreted the Jewish community as passive and ready to assimilate. The previously unused primary sources included ship diaries, newspaper reports, and archival material, which provided for a more comprehensive and inclusive history to emerge. Alongside this material, this thesis was the first study to apply a Lived Religion approach and the aesthetic formations concept to the Victorian Jewish community. These combined frameworks, coupled with the new primary sources, revealed the daily yet often overlooked religiosity of goldfield Jews. The use of these frameworks demonstrated how the Lived Religion approach can be usefully applied to examine the lived religious experiences of colonial Jews. This theoretical foundation and source material provided a more comprehensive narrative of the community, which meaningfully connected changes in religiosity to shifts in identity and colonial status. While this thesis has added significantly to multiple historical and conceptual scholarly areas, it has also revealed several areas in which more research is required.

### **Future Directions for Research**

As this study centred upon Bendigo and Ballarat, the same findings may not be applicable for Jews who lived in goldfields settlements that did not later develop and become urbanised, as was the case on the Central Victorian Goldfields. Further research into colonial Jewish history, which this research facilitates, can overcome these limitations. Additionally, the research provided a gateway to examine colonial Jewish childhoods, another subfield containing significant gaps with little to no research previously conducted in this area. Australian Jewish history also has the potential to develop historical insight into processes of empires, a facet of Jewish studies that has only recently emerged.

More research is necessary to understand how Jews engaged with European empires as citizens, subjects, and settlers as opposed to business people and economic partners, which the current literature tends to focus on.<sup>3</sup> With additional research, a more comprehensive history will emerge on how Jews figured in the developing racial and religious imperial ideologies of the British Empire, which profited from the acceptance of Jewish coloniser groups yet also subjugated Jews encountered through imperial

---

<sup>3</sup> For some of this literature on the economic relations of Jews with the British Empire, see Cohen, 'The East as a Career', 35-77; Mendelsohn, *The Rag Race*; Cornelia Aust, *The Jewish Economic Elite: Making Modern Europe* (Bloomington, Indiana: Indiana University Press, 2018).

expansion. Such research will augment historical understandings on empires, religion, and race.

### **Beyond 1900: Hebrew Congregations into the Next Century**

The new century brought uncertainty as issues of continuity plagued the Hebrew congregations in Bendigo and Ballarat, including problems that undermined the Bendigo settlement. From 1900, there was a rapid reduction in the Jewish population on the goldfields, a continuation of the pattern of out-migration discussed in the Section Two Introduction. This decrease in population size jeopardised the Hebrew congregations. Public services were held regularly at the Bendigo synagogue until the 1920s, by which time migration out of Bendigo had severely diminished the Bendigo Jewish population.<sup>4</sup> Worship ceased as a minyan could no longer be formed. In 1925, with the synagogue in a bad state of repair, representatives of the Bendigo Hebrew congregation applied to the Governor of Victoria to dispose of the land.<sup>5</sup> Once approved, the land allotments were sold and the money held in trust for any destitute Jews to access until 1950, when it was donated to the Montefiore homes, an aged care residence, in Melbourne. In contrast, the Ballarat Jewish community maintained some strength during these decades, though they suffered from communal discord. While the Ballarat Hebrew congregation temporarily split in 1908, the community was soon reunited, maintaining regular public worship and even the Hebrew school despite their diminishing size.<sup>6</sup> Upon the death of Ballarat's long-standing Jewish minister, Israel Goldreich, in 1905, Lenzer was employed as the Jewish minister three years later in 1908.<sup>7</sup> Lenzer remained with the Ballarat Hebrew congregation until 1922, when M. Rosenthal gained the position as Jewish minister.<sup>8</sup> While the Bendigo Jewish community was dispersed and the synagogue sold, the Ballarat Hebrew congregation entered the 1930s as the last remnant of goldfields Jewry, a decade marred by war and devastation.

During the 1930s and 1940s, Jewish migration to Australia increased as Jews sought to escape the rise of Nazism in Europe or to leave after the Holocaust's devastating aftermath, further impacting Australian Jewry. While few European Jews migrated before

---

<sup>4</sup> Bendigo Regional Archives Centre, Department of Lands and Sales, *Act 201 First Schedule*, 1925.

<sup>5</sup> Ibid.

<sup>6</sup> See 'Ballarat', *Jewish Herald*, 24 Apr. 1914, 4; 'Central Hebrew Synagogue', *Ballarat Star*, 4 Oct. 1909, 6.

<sup>7</sup> 'Ballarat', *Jewish Herald*, 30 Oct. 1908, 6.

<sup>8</sup> 'Personal', *Ballarat Star*, 6 Jan. 1922, 1.

1935, the numbers of Jewish arrivals rapidly rose from the late 1930s as antisemitic activity escalated in Europe.<sup>9</sup> These incoming Jewish migrants were increasingly understood in racialised terms, deemed as unassimilable and therefore targeted for exclusion from Australian society.<sup>10</sup> Whilst their impact on the daily life of British Jews in Australia was negligible, these discourses were troubling as they complicated their integrated position and accepted place in society. Anglo-Jews continued to be considered as white, yet Eastern European Jewish migrants were deemed to be non-white, with specific questions included in immigration forms to identify and prevent the migration of Jews who had converted to a Christian denomination.<sup>11</sup> Jews who arrived during the war were classified as enemy aliens, either interned in camps or subjected to strict guidelines regarding their movements and property, further highlighting the altered social and civil views regarding Jews.<sup>12</sup> The ambivalence of dual white and non-white status prompted some Anglo-Jews to fear any increased visibility or signs of Otherness that could potentially mark Jews as a threat and endanger their communal standing.<sup>13</sup> Large numbers of Jewish migrants continued to journey to Australia, particularly after the war; a significant proportion of Holocaust survivors migrated to Australia with the greatest majority, nearly sixty per cent, settling in Melbourne.<sup>14</sup> The pre- and post-war migrants who arrived from Europe diversified the Jewish community in Australia, stimulating Jewish consciousness as Orthodox forms of worship began to predominate.<sup>15</sup> In this climate of suspicion and conflict but also religious renewal, the Ballarat Hebrew congregation continued to decline.

The Ballarat Jewish community continued to decrease as Jews relocated elsewhere or enlisted in the armed forces, though hostilities did facilitate a brief boost in synagogue attendance. Once the United States had entered the Second World War, American soldiers were posted in Ballarat, a number of whom were Jewish and frequented the local synagogue, yet such numbers were not to last.<sup>16</sup> In 1946, the Ballarat Hebrew

---

<sup>9</sup> Markus, 'Jewish Migration to Australia', 18-19.

<sup>10</sup> Stratton, 'The Colour of Jews', 55.

<sup>11</sup> Ibid. 56, 78.

<sup>12</sup> Markus, 'Jewish Migration to Australia', 24. Several internment camps were established in Australia in the early 1940s to intern Jewish refugees, including camps at Hay and Orange in New South Wales and Tatura in Victoria. Those who embarked for Australia aboard the HMT *Dunera* in 1940 later detailed the appalling conditions and experiences aboard the ship.

<sup>13</sup> Stratton, 'The Colour of Jews', 56.

<sup>14</sup> Suzanne D. Rutland, 'Debates and Conflicts: Australian Jewry, the Claims Conference and Restitution, 1945-1965', *Dapim: Studies on the Holocaust*, 28/3 (2014), 162.

<sup>15</sup> Ibid. 156.

<sup>16</sup> State Library of New South Wales, Ballarat Hebrew Congregation Committee, *Ballarat Hebrew Congregation Committee Report 1942*, 1942, 1.



congregation numbered only thirty paying members with an average attendance at Friday night services of ten, the minimum number required by Jewish law.<sup>17</sup> No Hebrew school was maintained, nor were any weekly services conducted.<sup>18</sup> Most incoming Jewish migrants tended to settle in metropolitan centres or their outer suburbs, overlooking smaller, more regional cities such as Ballarat. Attendance at weekly synagogue services decreased further in the 1950s.<sup>19</sup> The Ballarat synagogue survived thanks to the untiring efforts of a small committee of dedicated members, such as Nathan Spielvogel and Marcus Stone, who oversaw the synagogue grounds and conducted worship. Through their efforts, the Ballarat synagogue endured, becoming the oldest synagogue on the Australian mainland.

For a time, Judaism nearly vanished from the Central Victorian Goldfields, yet today it is flourishing. In the last twenty years, another Hebrew congregation has formed in Bendigo, *kehillat s'dot zahav* (The Congregation of the Fields of Gold), a progressive community which welcomes interfaith connections and attendance. In Ballarat, the Hebrew congregation and synagogue continues to hold services with members from Melbourne or the nearby locality gathering monthly for worship and High Holidays. Jewish life continues in Bendigo and Ballarat, maintaining a vibrant connection between the past and present that continues to be celebrated to this day.

---

<sup>17</sup> Australian Jewish Historical Society Archive, Ballarat Hebrew Congregation Committee, *Questionnaire Ballarat Hebrew Congregation*, 1961, 2.

<sup>18</sup> Ibid.

<sup>19</sup> Ibid.

## **Bibliography**

### **Primary Sources**

#### **Australian Jewish Historical Society Sydney Archive**

Ballarat Hebrew Congregation, *Questionnaire Ballarat Hebrew Congregation, 1961*,  
Ballarat Community, AB 175.

Ballarat Register, Ballarat Community, AB 175.

Bendigo Synagogue and Cemetery, File 63.

Benjamin Farjeon, File 136.

Geelong Community, *Rules and Regulations Geelong Synagogue*, 1854, File 24.

Levy, Hollander, Phillips Families, AB 138.

Saphir, Ibr - Samuel Cohen papers, AB 244.

Solomon Herman, File 1758.

Spielvogel, Nathan, *Annals of the Ballarat Hebrew Congregation 1927*, Ballarat Community, AB 175.

The Gold Rush, File 58.

### **Bendigo Family History Group**

Sales, Department of Lands and, Act 201 First Schedule, 1925.

Sandhurst (Bendigo) Common School Examination Register Index 1864-1868.

### **Births, Deaths, and Marriages Tasmania Register**

Birth Certificate for Ann Friedman, 15 May 1852.

### **Births, Deaths, and Marriages Victoria Register**

Birth Certificate for Abraham Levy, 13 May 1866.

Birth Certificate for Abraham Levy, 24 June 1871.

Birth Certificate for Abraham Moses Davis, 29 June 1869.

Birth Certificate for Adelaide Boxhorn, 7 January 1867.

Birth Certificate for Albert Lederman, 13 January 1860.

Birth Certificate for Alfred Flegeltaub, 21 November 1869.

Birth Certificate for Alice Sarah Cashmore, 24 June 1879.

Birth Certificate for Amelia Dancyger, 20 July 1855.

Birth Certificate for Annie Flegeltaub, 18 September 1868.

Birth Certificate for Arthur Waterman, 30 September 1875.

Birth Certificate for Benjamin Lewis, 1 January 1864.

Birth Certificate for Benjamin Thomas Jones, 26 February 1869.

Birth Certificate for Bezaleel Silberberg, 17 December 1873.

Birth Certificate for Birman Wendel, 13 July 1859.

Birth Certificate for Charles Phillip Solomon, 18 August 1860.

Birth Certificate for David Wittkowski, 1 December 1867.

Birth Certificate for Dinah Davis, 29 October 1865.

Birth Certificate for Edwin James Wood Martin, 22 June 1868.

Birth Certificate for Elias Jonas, 25 February 1859.

Birth Certificate for Elizabeth Dimant, 9 May 1857.

Birth Certificate for Elizabeth Jacobs, 24 December 1863.

Birth Certificate for Ellen Edna Book, 28 January 1895.

Birth Certificate for Ephraim Friedman, 18 August 1883.

Birth Certificate for Eva Miriam Friedman, 18 August 1875.

Birth Certificate for Fanny Salmon, 27 July 1857.

Birth Certificate for Henry Cohen, 6 March 1857.

Birth Certificate for Henry Leopold Meanowski, 3 June 1862.

Birth Certificate for Israel Flegeltaub, 8 January 1870.

Birth Certificate for Jacob Samuel Coleman, 21 January 1869.

Birth Certificate for Jeannetta Brandt, 9 February 1870.

Birth Certificate for John Fox, 21 November 1870.

Birth Certificate for John Joseph, 8 January 1856.

Birth Certificate for Joseph Henry Salmon, 26 December 1870.

Birth Certificate for Juliett Rosina Marks, 20 March 1860.

Birth Certificate for Julius Rosenblatt, 5 June 1857.

Birth Certificate for Leah Hollander, 21 February 1870.

Birth Certificate for Louis Benjamin Fels, 27 April 1872.

Birth Certificate for Louis Isaac Showman, 14 December 1868.

Birth Certificate for Louis Phillips, 29 December 1857.

Birth Certificate for Mary Alas Jacobs, 14 March 1865.

Birth Certificate for Minnie Hollander, 4 December 1891.

Birth Certificate for Miriam Flohm, 12 April 1870.

Birth Certificate for Morice Emanuel Hamburger, 22 June 1862.

Birth Certificate for Morris Phillips, 27 May 1863.

Birth Certificate for Moses Davis, 19 December 1873.

Birth Certificate for Priscilla Cohen, 7 April 1855.

Birth Certificate for Rachel Abraham, 13 January 1853.

Birth Certificate for Rachel Barnett, 5 March 1864.

Birth Certificate for Rachael Rosina Ackman, 22 December 1867.

Birth Certificate for Rachael Phillips, 10 December 1858.

Birth Certificate for Rebecca Esther Abrahams, 22 December 1868.

Birth Certificate for Rika Gerson, 24 July 1861.

Birth Certificate for Rosetta Hyams, 24 June 1865.

Birth Certificate for Rosetta Simmons, 18 July 1856.

Birth Certificate for Rupert Phillips Guckenheimer, 16 June 1891.

Birth Certificate for Sarah Bloustein, 27 June 1876.

Birth Certificate for Sarah Singer, 23 April 1857.

Birth Certificate for Samuel Goldsmid, 31 May 1855.

Birth Certificate for Samuel Rosenwax, 21 April 1858.

Birth Certificate for Simeon Karmel, 19 March 1880.

Birth Certificate for Solomon Flohm, 29 September 1867.

Birth Certificate for Theresa Dyte, 8 August 1859.

Birth Certificate for Unnamed Male Flohm, 25 May 1899.

Birth Certificate for Violet Esther Cohen, 9 July 1880.

Birth Certificate for Woolf Isaacs, 9 April 1859.

Birth Certificate for Woolf Phillips, 27 April 1871.

Birth Certificate for Thomas Kehir, 7 May 1865.

Marriage Certificate for Aaron Edward Goldstein and Fanny Vince, 11 February 1885.

Marriage Certificate for Abraham George Abrahams and Charlotte Korch, 12 February 1868.

Marriage Certificate for Abraham Jacob Feuerman and Ada Warzki, 23 May 1888.

Marriage Certificate for Adolph Louis Bickart and Adelaide Boxhorm, 23 March 1892.

Marriage Certificate for Arthur Felix Katz and Phoebe Davis, 14 July 1886.

Marriage Certificate for Barnett Harris and Minnie Goldberg, 6 December 1876.

Marriage Certificate of Francis Charles Aldworth and Ellen Aldworth nee Wootton, 10 June 1857.

Marriage Certificate for Isaac Charles Alman and Sarah Davis, 21 July 1880.

Marriage Certificate of Israel Farjeon and Bessie Cohen, 1857.

Marriage Certificate for Henry Bloch and Sarah Isaacs, 21 November 1860.

Marriage Certificate for Henry Cohen and Rachel Barnett, 14 April 1886.

Marriage Certificate for Jacob Bernstein and Julia Solomon, 7 May 1863.

Marriage Certificate for Jacob Mark Leders and Rebekah Tobias, 29 October 1873.

Marriage Certificate for John Harris Ettelson and Fredorica Windmiller, 17 October 1888.

Marriage Certificate for Joseph Wittkowski and Rosalia Kronfeld, 12 February 1873.

Marriage Certificate for Leon Crawcour and Rosa Sophia Harriette Hamburger, 21 March 1888.

Marriage Certificate for Leon May Lesser and Cyril Jean Rosenbloom, 9 November 1887.

Marriage Certificate for Louis Meanowski and Leah Alexander, 14 October 1866.

Marriage Certificate for Mark Levinson and Amelia Meanowski, 24 April 1876.

Marriage Certificate for Michael Cohen and Jane Davis, 23 January 1889.

Marriage Certificate for Michael Strienski Johnson and Fanny Levy, 26 October 1886.

Marriage Certificate for Moses Brandon and Amelia Gainsborg, 29 April 1880.  
 Marriage Certificate for Neuman Spielvogel and Hannah Cohen, 25 December 1869.  
 Marriage Certificate for Raphael Phillips and Fanny Salinger, 13 January 1869.  
 Marriage Certificate for Solomon Hyam Cantor and Rachel Davis, 2 February 1889.  
 Death Certificate for Amelia Marks, 12 December 1927.  
 Death Certificate for Annie Max, 6 October 1889.  
 Death Certificate for Elizabeth Hamburger, 5 August 1893.  
 Death Certificate for Esther Woolf, 22 March 1896.  
 Death Certificate for Hannah Cohen, 5 June 1858.  
 Death Certificate for Israel Levine, 29 April 1906.  
 Death Certificate for Israel Scharrer, 8 August 1871.  
 Death Certificate for Marion Annie Samuel, 18 October 1910.  
 Death Certificate for Rose Jonas, 28 August 1940.  
 Death Certificate for Rosina Showman, 20 January 1918.  
 Death Certificate for Selina Sternberg, 13 May 1922.

### **Books, Memoirs, and Published Letters**

Blashki, Aaron, *Blashkiana* (Melbourne: Hybrid Publishers, 2005 [1837]).  
 Colonial Land and Emigration Commissioners, *Information for People Leaving Great Britain 1854* (Victoria, Australia: Macbeth Genealogical Books, 1990).  
 Jacobs, Augusta, *Hyman Levinson 1833-1905: A Record of Some Memories* (London: Knapp Drewett & Sons Ltd., 1920).  
 Mackay, George, *The History of Bendigo* (Melbourne: Fergusson & Mitchell, 1891).  
 Mitchell, Ann M., and Fraenkel, Peter, 'Louis Monash of Melbourne to his Brother Max Monasch in Krotoschin, Posen Province, 25 May 1861', *Australian Jewish Historical Society Journal*, 20/3 (2011), 420-423.  
 Sams, Joseph, *The Diary of Joseph Sams: An Emigrant in the 'Northumberland', 1874* (London: Her Majesty's Stationery Office, 1982).  
 Thomas, Joan, *The Sea Journals of Annie and Amy Henning* (Sydney: Halstead Press, 1984).

### **College of Charleston Libraries**

Sandhurst Hebrew Congregation, 1889, from the illuminated address presented by the Victorian Jewish Community to Sir Benjamin Benjamin, Lord Mayor of Melbourne, in Honor of his Knighthood in 1889.

### **Databases accessed through Ancestry**

#### Australia

Australia, Birth Indexes 1788-1922.

Australia, Death Indexes 1787-1985.

Australia, Marriage Indexes, 1788-1950.

#### England

Census Returns for England, 1841, 1851, 1861, 1871.

England and Wales Births, 1837-1915.

England and Wales Deaths, 1837-1915.

England and Wales Marriages, 1837-1915.

### **Directories**

‘Wilson’s Business Directory 1867-68’, 1867, in U.S. City Directories, 1822-1995.

### **Jewish Museum of Australia**

‘Illuminated Address presented for Hyman Levinson from the Ballarat Hebrew Congregation’, W.N. Lansley, 1877.

### **Museums Victoria**

Dutton, Walter, *Diary - Liverpool to Melbourne, Onboard Ship ‘Sarah Dixon’*, 1858, HT 23918.

Heathcote, Ally, *Diary - Ally Heathcote, England to Melbourne, Victoria, Onboard 'SS Northumberland', 1874, 1874, HT 1104.*

O'Shea, M.P., *Diary - M.P. O'Shea, Onboard Clipper Ship 'Eastern Cit', Liverpool-Melbourne, 1857, 1857, HT 15834.*

### **National Library of Australia**

Gratton, Annie, *Diary, 1858 June 5-Sept. 18, 1858, NLA MS 3304.*

### **National Maritime Museum**

Armstrong, Mary, *Diary of Mary Armstrong, Matron on the Emigrant Ship SEVERN in 1863, 1863, 00018289.*

### **Newspapers and Journals**

*Advocate*

*Argus*

*Australasian*

*Australian Israelite*

*Ballarat Courier*

*Ballarat Star (Star)*

*Bendigo Advertiser*

*Bendigo Independent*

*Colonial Times*

*Courier*

*Empire*

*Geelong Advertiser*

*Geelong Advertiser and Intelligencer*

*Herald*

*Hobart Town Daily Mercury*

*Jewish Chronicle*



*Jewish Herald*

*Leader*

*Launceston Advertiser*

*Mercury*

*Mount Alexander Mail*

*Ovens and Murray Advertiser*

*Port Phillip Gazette and Settler's Journal*

*Portland Guardian and Normanby General Advertiser*

*Tasmanian Colonist*

*The Voice of Jacob*

### **Parliamentary Report and Censuses**

*Census of Victoria, 1861: Population Table, Religions of the People* (Melbourne: John Ferres Government Printer, 1863-64).

*Census of Victoria, 1871: General Report and Appendices* (Melbourne: John Ferres Government Printer).

*Census of Victoria, 1881: General Report with Summary Tables, Diagrams, and Map* (Melbourne: John Ferres Government Printer).

*Census of Victoria, 1891: Part IX Occupations of the People* (Melbourne: Robert Brain Government Printer, 1892).

*Report from the Select Committee upon Ballarat Riots- Bentley's Hotel* (Melbourne: John Ferres Government Printer).

*Statistical Register of the Colony of Victoria for the Year 1891 Population* (Melbourne: Robert S. Brain Government Printer).

### **Public Records Office of Victoria**

Cohen Simone Royal Mail Hotel, 1878, VPRS 407/0000.

Index to Assisted Inward Passenger Lists to Victoria, 1839-1871.

Index to Wills, Probate and Administration Records 1841-2009

\* PROV Wills, VPRS 7591, P0002, Unit 379.

\* PROV Wills, VPRS 7591, P0002, Unit 62.

\* PROV Wills, VPRS 7591, P0002, Unit 379.

\* PROV Wills, VPRS 7591, P0001, Unit 34.

\* PROV Wills, VPRS 7591, P0002, Unit 503.

#### Death Inquest Depositions, 1840-1961

\* Inquest Deposition Files, VPRS 24, P0000, Unit 163.

\* Inquest Deposition Files, VPRS 24, P0000, Unit 60.

#### Unassisted Inward Overseas Passenger Lists 1868, VPRS 947.

#### State Library of New South Wales

Ring, James, *Transcript Diary of My Voyage from London to Wellington, New Zealand, in the Ship Pleione*, 1879, MS-Papers-7512.

#### State Library of South Australia

Judell, Leopold, *Diary of His Voyage from Hamburg to Adelaide May 17th, 1870 – August 18th, 1870*, D 8257, Geoff Noller (tr.).

#### State Library of Victoria

‘The Illuminations of Melbourne in Honor of the Queen’s Jubilee’, Samuel Calvert, 1887, IAN25/05/87/112, David Syme and Co.

Davis, Fanny, *Diary*, 3 June 1858-10 Sept. 1858, MS 10509.

Graham, Mrs William, *Diary*, 1863, MS 10438.

Joseph, Solomon, *Jews in Australia: Manuscript, Photocopies, Photographs- Shipboard Diary of Solomon Joseph*, 1859, MS 8553.

Laver, Samuel, *Diary*, 1859 July-1859 September, 1859, MS 10961.

Levi, Nathaniel, *Diary*, 1853 Dec. 7-1854 April 27, 1853-1854, MS 8021.

Selig, Benjamin Aaron, *Circumcision Book, 1849-1862*, 1849-1862, MS 13693.

## Secondary Sources

### Books, Book Sections, and Journal Articles

Abrams, Jeanne E., *Jewish Women Pioneering the Frontier Trail: A History in the American West* (New York: New York University Press, 2006).

Abril, Carlos R. , 'A National Anthem: Patriotic Symbol or Democratic Action?', in David G. Hebert and Alexandra Kertz-Welzel (eds.), *Patriotism and Nationalism in Music Education* (London: Routledge, 2016).

Alba, Richard, 'Bright vs. Blurred Boundaries: Second-Generation Assimilation and Exclusion in France, Germany, and the United States', *Ethnic and Racial Studies*, 28/1 (2005), 20-49.

---, and Duyvendak, Jan Willem, 'What about the Mainstream? Assimilation in Super-Diverse Times', *Ethnic and Racial Studies*, 42/1 (2019), 105-124.

---, and Nee, Victor, 'Rethinking Assimilation Theory for a New Era of Immigration', *The International Migration Review*, 31/4 (1997), 826-874.

Albanese, Catherine L., *America: Religions and Religion* (Boston: Wadsworth, 2013).

Alcalay, Ammiel, 'Exploding Identities: Notes on Ethnicity and Literary History', *Jewish Social Studies*, 1/2 (1995), 15-27.

Anderson, Benedict, *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism* (London: Verso, 2006).

Anderson, Warwick, *The Cultivation of Whiteness: Science, Health, and Racial Destiny in Australia* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2006).

Anijar, Karen, 'Jewish Genes, Jewish Jeans: A Fashionable Body', in Linda B. Arthur (ed.), *Religion, Dress, and the Body* (Oxford: Berg, 2000).

Annear, Robyn, *Nothing But Gold: The Diggers of 1852* (Melbourne: The Text Publishing Company, 1999).

Anzaldúa, Gloria, *Borderlands/La Frontera: The New Mestiza* (San Francisco: Spinsters, 1987).

Appelbaum, Diana Muir, 'Jewish Identity and Egyptian Revival Architecture', *Journal of Jewish Identities*, 5/2 (2012), 1-25.

Apple, Rev. Raymond, *Rabbi Jacob Levi Saphir and His Voyage to Australia* (Sydney: Australian Jewish Historical Society, 1968).

- Applegate, Celia, 'The Building of Community through Choral Singing', in Donna M. Di Grazia (ed.), *Nineteenth-Century Choral Music* (New York: Routledge, 2013).
- Ariel, Yaakov, 'An Unexpected Alliance: Christian Zionism and its Historical Significance', *Modern Judaism*, 26/1 (2006), 74-100.
- Ariès, Philippe, *Centuries of Childhood: A Social History of Family Life* (New York: Random House, 1962).
- Armitage, David, *The Ideological Origins of the British Empire* (Cambridge, England: Cambridge University Press, 2000).
- Arnstein, Walter L., *Queen Victoria* (Hampshire: Palgrave Macmillan, 2003).
- Aron, Joseph, and Arndt, Judy, *The Enduring Remnant: The First 150 Years of the Melbourne Hebrew Congregation 1841-1991* (Carlton, Victoria: Melbourne University Press, 1992).
- Arweck, Elisabeth, and Keenan, William, 'Introduction: Material Varieties of Religious Expression', in Elisabeth Arweck and William Keenan (eds.), *Materializing Religion: Expression, Performance and Ritual* (Hampshire: Ashgate, 2006).
- Asher, Louise, 'Martha Clendinning: A Woman's Life on the Goldfields', in Marilyn Lake and Kelly Farley (eds.), *Double Time: Women in Victoria - 150 years* (Ringwood, Victoria: Penguin Books, 1985).
- Atkinson, Alan, *The Europeans in Australia: Volume One - The Beginning* (Sydney: University of New South Wales Press, 2016).
- Attwood, Bain, *The Good Country: The Djadja Wurrung, the Settlers and the Protectors* (Clayton, Victoria: Monash University Publishing, 2017).
- Aust, Cornelia, *The Jewish Economic Elite: Making Modern Europe* (Bloomington, Indiana: Indiana University Press, 2018).
- Aviv, Caryn S., and Shneer, David, *New Jews: The End of the Jewish Diaspora* (New York: New York University Press, 2005).
- Bağlı, Hümanur, 'Material Culture of Religion: New Approaches to Functionality in Islamic Objects', *Design Journal*, 18/3 (2015), 305-325.
- Bagnall, Kate, "'To His Home at Jembaicumbene": Women's Cross-Cultural Encounters on a Colonial Goldfields', in Jacqueline Leckie, Angela McCarthy, and Angela Wanhalla (eds.), *Migrant Cross-Cultural Encounters in Asia and the Pacific* (London and New York: Routledge, 2017).
- Baines, Dudley, *Emigration from Europe 1815-1930* (Cambridge, England: Cambridge University Press, 1995).

- , 'European Emigration, 1815-1930: Looking at the Emigration Decision Again', *The Economic History Review*, 47/3 (August 1994), 525-544.
- Ballantyne, Tony, and Burton, Antoinette (eds.), *Moving Subjects: Gender, Mobility and Intimacy in the Age of Global Empire* (Chicago: University of Illinois Press, 2009).
- Banfield, Stephen, 'Towards a History of Music in the British Empire: Three Export Studies', in Kate Darian-Smith, Patricia Grimshaw, and Stuart Macintyre (eds.), *Britishness Abroad: Transnational Movements and Imperial Cultures* (Melbourne: Melbourne University Press, 2007).
- Bar-Yosef, Eitan, and Valman, Nadia, "*The Jew*" in *Late-Victorian and Edwardian Culture Between the East End and East Africa* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2009).
- Bartal, Israel, *The Jews of Eastern Europe, 1772-1881* (Pennsylvania: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2011).
- Bartrop, Paul R., 'Living within the Frontier: Early Colonial Australia, Jews, and Aborigines', in Sander L. Gilman and Milton Shain (eds.), *Jewries at the Frontier: Accommodation, Identity, Conflict* (Chicago: University of Illinois Press, 1999).
- Bate, Weston, *Lucky City: The First Generation at Ballarat 1851-1901* (Melbourne: Melbourne University Press, 2003).
- Baumgarten, Elisheva, *Mothers and Children: Jewish Family Life in Medieval Europe* (Princeton, New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 2004).
- Bellanta, Melissa and Sleight, Simon, 'The Leary Larrikin: Street Style in Colonial Australia', *Cultural and Social History*, 11/2 (2014), 263-283.
- Ben-Moshe, Danny, and Segev, Zohar, *Israel, the Diaspora and Jewish Identity* (Sussex: Sussex Academic Press, 2007).
- Bennett, Linda A., Wolin, Steven J., and McAvity, Katherine J., 'Family Identity, Ritual, and Myth: A Cultural Perspective on Life Cycle Transitions', in Celia Jaes Falicov (ed.), *Family Transitions: Continuity and Change over the Life Cycle* (New York: Guilford Press, 1988).
- Berkovitz, Jay, 'Acculturation and Integration in Eighteenth-Century Metz', *Jewish History*, 24/3 (2010), 271-294.
- Berrol, Selma, 'Class or Ethnicity: The Americanized German Jewish Woman and Her Middle Class Sisters in 1895', *Jewish Social Studies*, 47/1 (1985), 21-32.

- Berry, John W., 'Acculturation and Adaptation in a New Society', *International Migration*, 30 (1992), 69-86.
- , 'Acculturation: Living Successfully in Two Cultures', *International Journal of Intercultural Relations*, 29 (2005), 697-712.
- Biale, David (ed.), *Cultures of the Jews: A New History* (New York: Schocken Books, 2002).
- , Galchinsky, Michael, and Heschel, Susan (eds.), *Insider/Outsider: American Jews and Multiculturalism* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1998).
- Bickford-Smith, Vivian, 'Revisiting Anglicisation in the Cape Colony', in Carl Bridge and Kent Fedorowich (eds.), *The British World: Diaspora, Culture, and Identity* (London: Frank Cass, 2003).
- Bielo, James S., *Emerging Evangelicals: Faith, Modernity, and the Desire for Authenticity* (New York: New York University Press, 2011).
- Bingham, Adrian, 'Reading Newspapers: Cultural Histories of the Popular Press in Modern Britain', *History Compass*, 10/2 (2012), 140-150.
- Boivin, Nicole, 'Grasping the Elusive and Unknowable: Material Culture in Ritual Practice', *Material Religion*, 5/3 (2009), 266-287.
- Boles, John B., 'Turner, the Frontier, and the Study of Religion in America', *Journal of the Early Republic*, 13/2 (1993), 205-216.
- Boucher, Leigh, 'Race, Rights and the Re-forming Settler Polity in Mid-Nineteenth Century', *Journal of Australian Colonial History*, 15 (2013), 83-104.
- Boyarin, Daniel, 'Homotopia: The Feminized Jewish Man and the Lives of Women in Late Antiquity', *Differences: A Journal of Feminist Cultural Studies*, 7/2 (1995), 41-82.
- , *Unheroic Conduct: The Rise of Heterosexuality and the Invention of the Jewish Man* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1997).
- , and Boyarin, Jonathan, 'Diaspora: Generation and the Ground of Jewish Identity', *Critical Inquiry*, 19/4 (1993), 693-725.
- Boyarin, Jonathan, *Jewish Families* (New Brunswick, New Jersey: Rutgers University Press, 2013).
- , and Boyarin, Daniel (eds.), *Jews and Other Differences: The New Jewish Cultural Studies* (Minnesota: University of Minnesota Press, 1997).
- Boyce, James, *1835: The Founding of Melbourne and the Conquest of Australia* (Collingwood, Victoria: Black Inc., 2011).

- Bradford, Tolly, *Prophetic Identities: Indigenous Missionaries on British Colonial Frontiers, 1850-75* (Canada: UBC Press, 2012).
- Bräunlein, Peter J., 'Thinking Religion Through Things: Reflections on the Material Turn in the Scientific Study of Religion', *Method and Theory in the Study of Religion*, 28/4-5 (2016), 365-399.
- Breen, Lauren J., 'The Researcher "in the Middle": Negotiating the Insider/Outsider Dichotomy', *The Australian Community Psychologist*, 19/1 (2007), 163-174.
- Bregoli, Francesca and Francesconi, Federica, 'Tradition and Transformation in Eighteenth-Century Europe: Jewish Integration in Comparative Perspective', *Jewish History*, 24/3-4 (2010), 235-246.
- Brenner, Michael, Liedtke, Rainer, and Rechter, David, *Two Nations: British and German Jews in Comparative Perspective* (London: Leo Baeck Institute, 1999).
- Breward, Ian, *A History of the Australian Churches* (Sydney: Allen and Unwin, 1993).
- Brinkmann, Tobias, "'We are Brothers! Let us Separate": Jews and Community Building in American Cities during the 19th Century', *History Compass*, 11/10 (2013), 869-879.
- Brodkin, Karen, *How Did Jews Become White Folks and What Does That Say about Race in America?* (New Brunswick, New Jersey: Rutgers University Press, 1999).
- Bronner, Simon J. (ed.), *Jewishness: Expression, Identity, and Representation* (Oxford: The Littman Library of Jewish Civilization, 2008).
- Brown, Callum, *The Death of Christian Britain* (Oxford: Routledge, 2009).
- Brown, Linda Keller, and Mussell, Kay, *Ethnic and Regional Foodways in the United States: The Performance of Group Identity* (Knoxville, Tennessee: The University of Tennessee Press, 1984).
- Brown, Penny, *The Captured World: The Child and Childhood in Nineteenth-Century Women's Writing in England* (New York: Harvester Wheatsheaf, 1993).
- Browning, Don, Bunge, Marcia J., and Bluebond-Langner, Myra, *Children and Childhood in World Religions: Primary Sources and Texts* (New Brunswick, New Jersey: Rutgers University Press, 2009).
- Brubaker, Rogers, 'The Return of Assimilation? Changing Perspectives on Immigration and its Sequels in France, Germany, and the United States', *Ethnic and Racial Studies*, 24/4 (2001), 531-548.
- , and Cooper, Frederick, 'Beyond "Identity"', *Renewal and Critique in Social Theory*, 29/1 (2000), 1-47.

- Buckser, Andrew, 'Keeping Kosher: Eating and Social Identity among the Jews of Denmark', *Ethnology*, 38/3 (1999), 191-209.
- Burman, Rickie, "'She Looketh Well to the Ways of Her Household": The Changing Role of Jewish Women in Religious Life, c. 1880 -1930', in Gail Malmgreen (ed.), *Religion in the Lives of English Women* (Kent, England: Croom Helm, 1986).
- Bush, Barbara, *Imperialism and Postcolonialism* (Oxon, England: Routledge, 2014).
- Cahir, Fred, *Black Gold: Aboriginal People on the Goldfields of Victoria, 1850-1870* (Victoria: Griffin Press, 2012).
- Calchinsky, Michael, 'Africans, Indians, Arabs, and Scots: Jewish and Other Questions in the Age of Empire', *Jewish Culture and History*, 6/1 (2003), 46-60.
- Cambridge, Ada, *The Three Miss Kings* (London: Virago, 1987).
- Cardell, Kerry, and Cumming, Cliff (eds.), *A World Turned Upside Down: Cultural Change on Australia's Goldfields 1851-2001* (Australian Capital Territory: The Australian National University, 2001).
- Carey, Hilary, 'Companions in the Wilderness? Missionary Wives in Colonial Australia, 1788-1900', *Journal of Religious History*, 19/2 (1995), 227-248.
- , 'Death, God and Linguistics: Conversations with Missionaries on the Australian Frontier, 1824-1845', *Australian Historical Studies*, 40/2 (2009), 161-177.
- , *God's Empire: Religion and Colonialism in the British World, c. 1801-1908* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2011).
- , 'Religion and Society', in Deryck M. Schreuder and Stuart Ward (eds.), *Australia's Empire* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008).
- , 'Subordination, Invisibility and Chosen Work: Missionary Nuns and Australian Aborigines, c. 1900-1949', *Australian Feminist Studies*, 13/28 (1998), 251-267.
- (ed.), *Empires of Religion* (London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2008).
- Carling, Jørgen, Erdal, Marta Bivand, and Ezzati, Rojan, 'Beyond the Insider-Outsider Divide in Migration Research', *Migration Studies*, 2/1 (2014), 36-54.
- Carment, David, 'The Wills Massacre of 1861: Aboriginal-European Conflict on the Colonial Australian Frontier', *Journal of Australian Studies*, 4/6 (1980), 49-55.
- Cesarani, David (ed.), *The Making of Modern Anglo-Jewry* (Great Britain: Basil Blackwell, 1990).
- (ed.), *Port Jews: Jewish Communities in Cosmopolitan Maritime Trading Centres, 1550-1950* (London and New York: Routledge, 2014).



- Chavura, Stephen A., Gascoigne, John, and Tregenza, Ian, *Reason, Religion, and the Australian Polity: A Secular State?* (Oxon, England: Routledge, 2019).
- Clark, Christopher, and Ledger-Lomas, Michael, 'The Protestant International', in Abigail Green and Vincent Viaene (eds.), *Religious Internationals in the Modern World: Globalization and Faith Communities since 1750* (Hampshire: Palgrave Macmillan, 2012).
- Clark, Victoria, *Allies for Armageddon: The Rise of Christian Zionism* (London: Yale University Press, 2007).
- Clarke, Frank G., *The History of Australia* (Connecticut: Greenwood Press, 2002).
- Claydon, Tony, and McBride, Ian (eds.), *Protestantism and National Identity: Britain and Ireland, c. 1650-1850* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2007).
- Cleall, Esme, *Missionary Discourse of Difference: Negotiating Otherness in the British Empire, 1840-1900* (Hampshire: Palgrave Macmillan, 2012).
- Clifford, James, *Routes: Travel and Translation in the Late Twentieth Century* (Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 1997).
- Cohen, Deborah, *Household Gods: The British and their Possessions* (London: Yale University Press, 2006).
- , 'Who was Who? Race and Jews in Turn-of-the-Century', *Journal of British Studies*, 41/4 (2002), 460-483.
- Cohen, Erik H., 'Symbols of Diaspora Jewish Identity: An International Survey and Multi-Dimensional Analysis', *Religion*, 38/4 (2008), 293-304.
- Cohen, Julia Phillips, 'The East as a Career: Far Away Moses & Company in the Marketplace of Empires', *Jewish Social Studies: History, Culture, Society*, 21/2 (2016), 35-77.
- Cohen, Lysbeth, *Beginning with Esther: Jewish Women in New South Wales from 1788* (Sydney, New South Wales: Ayers & James, 1987).
- Cohen, Mara W., *Jewish Women Homesteaders on the Plains* (Springfield, Missouri: Missouri State University, 2016).
- Cohen, Naomi W., *Jews in Christian America: The Pursuit of Religious Equality* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1992).
- Cohen, Shaye, *The Beginnings of Jewishness: Boundaries, Varieties, Uncertainties* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1999).
- Cohn, Alan Alexander, Cohn, Jack Magnus, and Cohn, Lawrence Julius, *Tablets of Memory: The Bendigo Cohns and Their Descendant 1853-1989* (Doncaster, Victoria: Antelope Press, 1990).

- Cole, Douglas, 'The Problem of "Nationalism" and "Imperialism" in British Settlement Colonies', *Journal of British Studies*, 10/2 (1971), 160-182.
- Colley, Linda, 'Britishness and Otherness: An Argument', *Journal of British Studies*, 31/4 (1992), 309-329.
- , *Britons: Forging the Nation, 1707-1837* (London: Yale University Press, 1992).
- Collinson, Patrick, 'The Beginning of English Sabbatarianism', *Studies in Church History*, 1 (1961), 207-221.
- Comaroff, Jean, and Comaroff, John, *Of Revelation and Revolution: Christianity, Colonialism, and Consciousness in South Africa* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1991).
- Connor, John, *The Australian Frontier Wars, 1788-1838* (Sydney: UNSW Press, 2002).
- Cooper, Frederick, *Colonialism in Question: Theory, Knowledge, History* (California: University of California Press, 2005).
- Cordea, Diana, 'Two Approaches on the Philosophy of Separate Spheres in Mid-Victorian England: John Ruskin and John Stuart Mill', *Procedia-Social and Behavioral Sciences*, 71 (2013), 115-122.
- Cox, Jeffrey, *The British Missionary Enterprise since 1700* (New York: Routledge, 2007).
- Cramer, Lorinda, 'Keeping Up Appearances: Genteel Women, Dress and Refurbishing in Gold-Rush Victoria, Australia', *Textile*, 15/1 (2017), 48-67.
- , 'Making "Everything They Want But Boots": Clothing Children in Victoria, Australia, 1840-1870', *Costume: Journal of Costume Society*, 51/2 (2017), 190-209.
- , 'Making a Home in Gold-rush Victoria: Plain Sewing and the Genteel Woman', *Australian Historical Studies*, 48/2 (2017), 213-226.
- Crane, Diana and Bovone, Laura, 'Approaches to Material Culture: The Sociology of Fashion and Clothing', *Poetics*, 34/6 (2006), 319-333.
- Crotty, Martin, 'Manly and Moral: The Making of Middle-Class Men in the Australian Public School', *The International Journal of the History of Sport*, 17/2-3 (2000), 10-30.
- Crown, Alan, 'The Jewish Press in Australia', *Arts: The Journal of the Sydney University Arts Association*, 15/1 (2012), 87-107.
- Curthoys, Ann, 'White, British, and European: Historicising Identity in Settler Societies', in Jane Carey and Claire McLisky (eds.), *Creating White Australia* (Sydney: Sydney University Press, 2009).

- Curthoys, Ann, and Lake, Marilyn (eds.), *Connected Worlds: History in Transnational Perspective* (Canberra: Australian National University Press, 2005).
- Curtin, Emma, 'Gentility Afloat: Gentlewomen's Diaries and the Voyage to Australia, 1830-1880', *Australian Historical Studies*, 26/105 (1995), 634-652.
- Dalrymple, F. Rawdon, 'Reflections on Chanan Reich's Australia and the "Yom Kippur" War of 1973', *The Australian Journal of Jewish Studies*, 26 (2012), 31-36.
- Darwin, John, *The Empire Project: The Rise and Fall of the British World-System, 1830-1970* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2011).
- Davidoff, Leonore, and Hall, Catherine, *Family Fortunes: Men and Women of the English Middle Class, 1780-1850* (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1987).
- Davidson, Terry, *Jewish Worship in Bendigo (Sandhurst): An Overview of Religious Observation 1853–2017* (Bendigo, Victoria: Victoria Bendigo Historical Society Inc., 2017).
- Davie, Michael, *Anglo-Australian Attitudes* (London: Secker and Warburg, 2000).
- Davis, Natalie Zemon, 'Regaining Jerusalem: Eschatology and Slavery in Jewish Colonization in Seventeenth-Century Suriname', *The Cambridge Journal of Postcolonial Literary Inquiry*, 3/1 (2016), 11–38.
- Davison, Graeme, *The Rise and Fall of Marvellous Melbourne* (Melbourne: Melbourne University Press, 1978).
- Deaux, Kay, and Ethier, Kathleen A., 'Negotiating Social Identity', in Janet K. Swim and Charles Stangor (eds.), *Prejudice: The Target's Perspective* (California: Academic Press, 1998).
- Dee, David, 'Sport or Shul? Physical Recreation, Anglo-Jewry and the Jewish Sabbath, ca. 1890-1939', *Jewish Historical Studies*, 44/2012 (2012), 7-26.
- Dekel, Irit, Forchtner, Bernhard, and Efe, Ibrahim, 'Circumcising the Body: Negotiating Difference and Belonging in Germany', *National Identities*, (2019), 1-19.
- Dekel-Chen, Jonathan, 'Activism as Engine: Jewish Internationalism, 1880s-1980s', in Abigail Green and Vincent Viaene (eds.), *Religious Internationalists in the Modern World: Globalization and Faith Communities since 1750* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2012).
- , 'East European Jewish Migration: Inside and Outside', *East European Jewish Affairs*, 44/2-3 (2014), 154-170.
- DellaPergola, Sergio, 'Patterns of American Jewish Fertility', *Demography*, 17/3 (1980), 261-273.

- Derosas, Renzo, 'Between Identity and Assimilation: Jewish Fertility in Nineteenth-Century Venice', in Renzo Derosas and Frans van Poppel (eds.), *Religion and the Decline of Fertility in the Western World* (Dordrecht, Netherlands: Springer, 2006).
- Dessing, Nathal M., Jeldtoft, Nadia, and Woodhead, Linda, *Everyday Lived Islam in Europe* (New York: Routledge, 2016).
- Diemling, Maria and Ray, Larry, "'Where do you Draw the Line?': Negotiating Kashrut and Jewish Identity in a Small British Reform Community', *Food, Culture & Society*, 17/1 (2014), 125-142.
- Dimont, Max I., *The Jews in America* (New York: Simon and Schuster, 1978).
- Diner, Hasia R., 'Entering the Jewish Mainstream of Modern Jewish History: Peddlers and the American Jewish South', in Marcie Cohen Ferris and Mark I. Greenberg (eds.), *Jewish Roots in Southern Soil: A New History* (Massachusetts: University Press of New England, 2006).
- , *A Time for Gathering: The Second Migration, 1820-1880* (Maryland, Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1992).
- Docker, John, *1492: The Poetics of Diaspora* (London and New York: Continuum, 2001).
- Doggett, Anne, "'The Old Vexed Question": Divergent Attitudes and Practices in the Sacred Music of Early Ballarat', *Journal of Religious History*, 33/4 (2009), 401-417.
- Droogan, Julian, *Religion, Material Culture and Archaeology* (London: Bloomsbury 2013).
- Durkheim, Emile, *The Elementary Forms of Religious Life* (New York: Free Press, 1995).
- Dutton, David, *Citizenship in Australia: A Guide to Commonwealth Government Records* (New South Wales: National Archives of Australia, 2000).
- Dwyer, Sonya Corbin and Buckle, Jennifer L., 'The Space Between: On Being an Insider-Outsider in Qualitative Research', *International Journal of Qualitative Methods*, 8/1 (2009), 54-63.
- Dwyer-McNulty, Sally, *Common Threads: A Cultural History of Clothing in American Catholicism* (North Carolina: University of North Carolina Press, 2014).
- Edmonds, Penelope, 'Travelling "Under Concern": Quakers James Backhouse and George Washington Walker Tour the Antipodean Colonies, 1832-41', *The Journal of Imperial and Commonwealth History*, 40/5 (2012), 769-788.
- Edney, Matthew H., *Mapping an Empire: The Geographical Construction of British India, 1765-1843* (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1997).

- Eisen, Arnold, 'The Case for "Assimilation" and Diaspora', *Jewish Quarterly Review*, 106/4 (2016), 450-458.
- Elazar, Daniel J., 'Jewish Frontier Experiences in the Southern Hemisphere: The Cases of Argentina, Australia, and South Africa', *Modern Judaism*, 3/2 (1983), 129-146.
- , and Medding, Peter, *Jewish Communities in Frontier Societies: Argentina, Australia, and South Africa* (New York: Holmes & Meier, 1983).
- Ellenson, David, 'A Disputed Precedent: The Prague Organ in Nineteenth-Century Central-European Legal Literature and Polemics', *The Leo Baeck Institute Yearbook*, 40/1 (1995), 251-264.
- , 'The Role of Reform in Selected German-Jewish Orthodox Responsa: A Sociological Analysis', *Hebrew Union College Annual*, 53 (1982), 357-380.
- Elliott, Jane, 'The Politics of Antipodean Dress: Consumer Interests in Nineteenth Century Victoria', *Journal of Australian Studies*, 21/52 (1997), 20-33.
- Encel, Sol, 'The Demographic History of the New South Wales Jewish Community 1933-1966', *Jewish Social Studies*, 34/2 (1972), 140-154.
- Endelman, Todd, 'Anglo-Jewish Historiography and the Jewish Historiographical Mainstream', *Jewish Culture and History*, 12/1-2 (2010), 28-40.
- , *Broadening Jewish History: Towards a Social History of Ordinary Jews* (London: The Littman Library of Jewish Civilization, 2011).
- , 'The Frankaus of London: A Study in Radical Assimilation, 1837-1967', *Jewish History*, 8/1-2 (1994), 117-154.
- , *The Jews of Britain, 1656 to 2000* (Los Angeles: University of California Press, 2002).
- , *Radical Assimilation in English Jewish History, 1656-1945* (Indiana: Indiana University Press, 1990).
- Engelke, Matthew, 'Material Religion', in Robert A. Orsi (ed.), *The Cambridge Companion to Religious Studies* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2011).
- English, Helen J., *Music and World-Building in the Colonial City: Newcastle, NSW, and its Townships, 1860-1880* (Oxon, England: Routledge, 2021).
- Estraikh, Gennady, 'On the Acculturation of Jews in Late Imperial Russia', *La Rassegna Mensile di Israel*, 62/1/2 (1996), 217-228.
- Evans, Eric, 'Englishness and Britishness: National Identities, c.1790-1870', in Alexander Grant and Keith J. Stringer (eds.), *Uniting the Kingdom? The Making of British History* (London: Routledge, 2003).

- Evans, Nicholas J., 'Work in Progress: Indirect Passage from Europe Transmigration via the UK, 1836–1914', *Journal for Maritime Research*, 3/1 (2001), 70-84.
- Fahey, Charles, 'Bendigo 1881-1901: A Demographic Portrait of a Victorian Provincial Town', in Patricia Grimshaw, Chris McConville, and Ellen McEwen (eds.), *Families in Colonial Australia* (Sydney: George Allen & Unwin, 1985).
- , and Mayne, Alan, "'All that Glitters...': The Hidden History of Victoria's Central Goldfields Region", in Charles Fahey and Alan Mayne (eds.), *Gold Tailings: Forgotten Histories of Family and Community on the Central Victorian Goldfields* (Melbourne: Australian Scholarly Publishing, 2010).
- Farjeon, Eleanor, *A Nursery in the Nineties* (London: V. Gollancz, 1935).
- Featherstone, Guy, 'The Nunawading Messiah: James Fisher and Popular Millenarianism in Nineteenth-Century Melbourne', *Journal of Religious History*, 26/1 (2002), 42-64.
- Fedele, Anna, *Looking for Mary Magdalene: Alternative Pilgrimage and Ritual Creativity at Catholic Shrines in France* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2013).
- Feldman, David, 'Jews and the British Empire c.1900', *History Workshop Journal*, 63/1 (2007), 70-89.
- Fitzgerald, John, *Big White Lie: Chinese Australians in White Australia* (Sydney: University of New South Wales Press, 2007).
- Fitzpatrick, David, *Oceans of Consolation: Personal Accounts of Irish Migration to Australia* (Carlton, Victoria: Melbourne University Press, 1995).
- Forrest, J. and Sheskin, I.M., 'Strands of Diaspora: The Resettlement Experience of Jewish Immigrants to Australia', *Journal of International Migration and Integration*, 16/4 (2015), 911-927.
- Foster, Robert, Nettelbeck, Amanda, and Hosking, Rick, *Fatal Collisions: The South Australian Frontier and the Violence of Memory* (Kent Town, South Australia: Wakefield Press, 2001).
- Foucault, Michel, 'Of Other Space: Utopias and Heterotopias', *Architecture /Mouvement/ Continuité*, 16/1 (1967), 22-27.
- Frame, Tom, *Anglicans in Australia* (Sydney: UNSW Press, 2007).
- Frankel, Jonathan, *The Damascus Affair: "Ritual Murder", Politics, and the Jews in 1840* (Cambridge, England: Cambridge University Press, 1997).
- Franzosi, Roberto, 'The Press as a Source of Socio-Historical Data: Issues in the Methodology of Data Collection from Newspapers', *Historical Methods: A Journal of Quantitative and Interdisciplinary History*, 20/1 (1987), 5-16.

- Freedman, Jonathan, *Klezmer America: Jewishness, Ethnicity, Modernity* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2009).
- Frühauf, Tina, *The Organ and Its Music in German-Jewish Culture* (Michigan: The University of Michigan Press, 2009).
- Gair, Susan, 'Feeling Their Stories: Contemplating Empathy, Insider/Outsider Positionings, and Enriching Qualitative Research', *Qualitative Health Research*, 22/1 (2012), 134-143.
- Gartner, Lloyd P., 'Jewish Migrants en Route from Europe to North America: Traditions and Realities', *Jewish History*, 1/2 (1986), 49-66.
- Gascoigne, John, 'The Expanding Historiography of British Imperialism', *The Historical Journal*, 49/2 (2006), 577-592.
- Getzler, Israel, *Neither Toleration nor Favour: The Australian Chapter of Jewish Emancipation* (Melbourne: Melbourne University Press, 1970).
- Gilman, Abraham, *The Emancipation of the Jews in England, 1830-1860* (New York: Garland Publishing, 1982).
- Gilman, Sander L., 'Introduction: The Frontier as a Model for Jewish History', in Sander L. Gilman and Milton Shain (eds.), *Jewries at the Frontier: Accommodation, Identity, Conflict* (Chicago: University of Illinois Press, 1999).
- , *The Jew's Body* (New York and London: Routledge, 1991).
- , *Jewish Frontier: Essay on Bodies, Histories, and Identities* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2003).
- Glazer, Nathan, 'Is Assimilation Dead?', *The Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science*, 530/1 (1993), 122-136.
- Godden, Judith, 'British Models and Colonial Experience: Women's Philanthropy in Late Nineteenth Century Sydney', *Journal of Australian Studies*, 10/19 (1986), 40-55.
- Goffman, Erving, 'The Nature of Deference and Demeanor', *American Anthropologist*, 58/3 (1956), 473-502.
- , *The Presentation of Self in Everyday Life* (London: Allen Lane, 1969).
- , *Stigma: Notes on the Management of Spoiled Identity* (London: Penguin Books, 1968).
- Goldberg, Chad Alan, *Modernity and the Jews in Western Social Thought* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2017).
- Goldlust, John, 'Jewish Continuity in Australia', in Leslie Stein and Sol Encel (eds.), *Continuity, Commitment, and Survival: Jewish Communities in the Diaspora* (Westport, Connecticut: Praeger, 2003).

- Goldman, Karla, *Beyond the Synagogue: Finding a Place for Women in American Judaism* (Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 2009).
- Goldman, Lazarus Morris, *The Jews in Victoria in the Nineteenth Century* (Melbourne, Victoria: L.M Goldman, 1954).
- Goldstein, Eric L., *The Price of Whiteness: Jews, Race, and American Identity* (Princeton, New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 2006).
- Goodman, David, 'The Gold Rushes of the 1850s', in Alison Bashford and Stuart Macintyre (eds.), *The Cambridge History of Australia* (Cambridge, England: Cambridge University Press, 2013).
- Gordis, Robert, 'The Sabbath- Cornerstone and Capstone of Jewish Life', *Judaism*, 31/1 (1982), 6-11.
- Gordon, Eleanor, and Nair, Gwyneth, *Public Lives: Women, Family and Society in Victorian Britain* (London: Yale University Press, 2003).
- Gordon, Milton, *Assimilation in American Life: The Role of Race, Religion, and National Origins* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1964).
- Gotzmann, Andreas, and Wiese, Christian (eds.), *Modern Judaism and Historical Consciousness: Identities, Encounters, Perspectives* (Boston: Leiden, 2007).
- Gouttman, Rodney, 'A Jew, and Coloured Too! Immigration of "Jews of Middle East Origin" to Australia, 1945-58', *Immigrants & Minorities*, 12/1 (1993), 75-91.
- Green, Abigail, 'The British Empire and the Jews: An Imperialism of Human Rights?', *Past and Present*, 199/1 (2008), 175-205.
- , 'Nationalism and the "Jewish International": Religious Internationalism in Europe and the Middle East c.1840-c.1880', *Comparative Studies in Society and History*, 50/2 (2008), 535-558.
- , 'Old Networks, New Connections: The Emergence of the Jewish International', in Abigail Green and Vincent Viaene (eds.), *Religious Internationals in the Modern World: Globalization and Faith Communities since 1750* (Hampshire: Palgrave Macmillan, 2012).
- , 'Sir Moses Montefiore and the Making of the "Jewish International"', *Journal of Modern Jewish Studies*, 7/3 (2008), 287-307.
- , and Viaene, Vincent, 'Introduction: Rethinking Religion and Globalization', in Abigail Green and Vincent Viaene (eds.), *Religious Internationals in the Modern World: Globalization and Faith Communities since 1750* (Hampshire: Palgrave Macmillan, 2012).



- Grewal, Inderpal, *Home and Harem: Nation, Gender, Empire and the Cultures of Travel* (London: Duke University Press, 1996).
- Grimshaw, Patricia, 'Women and the Family in Australian History', in Elizabeth Windschuttle (ed.), *Women, Class and History: Feminist Perspectives on Australia 1788-1978* (Melbourne: Fontana Books, 1980).
- , and Fahey, Charles, 'Family and Community in Nineteenth-Century Castlemaine', in Patricia Grimshaw, Chris McConville, and Ellen McEwen (eds.), *Families in Colonial Australia* (Sydney: George Allen & Unwin, 1985).
- , and Willett, Graham, 'Women's History and Family History: An Exploration of Colonial Family Structure', in Norma Grieve and Patricia Grimshaw (eds.), *Australian Women: Feminist Perspectives* (Melbourne: Oxford University Press, 1981).
- Grundy, Denis, 'The Political Economy of the Denominational System of Schools in Victoria', *Critical Studies in Education*, 23/1 (1981), 120-155.
- Gunther, Plaut W., *The Rise of Reform Judaism: A Sourcebook of its European Origins* (Nebraska: University of Nebraska Press, 2015).
- Haines, Robin, 'The Idle and the Drunken Won't Do There: Poverty, the New Poor Law, and Nineteenth Century Government Assisted Emigration to Australia from the United Kingdom', *Australian Historical Studies*, 27/108 (1997), 1-21.
- , 'Indigent Misfits or Shrewd Operators? Government-Assisted Emigrants from the United Kingdom to Australia, 1831-1860', *Population Studies*, 48/2 (July 1994), 223-247.
- , *Life and Death in an Age of Sail: The Passage to Australia* (Sydney: University of New South Wales Press, 2003).
- , and Shlomowitz, Ralph, 'Immigration from the United Kingdom to Colonial Australia: A Statistical Analysis', *Journal of Australian Studies*, 16/34 (1992), 43-52.
- Hall, Catherine, *Civilising Subjects: Metropole and Colony in the English Imagination 1830-1867* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2002).
- Hall, Dianne and Malcolm, Elizabeth, '"English Institutions and the Irish Race": Race and Politics in Late Nineteenth-Century Australia', *Australian Journal of Politics & History*, 62/1 (2016), 1-15.
- Hall, Stuart, 'Cultural Identity and Diaspora', in Jonathan Rutherford (ed.), *Identity: Community, Culture, Difference* (London: Lawrence & Wishart, 1990).

- , *The Fateful Triangle: Race, Ethnicity, Nation* (Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 2017).
- , 'Introduction: Who Needs Identity?', in Stuart Hall and Paul Du Gay (eds.), *Questions of Cultural Identity* (London: Sage, 1996).
- Hansen, Karen Tranberg, 'The World in Dress: Anthropological Perspectives on Clothing, Fashion, and Culture', *Annual Review of Anthropology*, 33 (2004), 369-392.
- Hardwick, Joseph, 'Special Days of Worship and National Religion in the Australian Colonies, 1790–1914', *The Journal of Imperial and Commonwealth History*, 45/3 (2017), 365-390.
- , and Williamson, Philip, 'Special Worship in the British Empire: From the Seventeenth to the Twentieth Centuries', *Studies in Church History*, 54 (2018), 260-280.
- Harris-Shapiro, Carol, 'Bloody Shankbones and Braided Bread: The Food Voice and the Fashioning of American Jewish Identities', *Food & Foodways*, 14/2 (2006), 67-90.
- Hart, Mitchell B., *Jews and Race: Writings on Identity and Difference, 1880-1940* (Massachusetts: Brandeis University Press, 2011).
- Hartley, L.P., *The Go-Between* (London: Penguin, 1953).
- Hassam, Andrew, *Sailing to Australia: Shipboard Dairies by Nineteenth-Century British Emigrants* (Melbourne: Melbourne University Press, 1995).
- Hazard, Sonia, 'The Material Turn in the Study of Religion', *Religion and Society*, 4/1 (2013), 58-78.
- Hemming, Peter J. and Madge, Nicola, 'Researching Children, Youth and Religion: Identity, Complexity and Agency', *Childhood*, 19/1 (2011), 38-51.
- Hempton, David, *Methodism: Empire of the Spirit* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2005).
- Herbert, Trevor, and Barlow, Helen, *Music and the British Military in the Long Nineteenth Century* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2013).
- Hess, Jonathan M., *Germans, Jews and the Claims of Modernity* (London: Yale University Press, 2002).
- Heyrman, Peter, 'Belgian Catholic Entrepreneurs' Organizations, 1880 to 1940', *Zeitschrift für Unternehmensgeschichte*, 56/2 (2017), 163-186.
- Heywood, Colin, *A History of Childhood: Children and Childhood in the West from Medieval to Modern Times* (Cambridge, England: Polity Press, 2001).

- Heywood, Sophie, 'Missionary Children: The French Holy Childhood Association in European Context, 1843-1914', *European History Quarterly*, 45/3 (2015), 446-466.
- Higgins, David, *Romantic Englishness: Local, National, and Global Selves, 1780-1850* (Hampshire: Palgrave Macmillan, 2014).
- Hödl, Klaus, 'From Acculturation to Interaction: A New Perspective on the History of the Jews in Fin-De-Siecle Vienna', *Shofar*, 25/2 (2007), 82-103.
- Hoffman, Christhard, 'Constructing Jewish Modernity: Mendelssohn Jubilee Celebrations within Germany Jewry 1829-1929', in Rainer Liedtke and David Rechter (eds.), *Towards Normality? Acculturation and Modern German Jewry* (Leo Baeck Institute: London, 2003).
- Holmes, Andrew R., 'Protestants and "Greater Ireland": Mission, Migration, and Identity in the Nineteenth Century', *Irish Historical Studies*, 41/160 (2017), 275-285.
- Hopkins, Nick and Greenwood, Ronni Michelle, 'Hijab, Visibility and the Performance of Identity', *European Journal of Social Psychology*, 43/5 (2013), 438-447.
- Horne, Sandy, "'That Isaac Gorta - He was a Good Man": Reconstructing the History of a Jewish Migrant during Gympie's Gold Rush Period', *Queensland History Journal*, 22/5 (2014), 416-422.
- Hoyt Jr., William D., 'Thomas Donaldson on the Materials of History, 1846: An Early Advocate of Newspapers as Sources', *Mississippi Valley Historical Review*, 21/1 (1945), 77-88.
- Hume, Lynne, *The Religious Life of Dress: Global Fashion and Faith* (London: Bloomsbury, 2013).
- Hunnicut, Benjamin Kline, 'The Jewish Sabbath Movement in the Early Twentieth Century', *American Jewish History*, 69/2 (1979), 196-225.
- Hyman, Paula, *Gender and Assimilation in Modern Jewish History: The Roles and Representations of Women* (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1995).
- , 'Jewish Fertility in Nineteenth Century France', in Paul Ritterband (ed.), *Modern Jewish Fertility* (Leiden, Netherlands: Brill, 1981).
- , *The Jews of Modern France* (Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1998).
- , 'We are all Post-Jewish Historians Now: What American Jewish History Brings to the Table', *American Jewish History*, 95/1 (2009), 53-60.
- Imhoff, Sarah, 'The Myth of American Jewish Feminization', *Jewish Social Studies*, 21/3 (2016), 126-152.

- Israel, Jonathan I., *Diasporas Within a Diaspora: Jews, Crypto-Jews and the World Maritime Empires (1540–1740)* (Leiden, The Netherlands: Brill, 2002).
- Jackson, Hugh R., *Churches and People in Australia and New Zealand, 1860-1930* (Wellington, New Zealand: Allen and Unwin, 1987).
- Jacobs, Augusta, *Hyman Levinson 1833-1905: A Record of Some Memories* (England: Knapp Drewett & Sons Ltd., 1920).
- Jaggs, Donella, *Neglected and Criminal: Foundations of Child Welfare Legislation in Victoria* (Melbourne: Phillip Institute of Technology, 1986).
- Jarvis, Anthea, 'The Dress Must Be White, and Perfectly Plain and Simple: Confirmation and First Communion Dress, 1850–2000', *Costume: The Journal of Costume Society*, 41/1 (2007), 83-98.
- Jenkins, Richard, *Social Identity* (London: Routledge, 2014).
- Jensen, Sune Q., 'Othering, Identity Formation and Agency', *Qualitative Studies*, 2/2 (2011), 63-78.
- Jiménez, Tomás, *The Other Side of Assimilation: How Immigrants are Changing American Life* (California: University of California Press, 2017).
- John, Richard R., 'Taking Sabbatarianism Seriously: The Postal System, the Sabbath and the Transformation of American Political Culture', *Journal of the Early Republic*, 10/4 (1990), 517-567.
- Jones, Jennifer, 'Faith and Failure on the Australian Goldfields: Gendered Interpretations of Piety and the "Good Death"', *Journal of Religious History*, 43/4 (2019), 460-477.
- , 'Tale of Two Widows: Marriage, Widowhood, and Faith on Bendigo Goldfield, 1859–1869', *Journal of Religious History*, 43/2 (2019), 234-250.
- Jones, Timothy Willem, 'Introduction', in Timothy Willem Jones and Lucinda Matthews-Jones (eds.), *Material Religion in Modern Britain: The Spirit of Things* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2015).
- , and Matthews-Jones, Lucinda (eds.), *Material Religion in Modern Britain: The Spirit of Things* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2015).
- , and Wright, Clare, 'The Goldfields' Sabbath: A Postsecular Analysis of Social Cohesion and Social Control on the Ballarat Goldfields, 1854', *Journal of Religious History*, 43/4 (December 2019), 447-459.
- Judd, Eleanore, 'Intermarriage and the Maintenance of Religio-Ethnic Identity A Case Study: The Denver Jewish Community', *Journal of Comparative Family Studies*, 21/2 (1990), 251.

- Judd, Robin, *Contested Rituals: Circumcision, Kosher Butchering, and Jewish Political Life in Germany 1843-1933* (London: Cornell University Press, 2007).
- Kahn-Harris, Keith, and Gidley, Ben, *Turbulent Times: The British Jewish Community Today* (London and New York: Continuum, 2010).
- Kaiser, Max, “‘Jewish Culture is Inseparable From the Struggle Against Reaction’: Forging an Australian Jewish Antifascist Culture in the 1940s’, *Fascism*, 9/1-2 (2020), 34-55.
- Kalmar, Ivan Davidson, ‘Moorish Style: Orientalism, the Jews, and Synagogue Architecture’, *Jewish Social Studies*, 7/3 (2001), 68-100.
- Kalmijn, Matthijs et al., ‘The Family Factor in Jewish-Gentile Inter-marriage: A Sibling Analysis of The Netherlands’, *Social Forces*, 84/3 (2006), 1347-1358.
- Kaplan, Debra, ‘Jews in Early Modern Europe: The Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries’, *History Compass*, 10/2 (2012), 191-206.
- Kaplan, Marion A., *The Making of the Jewish Middle Class: Women, Family, and Identity in Imperial Germany* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1991).
- , ‘Redefining Judaism in Imperial Germany: Practices, Mentalities, and Community’, *Jewish Social Studies*, 9/1 (2002), 1-33.
- Katz, David S., *The Jews in the History of England, 1485-1850* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1994).
- Katz, Ethan B., Leff, Lisa Moses, and Mandel, Maud S., ‘Introduction: Engaging Colonial History and Jewish History’, in Ethan B. Katz, Lisa Moses Leff, and Maud S. Mandel (eds.), *Colonialism and the Jews* (Indiana, United States of America: Indiana University Press, 2017).
- Katz, Jacob, ‘German Culture and the Jews’, in Jehuda Reinharz and Walter Schatzberg (eds.), *The Jewish Response to German Culture: From the Enlightenment to the Second World War* (Hanover, New Hampshire: University of New England Press, 1985).
- Kaye, Bruce (ed.), *Anglicanism in Australia: A History* (Carlton, Victoria: Melbourne University Press, 2002).
- Kenny, Robert, ‘Broken Treaty: Taungurung Responses to the Settler Revolution in Colonial Victoria’, in Kate Fullager and Michael A. McDonnell (eds.), *Facing Empire: Indigenous Experiences in a Revolutionary Age* (Baltimore, Maryland: John Hopkins University Press, 2018).
- Kerber, Linda K., ‘Separate Spheres, Female Worlds, Woman’s Place: The Rhetoric of Women’s History’, *The Journal of American History*, 75/1 (1988), 9-39.

- Kerstetter, Katie, 'Insider, Outsider, or Somewhere Between: The Impact of Researchers' Identities on the Community-Based Research Process', *Journal of Rural Social Sciences*, 27/2 (2012), 99-117.
- Kingston, Beverley, *My Wife, My Daughter, and Poor Mary Ann: Women and Work in Australia* (Melbourne, Australia: Nelson, 1975).
- , 'Women in Nineteenth Century Australian History', *Labour History*, 67 (1994), 84-96.
- Kirshenblatt, Mayer, and Kirshenblatt-Gimblett, Barbara, *They Called Me Mayer July: Painted Memories of a Jewish Childhood in Poland before the Holocaust* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2007).
- Knepper, Paul, 'The British Empire and Jews in Nineteenth Century Malta', *Journal of Modern Jewish Studies*, 9/1 (2010), 49-69.
- Knott, Kim, 'Insider/Outsider Perspectives', in John Hinnells (ed.), *The Routledge Companion to the Study of Religion* (Oxon, England: Routledge, 2005).
- , *The Location of Religion* (London: Equinox Publishing, 2005).
- Kociumbas, Jan, *Australian Childhood: A History* (Sydney: Allen & Unwin, 1997).
- Kogman, Tal, 'The Emergence of Scientific Literature in Hebrew for Children and Youth in the Nineteenth Century: Preliminary Directions for Research', *Jewish Culture and History*, 17/3 (2016), 249-263.
- Kopytoff, Igor, 'The Cultural Biography of Things: Commoditization as Process', in Arjun Appadurai (ed.), *The Social Life of Things: Commodities in Cultural Perspective* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1986).
- Kraemer, David, *Jewish Eating and Identity Through the Ages* (New York and London: Routledge, 2007).
- Kravel-Tovi, Michal, 'As If It Was Ours All Along: Precarious Belonging, Jewish Habitus and the Materialisation of Conversion in Israel', *Ethnos*, 83/5 (2018), 949-967.
- Kusow, Abdi M., 'Beyond Indigenous Authenticity: Reflections on the Insider/Outsider Debate in Immigration Research', *Symbolic Interaction*, 26/4 (2003), 591-599.
- Kwasitsu, Lishi, 'Some Aspects of the Printing and Distribution of the "Bendigo Advertiser"', *Bulletin*, 16/2 (1992), 75-83.
- Lake, Marilyn, 'Frontier Feminism and the Marauding White Man: Australia, 1990s to 1940s', in Ruth Pierson and Nupur Chaudhuri (eds.), *Nation, Empire, Colony: Historicising Gender and Race* (Indiana: Indiana University Press, 1998).
- Lake, Meredith, *The Bible in Australia: A Cultural History* (Sydney: UNSW Press, 2018).

- Lamy, Michelle Gezentsvey, 'Four Corners of the Diaspora: A Psychological Comparison of Jewish Continuity in Major Cities in New Zealand, Australia, Canada and the United States', in Stanley D. Brunn (ed.), *The Changing World Religion Map: Sacred Places, Identities, Practices and Politics* (Dordrecht: Springer Netherlands, 2015).
- Landau, Melanie, Wolski, Nathan, and Fagenblat, Michael, *New Under the Sun: Jewish Australians on Religion, Politics & Culture* (Melbourne: Black Inc., 2006).
- Laoire, Caitríona Ní, 'Discourses of Nation among Migrants from Northern Ireland: Irishness, Britishness and the Spaces In-Between', *Scottish Geographical Journal*, 118/3 (2002), 183-199.
- Laqueur, Walter, *A History of Zionism* (London: Weidenfeld and Nicolson, 1972).
- Laslo, Ella Stiniguță, 'Purity and Impurity in Judaism: Taboo Foods and the Kashrut Laws', *Studia Judaica*, 22/1 (2017), 137-157.
- Latour, Bruno, *Reassembling the Social: An Introduction to Actor–Network Theory* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2005).
- Lentin, Alana, *Why Race Still Matters* (Cambridge, England: Polity Press, 2020).
- Lester, Alan, *Imperial Networks: Creating Identities in Nineteenth Century South Africa and Britain* (London: Routledge, 2005).
- Levene, Alys, 'Jewish Households and Religious Identity in Mid-Nineteenth Century Britain', *Journal of Family History*, 43/3 (2018), 281-301.
- Levi, John S., *These Are The Names: Jewish Lives in Australia, 1788-1850* (Melbourne: The Miegunyah Press, 2006).
- Levine, Joseph A., 'Judaism and Music', in Guy L. Beck (ed.), *Sacred Sound: Experiencing Music in World Religions* (Ontario: Wilfrid Laurier University Press, 2006).
- Liedtke, Rainer, and Rechter, David (eds.), *Towards Normality?: Acculturation and Modern German Jewry* (London: Leo Baeck Institute, 2003).
- Lieffers, Caroline, "'Every Family Might be its Own Economical Housekeeping Company (Limited)': Managing the Middle-Class Home in Nineteenth-Century England', *Women's History Review*, 21/3 (2012), 447-472.
- Limerick, Patricia Nelson, *The Legacy of Conquest: The Unbroken Past of the American West* (New York: WW Norton & Company, 1988).
- , and White, Richard, *The Frontier in American Culture* (Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1994).

- Linden, Bob van der, *Music and Empire in Britain and India: Identity, Internationalism, and Cross-Cultural Communication* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2013).
- Lipman, V.D., *Three Centuries of Anglo-Jewish History: A Volume of Essays* (Cambridge, England: Published for the Jewish Historical Society of England by W. Heffer, 1961).
- Lowenstein, Steven M, 'Jewish Inter-marriage in Germany and Austria', *Modern Judaism*, 25/1 (2005), 23-61.
- Luttrell, John, "'Australianizing" the Local Catholic Church: Polding to Gilroy', *Journal of Religious History*, 36/3 (2012), 335-350.
- Mackay, George, *The History of Bendigo* (Melbourne: Fergusson & Mitchell, 1891).
- MacKenzie, John M, 'Irish, Scottish, Welsh and English Worlds? A Four-Nation Approach to the History of the British Empire', *History Compass*, 6/5 (2008), 1244-1263.
- MacRaild, Donald M., *The Irish Diaspora in Britain, 1750-1939* (Hampshire, England: Palgrave Macmillan, 2011).
- Makdisi, Ussama, *The Culture of Sectarianism: Community, History, and Violence in Nineteenth-Century Ottoman Lebanon* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2000).
- Mansfield, Bruce, 'Thinking about Australian Religious History', *Journal of Religious History*, 15/3 (1989), 330-344.
- Marcus, Ivan G., *Rituals of Childhood: Jewish Acculturation in Medieval Europe* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1998).
- Markus, Andrew, *Fear and Hatred: Purifying Australian and California 1850-1901* (Sydney: Southwood Press, 1979).
- , 'Jewish Migration to Australia 1938-49', *Journal of Australian Studies*, 7/13 (1983), 18-31.
- , and Taft, Margaret, 'Postwar Immigration and Assimilation: A Reconceptualisation', *Australian Historical Studies*, 46/2 (2015), 234-251.
- Martin, David, 'Music and the Aesthetic in Worship and Collective Singing: England since 1840', *Society*, 53/6 (2016), 647-655.
- Mass, Sarah, 'Sunday Rites or Sunday Rights? Anglo-Jewish Traders and the Negotiability of the Mid-Century Sabbath', *History of Retailing and Consumption*, 2/1 (2016), 68-83.
- Mayer, Egon, *Love and Tradition: Marriage between Jews and Christians* (United States of America: Plenum, 1985).



- Maynard, Margaret, *Fashioned from Penury: Dress as Cultural Practice in Colonial Australia* (Melbourne: Cambridge University Press, 1994).
- McCalman, Iain, Cook, Alexander, and Reeves, Andrew, *Gold: Forgotten Histories and Lost Objects of Australia* (Cambridge, England: Cambridge University Press, 2001).
- McConville, Chris, 'The Victorian Irish: Emigrants and Families, 1851-91', in Patricia Grimshaw, Chris McConville, and Ellen McEwen (eds.), *Families in Colonial Australia* (Sydney: George Allen & Unwin, 1985).
- McDannell, Colleen, *Material Christianity: Religion and Popular Culture in America* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1995).
- McDonald, Peter F., *Marriage in Australia: Age at First Marriage and Proportions Marrying, 1860-1971* (Canberra: The Australian National University, 1974).
- McGuire, Meredith B., *Lived Religion: Faith and Practice in Everyday Life* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2008).
- , 'Religion and Healing the Mind/Body/Self', *Social Compass*, 43/1 (1996), 101-116.
- , 'Religion and the Body: Rematerializing the Human Body in the Social Sciences of Religion', *Journal for the Scientific Study of Religion*, 29/3 (Sept. 1990), 283-296.
- , and Kantor, Debra, *Ritual Healing in Suburban America* (New Jersey: Rutgers University Press, 1988).
- McKay, Heather A., *Sabbath and Synagogue: The Question of Sabbath Worship in Ancient Judaism* (Boston: Brill, 2001).
- McNairn, Jeffrey, "'Everything was New, yet Familiar": British Travellers, Halifax and the Ambiguities of Empire', *Acadiensis*, 36/2 (2007), 28-54.
- McPherson, Bernice, 'A Colonial Feminine Ideal: Femininity and Representation', *Journal of Australian Studies*, 12/2 (1994), 5-17.
- Medding, Peter Y. et al., 'Identity in Conversionary and Mixed Marriages', *American Jewish Year Book*, 92 (1992), 3-76.
- Melleuish, Gregory, 'The History of Liberty in Australia', *Policy: A Journal of Public Policy and Ideas*, 23/1 (2007), 33-36.
- , 'A Secular Australia? Ideas, Politics and the Search for Moral Order in Nineteenth and Early Twentieth Century Australia', *Journal of Religious History*, 38/3 (2014), 398-412.
- Mendelsohn, Adam, 'Not the Retiring Kind: Jewish Colonials in England in the Mid Nineteenth Century', in Ethan B. Katz, Lisa Moses Leff, and Maud S. Mandel (eds.), *Colonialism and the Jews* (Indiana: Indiana University Press, 2017).

- , *The Rag Race: How Jews Sewed Their Way to Success in America and the British Empire* (New York: New York University Press, 2015).
- , 'The Sacrifices of the Isaacs: The Diffusion of New Models of Religious Leadership in the English-Speaking Jewish World', in Ava Fran Kahn (ed.), *Transnational Traditions: New Perspectives on American Jewish History* (Detroit, Michigan: Wayne State University Press, 2014).
- , 'Tongue Ties: The Emergence of the Anglophone Jewish Diaspora in the Mid-Nineteenth Century', *American Jewish History*, 93/2 (2007), 177-209.
- Merriam, Sharan B. et al., 'Power and Positionality: Negotiating Insider/Outsider Status Within and Across Cultures', *International Journal of Lifelong Education*, 20/5 (2001), 405-416.
- Meyer, Birgit, *Aesthetic Formations: Media, Religion, and the Senses* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2009).
- , 'Material Mediations and Religious Practices of World-Making', in Knut Lundby (ed.), *Religion Across Media: From Early Antiquity to Late Modernity* (Oxford: Peter Lang, 2013).
- , et al., 'The Origin and Mission of Material Religion', *Religion*, 40/3 (2010), 207-211.
- Meyer, Michael A., "'How Awesome is this Place!': The Reconceptualisation of the Synagogue in Nineteenth-Century Germany', *The Leo Baeck Institute Yearbook*, 41/1 (1996), 51-63.
- , *Judaism within Modernity: Essays on Jewish History and Religion* (Detroit: Wayne State University Press, 2001).
- , 'Modernity as a Crisis for the Jews', *Modern Judaism*, 9/2 (1989), 151-164.
- , and Myers, David N. (eds.), *Between Jewish Tradition and Modernity: Rethinking an Old Opposition* (Detroit, Michigan: Wayne State University Press, 2014).
- Meyers, Helene, *Identity Papers: Contemporary Narratives of American Jewishness* (New York: Suny Press, 2011).
- Morgan, Marjorie, *National Identities and Travel in Victorian Britain* (New York: Palgrave, 2001).
- Morgan, Sue, and de Vries, Jacqueline (eds.), *Women, Gender and Religious Cultures in Britain, 1800-1940* (Oxon, England: Routledge, 2010).
- Moses, A. Dirk (ed.), *Genocide and Settler Society: Frontier Violence and Stolen Indigenous Children in Australian History* (New York: Berghahn Books, 2004).
- Moskoff, William Velvel and Gayle, Carol, 'Jewish Bakers in Late Nineteenth-Century Great Britain and Sunday Baking Restrictions', *Shofar*, 35/1 (2016), 51-67.

- Mullett, Michael A., *Catholics in Britain and Ireland, 1558-1829* (London: Macmillan, 1998).
- Musgrove, Nell, *The Scars Remain: A Long History of Forgotten Australians and Children's Institutions* (Melbourne: Australian Scholarly Publishing, 2013).
- Nance, Beverley, 'The Level of Violence: Europeans and Aborigines in Port Phillip, 1835–1850', *Australasian Historical Studies*, 19/77 (1981), 532-552.
- Nash, David, 'Reconnecting Religion with Social and Cultural History: Secularization's Failure as a Master Narrative', *Cultural and Social History*, 1/3 (2004), 302-325.
- Nasson, Bill, *Britannia's Empire: Making a British World* (Virginia: University of Virginia Press, 2004).
- Neckerman, Kathryn M., Carter, Prudence, and Lee, Jennifer, 'Segmented Assimilation and Minority Cultures of Mobility', *Ethnic and Racial Studies*, 22/6 (1999), 945-965.
- Ngai, Mae M., 'Chinese Miners, Headmen, and Protectors on the Victorian Goldfields, 1853–1863', *Australasian Historical Studies*, 42/1 (2011), 10-24.
- Nisbet, Robert, *The Sociology of Emile Durkheim* (London: Heinemann, 1975).
- Nissan, Ephraim, 'What is in a Busby, What is in a Top-Hat: Tall Hats, and the Politics of Jewish Identity and Social Positioning', *The Australian Journal of Jewish Studies*, 22 (2008), 129-191.
- O'Brien, Anne, 'Religion', in Alison Bashford and Stuart Macintyre (eds.), *The Cambridge History of Australia* (Melbourne: Cambridge University Press, 2013).
- O'Brien, Charmaine, *The Colonial Kitchen: Australia 1788-1901* (Lanham, Maryland: Rowman & Littlefield, 2016).
- O'Farrell, Patrick, *The Catholic Church and Community: An Australian History* (Sydney: New South Wales University Press, 1985).
- O'Hara, Glen, 'The Sea is Swinging into View: Modern British Maritime History in a Globalised World', *English Historical Review*, 124/510 (2009), 1109-1134.
- Offer, Elizabeth, 'High Holidays on the High Seas: The Voyage Experience of Jewish Migrants Sailing to Australia in the Mid-Nineteenth Century', *Jewish Culture and History*, 20/4 (2019), 1-20.
- , "'Return to the Old Paths and We Shall Yet Be Happy Again": Jewish Women on the Central Victorian Goldfields, 1870-1900', *Australian Association of Jewish Studies*, 32/1 (2019), 34-54.
- Ojeda-Mata, Maite, "'Spanish" but "Jewish": Race and National Identity in Nineteenth and Twentieth Century Spain', *Jewish Culture and History*, 16/1 (2015), 64-81.

- Olitzky, Kerry M., 'The Sunday-Sabbath Movement in American Reform Judaism: Strategy or Evolution?', *American Jewish Archives*, 34/1 (1982), 75-88.
- Orsi, Robert A., 'Everyday Miracles: The Study of Lived Religion', in David Hall (ed.), *Lived Religion in America: Toward a History of Practice* (New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 1997).
- , 'Is the Study of Lived Religion Irrelevant to the World We Live In? Special Presidential Plenary Address, Society for the Scientific Study of Religion, Salt Lake City, November 2, 2002', *Journal for the Scientific Study of Religion*, 42/2 (2003), 169-174.
- , *The Madonna of 115th Street: Faith and Community in Italian Harlem, 1880-1950* (United States of America: Yale University Press, 2010).
- Palmer, Fiona M., 'The Large-Scale Oratorio Chorus in Nineteenth-Century England: Choral Power and the Role Of Handel's Messiah', in Krisztina Lajosi and Andreas Stynen (eds.), *Choral Societies and Nationalism in Europe* (Netherlands: Brill, 2015).
- Panayi, Panikos, 'The Anglicisation of East European Jewish Food in Britain', *Immigrants & Minorities*, 30/2-3 (2012), 292-317.
- Peel, Mark and Twomey, Christina, *A History of Australia* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2011).
- Penn, Nigel, 'The Northern Cape Frontier Zone in South African Frontier Historiography', in Lynette Russell (ed.), *Colonial Frontiers: Indigenous-European Encounters in Settler Societies* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2001).
- Pickles, Katie, *Female Imperialism and National Identity: Imperial Order Daughters of the Empire* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2002).
- Pietsch, Tamson, 'Bodies at Sea: Travelling to Australia in the Age of Sail', *Journal of Global History*, 11/2 (2016), 209-228.
- , 'A British Sea: Making Sense of Global Space in the Late Nineteenth Century', *Journal of Global History*, 5/3 (2010), 423-446.
- , 'Rethinking the British World', *Journal of British Studies*, 52/1 (2013), 441-463.
- Polland, Annie, 'Working for the Sabbath: Sabbath in the Jewish Immigrant Neighborhoods of New York', *Labor: Studies in Working-Class History of the Americas*, 6/1 (2009), 33-56.
- Portes, Alejandro, and DeWind, Josh, 'A Cross-Atlantic Dialogue: The Progress of Research and Theory in the Study of International Migration', in Alejandro Portes

- and Josh DeWind (eds.), *Rethinking Migration: New Theoretical and Empirical Perspectives* (New York: Berghahn Books, 2007).
- Potter, Simon J., 'Empire, Cultures and Identities in Nineteenth and Twentieth Century Britain', *History Compass*, 5/1 (2007), 51-57.
- Prangnell, Jonathan and Quirk, Kate, 'Children in Paradise: Growing Up on the Australian Goldfields', *Historical Archaeology*, 43/3 (2009), 38-49.
- Pratt, Mary Louise, *Imperial Eyes: Travel Writing and Transculturation* (New York: Routledge, 2008).
- Predelli, Line Nyhagen, 'Sexual Control and the remaking of Gender: The Attempt of Nineteenth-Century Protestant Norwegian Women to Export Western Domesticity to Madagascar', *Journal of Women's History*, 12/2 (2000), 81-103.
- Prentis, Malcolm, 'Haggis on the High Seas: Shipboard Experiences of Scottish Emigrants to Australia, 1821–1897', *Australian Historical Studies*, 36/124 (2004), 294-311.
- Price, Richard, 'One Big Thing: Britain, its Empire, and their Imperial Culture', *Journal of British Studies*, 45/3 (2006), 602-627.
- Prochaska, Frank, *Women and Philanthropy in Nineteenth-Century England* (Oxford: Clarendon Press Oxford, 2003).
- Proudfoot, Lindsay, and Hall, Dianne, *Imperial Spaces: Placing the Irish and Scots in Colonial Australia* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2011).
- Pulzer, Peter, *Jews and the German State: The Political History of a Minority, 1848-1933* (Detroit: Wayne State University Press, 2003).
- Quadros, Andre de, *Focus: Choral Music in Global Perspective* (New York: Routledge, 2019).
- Rabin, Shari, *Jews on the Frontier: Religion and Mobility in Nineteenth Century America* (New York: New York University Press, 2017).
- Rafferty, Oliver, 'The Catholic Church, Ireland and the British Empire, 1800–1921', *Historical Research*, 84/224 (2011), 288-309.
- Raphael, Marc Lee, 'Tradition in Modern Dress: Jews and Judaism in a World of Change', *Jewish History*, 7/1 (1993), 107-116.
- Ray, Jonathan, 'New Approaches to the Jewish Diaspora: The Sephardim as a Sub-Ethnic Group', *Jewish Social Studies*, 15/1 (2008), 10-31.
- Reckwitz, Andreas, 'The Status of the "Material" in Theories of Culture: From "Social Structure" to "Artefacts"', *Journal for the Theory of Social Behaviour*, 32/2 (2002), 195-217.

- Reddy, William M., 'The Concept of Class', in M.L. Bush (ed.), *Social Orders and Social Classes in Europe since 1500: Studies in Social Stratification* (London: Longman, 1992).
- Reeves, Keir and Mountford, Benjamin, 'Sojourning and Settling: Locating Chinese Australian History', *Australian Historical Studies*, 42/1 (2011), 111-125.
- , and Nichols, David, *Deeper Leads: New Approaches to Victorian Goldfields History* (Ballarat, Victoria: Ballarat Heritage Services, 2007).
- Reinharz, Shulamit, and DellaPergola, Sergio (eds.), *Jewish Inter-marriage Around the World* (New Brunswick, New Jersey: Transaction Publishers, 2009).
- Renshaw, Daniel, 'Prejudice and Paranoia: A Comparative Study of Antisemitism and Sinophobia in Turn-of-the-Century Britain', *Patterns of Prejudice*, 50/1 (2016), 38-60.
- Reynolds, Henry, *The Other Side of the Frontier: Aboriginal Resistance to the European Invasion of Australia* (New South Wales: University of New South Wales Press, 2006).
- Ricci, Gabriel, 'Introduction', in Gabriel Ricci (ed.), *Travel, Tourism, and Identity* (New Jersey: Transaction Publishers, 2015).
- Richards, Jeffrey, *Imperialism and Music: Britain 1876-1953* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2001).
- Richardson, Shelley, *Family Experiments: Middle-Class, Professional Families in Australia and New Zealand c. 1880-1920* (Canberra: Australian University Press, 2016).
- Rischin, Moses, and Livingston, John (eds.), *Jews of the American West* (Michigan: Wayne State University Press, 1991).
- Rivers, Bronwyn, *Women at Work in the Victorian Novel: The Question of Middle-Class Women's Employment 1840-1870* (New York: Edwin Mellen, 2005).
- Robbins, Keith, *Great Britain: Identities, Institutions and the Idea of Britishness* (London: Longman, 1998).
- , *History, Religion and Identity in Modern Britain* (London: Hambledon Press, 1993).
- Rochlin, Harriet, and Rochlin, Fred, *Pioneer Jews: A New Life in the Far West* (New York: Mariner Books, 2000).
- Roddy, Sarah, *Population, Providence and Empire: The Churches and Emigration from Nineteenth-Century Ireland* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2019).
- Rogers, Thomas, *The Civilisation of Port Phillip: Settler Ideology, Violence, and Rhetorical Possession* (Carlton, Victoria: Melbourne University Press, 2018).

- Roitman, Jessica Vance, 'Creating Confusion in the Colonies: Jews, Citizenship, and the Dutch and British Atlantics', *Itinerario*, 36/2 (2012), 55–90.
- , 'Portuguese Jews, Amerindians, and the Frontiers of Encounter in Colonial Suriname', *New West Indian Guide*, 88 (2014), 18–52.
- , 'Economics, Empire, Eschatology: The Global Context of Jewish Settlement in the Americas, 1650–70', *Itinerario*, 40/2 (2016), 293–310.
- Rooke, Patricia T. and Schnell, R.L., 'Childhood and Charity in Nineteenth-Century British North America', *Social History*, 15/29 (1982), 157-179.
- Rosenthal, Erich, 'Acculturation Without Assimilation? The Jewish Community of Chicago, Illinois', *American Journal of Sociology*, 66/3 (1960), 275-288.
- Rosenthal, Newman, *Formula for Survival: The Saga of the Ballarat Hebrew Congregation* (Melbourne: Hawthorn Press, 1979).
- , *A History of the Jews in England* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1964).
- Rotman, Deborah L., 'Separate Spheres?: Beyond the Dichotomies of Domesticity', *Current Anthropology*, 47/4 (2006), 666-674.
- Rowe, Aimee Carrillo, and Tuck, Eve, 'Settler Colonialism and Cultural Studies: Ongoing Settlement, Cultural Production, and Resistance', *Cultural Studies Critical Methodologies*, 17/1 (2017), 3- 13.
- Ruben, Bruce, 'Music, Liturgy and Reform Judaism in Mid-Nineteenth Century America: Rabbinic Perspectives', *Musica Judaica*, 19 (2009-2010), 165-182.
- Rubinstein, Hilary L., 'Australian Jewry: A Brief Historical Overview', in John W. Roffey (ed.), *When Jews and Christians Meet: Australian Essays Commemorating Twenty Years of Nostra Aetate* (Melbourne: Victorian Council of Churches, 1985).
- , *The Jews in Australia: A Thematic History* (Melbourne: William Heinemann Australia, 1991).
- Rubinstein, William D., *A History of the Jews in the English Speaking World: Great Britain* (Basingstoke: Macmillan, 1996).
- , 'The Decline and Fall of Anglo-Jewry?', *Jewish Historical Studies*, 38 (2002), 13-21.
- , *The Jews in Australia* (Melbourne: Australasian Educa Press, 1986).
- , 'Patterns of Jewish Immigration to Australia and their Impact Upon Australian Jewish Identity', *Australian Jewish Historical Society Journal*, 28/2 (2006), 231-234.
- , and Rubinstein, Hilary L., *Philosemitism: Admiration and Support in the English-Speaking World for Jews, 1840-1939* (Hampshire: Macmillan Press, 1999).
- Ruderman, David B., *Early Modern Jewry: A New Cultural History* (New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 2010).

- Rule, Pauline, 'Women and Marriage in the Irish Diaspora in Nineteenth-century Victoria', *The Australasian Journal of Irish Studies*, 8 (2008/2009), 48-66.
- Rüpke, Jörg, *On Roman Religion: Lived Religion and the Individual in Ancient Rome* (New York: Cornell University Press, 2016).
- Rürup, Reinhard, 'Jewish Emancipation in Britain and Germany', in Michael Brenner, Rainer Liedtke, and David Rechter (eds.), *Two Nations: British and German Jews in Comparative Perspective* (London: Leo Baeck Institute, 1999).
- Russell, Lynette (ed.), *Colonial Frontiers: Indigenous-European Encounters in Settler Societies* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2017).
- Rutland, Suzanne D., 'A Changing Community, The Impact of the Refugees on Australian Jewry: New South Wales, a Case Study', *Australian Journal of Politics & History*, 31/1 (1985), 90-108.
- , 'Debates and Conflicts: Australian Jewry, the Claims Conference and Restitution, 1945-1965', *Dapim: Studies on the Holocaust*, 28/3 (2014), 155-172.
- , *Edge of the Diaspora: Two Centuries of Jewish Settlement in Australia* (Sydney: William Collins, 1988).
- , *The Jews in Australia* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2005).
- , and Encel, Sol, 'Smaller Jewish Communities in Australia', *Jewish Journal of Sociology*, 51/1 (2011), 5-33.
- Rybczynski, Witold, *Waiting for the Weekend* (Harmondsworth, England: Penguin Books, 1991).
- Safran, William, 'The Jewish Diaspora in a Comparative and Theoretical Perspective', *Israel Studies*, 10/1 (2005), 36-60.
- Salah, Asher, 'How Should a Rabbi be Dressed? The Question of Rabbinical Attire in Italy from Renaissance to Emancipation (Sixteenth–Nineteenth Centuries)', in Leonard J. Greenspoon (ed.), *Fashioning Jews: Clothing, Culture, and Commerce* (West Lafayette, Indiana: Purdue University Press, 2013).
- Salmon, Lucy Maynard, *The Newspaper and the Historian* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1923).
- Santich, Barbara, *Bold Palates: Australia's Gastronomic Heritage* (Kent Town, South Australia: Wakefield Press, 2012).
- Saperstein, Marc, '"Rabbis, Stay Out of Politics": Social Justice Preaching and its Opponents, 1848-2014', *Jewish Culture and History*, 16/2 (2015), 127-141.



- Sarna, Jonathan D., 'The Debate over Mixed Seating in the American Synagogue', in David G. Hackett (ed.), *Religion and American Culture: A Reader* (New York: Routledge, 1987).
- Sayer, Karen, "'A Sufficiency of Clothing': Dress and Domesticity in Victorian Britain", *Textile History*, 33/1 (2002), 112-122.
- Schlör, Joachim, 'Tel Aviv: (With Its) Back to the Sea?', *Journal of Modern Jewish Studies*, 8/2 (2009), 215-235.
- , 'Towards Jewish Maritime Studies', *Jewish Culture and History*, 13/1 (2012), 1-6.
- Schmidt, Leigh, "'A Church-Going People Are a Dress-Loving People': Clothes, Communication, and Religious Culture in Early America", *Church History*, 58/1 (1989), 36-51.
- Schumann, Ruth, 'The Catholic Priesthood of South Australia, 1844-1915', *Journal of Religious History*, 16/1 (1990), 51-73.
- Schwartz, Raz and Halegoua, Germaine R., 'The Spatial Self: Location-Based Identity Performance on Social Media', *New Media & Society*, 17/10 (2015), 1643-1660.
- Scott, Derek B., 'Music and Social Class in Victorian London', *Urban History*, 29/1 (2002), 60-73.
- Serle, Geoffrey, *The Rush to be Rich: A History of the Colony of Victoria 1883-1889* (Melbourne: Melbourne University Press, 1971).
- Shain, Yossi, 'Jewish Kinship at a Crossroads: Lessons for Homelands and Diasporas', *Political Science Quarterly*, 117/2 (2002), 279-309.
- Sharfman, I. Harold, *Jews on the Frontier: An Account of Jewish Pioneers and Settlers in Early America* (Wisconsin: Pangloss Press, 1977).
- Sharma, Sonya, Aune, Kristin, and Vincett, Giselle (eds.), *Women and Religion in the West: Challenging Secularization* (London and New York: Routledge, 2016).
- Sharot, Stephen, 'Minority Situation and Religious Acculturation: A Comparative Analysis of Jewish Communities', *Comparative Studies in Society and History*, 16/3 (1974), 329-354.
- Shaw, Alan, *A History of the Port Phillip District: Victoria Before Separation* (Carlton, Victoria: Melbourne University Press, 2003).
- Shiell, Annette, *Fundraising, Flirtation and Fancywork: Charity Bazaars in Nineteenth Century Australia* (Newcastle, England: Cambridge Scholars Publishing, 2012).
- Silberberg, Sue, 'Jewish Immigration and the Shaping of a British Antipodean Outpost', in Marie Ruiz (ed.), *International Migrations in the Victorian Era* (Leiden, Netherlands: Brill, 2018).

- , *A Networked Community: Jewish Melbourne in the Nineteenth Century* (Melbourne: Melbourne University Press, 2020).
- Silverman, Eric, *A Cultural History of Jewish Dress* (London: Bloomsbury Academic, 2013).
- Silverman, Lisa, 'Reconsidering the Margins: Jewishness as an Analytical Framework', *Journal of Modern Jewish Studies*, 8/1 (2009), 103-120.
- Silverstein, Jordana, *Anxious Histories: Narrating the Holocaust in Jewish Communities at the Beginning of the Twenty-First Century* (New York and Oxford: Berghahn Books, 2015).
- , 'Jewish Holocaust Histories and the Work of Chronological Narratives', *Journal of Jewish Education*, 78/1 (2012), 58-83.
- Singer, Steven, 'Jewish Education in the Mid-Nineteenth Century: A Study of the Early Victorian London Community', *The Jewish Quarterly Review* 77/2/3 (1986), 163-178.
- Singley, Blake, "'Hardly Anything Fit for Man to Eat": Food and Colonialism in Australia', *History Australia*, 9/3 (2012), 27-42.
- Sivan, Gabriel A., 'Introduction', in Gabriel A. Sivan (ed.), *The Jewish Emigrant from Britain 1700-2000: Essays in Memory of Lloyd P. Gartner* (Jerusalem: Israel Branch of the Jewish Historical Society of England, 2013).
- Sivan, Hagith, *Jewish Childhood in the Roman World* (Cambridge, England: Cambridge University Press, 2018).
- Sleight, Simon, and Robinson, Shirleene, 'Introduction: The World in Miniature', in Shirleene Robinson and Simon Sleight (eds.), *Children, Childhood, and Youth in the British World* (Hampshire: Palgrave Macmillan, 2016).
- Slucki, David, *The International Jewish Labor Bund After 1945: Toward a Global History* (New Jersey: Rutgers University Press, 2012).
- Sorin, Gerald, *Tradition Transformed: The Jewish Experience in America* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1997).
- Sorkin, David, 'Beyond the East-West Divide: Rethinking the Narrative of the Jews' Political Status in Europe, 1600-1750', *Jewish History*, 24/3 (2010), 247-256.
- Spector, Stephen, *Evangelicals and Israel: The Story of American Christian Zionism* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2009).
- Spielvogel, Nathan F., 'Ballarat Hebrew Congregation', *Australian Jewish Historical Society*, 2/6 (1946), 350-358.

- Sramek, Joseph, 'Rethinking Britishness: Religion and Debates about the "Nation" among Britons in Company India, 1813–1857', *Journal of British Studies*, 54/4 (2015), 822-843.
- Starling, Nicole, 'Between Two Paradigms: Harriet Pullen and the Earliest Australian Female Preachers', *Journal of Religious History*, 39/3 (2015), 399-419.
- Stearns, Peter N., *Childhood in World History* (London: Routledge, 2017).
- Steel, Frances, 'Anglo-Worlds in Transit: Connections and Frictions across the Pacific', *Journal of Global History*, 11/2 (2016), 251-270.
- , 'Re-Routing Empire? Steam-Age Circulations and the Making of an Anglo Pacific, c.1850–90', *Australian Historical Studies*, 46/3 (2015), 356-373.
- Steer, Philip, 'Gold and Greater Britain: Jevons, Trollope, and Settler Colonialism', *Victorian Studies* 58/3 (2016), 436- 463.
- Stiefel, Barry L., 'Experimenting with Acceptance, Caribbean-style: Jews as Aliens in the Anglophone Torrid Zone', in L. H. Roper (ed.) *The Torrid Zone: Caribbean Colonization and Cultural Interaction in the Long Seventeenth Century* (Columbia, South Carolina: University of South Carolina Press, 2018).
- Stein, Leslie, and Encel, Sol, *Continuity, Commitment, and Survival: Jewish Communities in the Diaspora* (Westport, Connecticut: Praeger, 2003).
- Stein, Sarah Abrevaya, *Plumes: Ostrich Feathers, Jews, and a Lost World of Global Commerce* (New Haven, Connecticut: Yale University Press, 2008).
- , 'Protected Persons? The Baghdadi Jewish Diaspora, the British State, and the Persistence of Empire', *The American Historical Review*, 116/1 (2011), 80-108.
- Steinbach, Susie L. (2012), *Understanding the Victorians: Politics, Culture and Society in Nineteenth-Century Britain* (Oxon, England: Routledge).
- Steiner, Michael, 'From Frontier to Region: Frederick Jackson Turner and the New Western History', *The Pacific Historical Review*, 64/4 (1995), 479-501.
- Stratton, Jon, 'The Colour of Jews: Jews, Race and the White Australia Policy', *Journal of Australian Studies*, 20/50-51 (1996), 51-65.
- Streeck, Jürgen, 'Embodiment in Human Communication', *Annual Review of Anthropology*, 44 (2015), 419-438.
- Strong, Rowan, 'Globalising British Christianity in the Nineteenth Century: The Imperial Anglican Emigrant Chaplaincy 1846-1910', *The Journal of Imperial and Commonwealth History*, 43/1 (2014), 1-32.
- , 'Pilgrims, Paupers or Progenitors: Religious Constructions of British Emigration from the 1840s to 1870s', *History*, 100/341 (2015), 392-411.

- , *Victorian Christianity and Emigrant Voyages to British Colonies c. 1840-1914* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2017).
- Swain, Shurlee, 'Do You Want Religion with That?: Welfare History in a Secular Age', *History Australia*, 2/3 (2005), 79.71-79.78.
- Swift, Roger, and Gilley, Sheridan (eds.), *The Irish in Britain, 1815-1939* (Totowa, New Jersey: Rowman & Littlefield, 1989).
- Tammes, Peter, 'Jewish-Gentile Intermarriage in Pre-War Amsterdam', *The History of the Family*, 15/3 (2010), 298-315.
- Tarlo, Emma, 'Jewish Wigs and Islamic Sportswear: Negotiating Regulations of Religion and Fashion', *Critical Studies in Fashion and Beauty*, 7/1 (2016), 69-87.
- Taylor, Charles, *Sources of the Self: The Making of the Modern Identity* (Cambridge, England: Cambridge University Press, 1989).
- Theobald, Marjorie R., 'The Plc Mystique: Reflections on the Reform of Female Education in Nineteenth-Century Australia', *Australian Historical Studies*, 23/92 (1989), 241-259.
- Thompson, Edward Palmer, *The Making of the English Working Class* (London: Victor Gollancz, 1963).
- Tilley, Christopher, 'Objectification', in Christopher Tilley, et al. (eds.), *Handbook of Material Culture* (London: SAGE, 2006).
- Toll, William, 'Fraternalism and Community Structure on the Urban Frontier: The Jews of Portland, Oregon: A Case Study', *Pacific Historical Review*, 47/3 (1978), 369-403.
- Tonkinson, Myrna, 'Sisterhood or Aboriginal Servitude? Black Women and White Women on the Australian Frontier', *Aboriginal History*, 12/1/2 (1988), 27-39.
- Tropper, Amram, 'The Economics of Jewish Childhood in Late Antiquity', *Hebrew Union College Annual*, (2005), 189-233.
- Turnbull, Malcolm J., *Safe Haven: Records of the Jewish Experience in Australia* (New South Wales: National Archives of Australia, 2000).
- Tweed, Thomas A., *Our Lady of the Exile: Diasporic Religion at a Cuban Catholic Shrine in Miami* (Oxford, England: Oxford University Press, 1997).
- , 'Space', *Material Religion*, 7/1 (2011), 116-123.
- Tyler, Robert Llewellyn, *The Welsh in an Australian Gold Town: Ballarat, Victoria 1850-1900* (Cardiff, Wales: University of Wales Press, 2010).
- Van der Veer, Peter, *Imperial Encounters: Religion and Modernity in India and Britain* (New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 2001).

- Vaughan, Géraldine, “‘Britishers and Protestants’: Protestantism and Imperial British Identities in Britain, Canada and Australia from the 1880s to the 1920s’, *Studies in Church History*, 54/1 (2018), 359-373.
- Veracini, Lorenzo, *Settler Colonialism: A Theoretical Overview* (Hampshire, England and New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2010).
- , ‘The Other Shift: Settler Colonialism, Israel, and the Occupation’, *Journal of Palestine Studies*, 42/2 (2013), 26- 42.
- Viaene, Vincent, ‘Nineteenth-Century Catholic Internationalism and its Predecessors’, in Abigail Green and Vincent Viaene (eds.), *Religious Internationals in the Modern World: Globalization and Faith Communities since 1750* (Hampshire: Palgrave Macmillan, 2012).
- Walker, Pamela J., “‘With Fear and Trembling’: Women, Preaching, and Spiritual Authority’, in Sue Morgan and Jacqueline deVries (eds.), *Women, Gender and Religious Cultures in Britain, 1800-1940* (Oxon, England: Routledge, 2010).
- Walsh, Maurice, *The News from Ireland: Foreign Correspondents and the Irish Revolution* (London: Bloomsbury Publishing, 2011).
- Walter, Bronwen, ‘Strangers on the Inside: Irish Women Servants in England, 1881’, *Immigrants & Minorities*, 27/2-3 (2009), 279-299.
- Ward, Colleen and Rana-Deuba, Arzu, ‘Acculturation and Adaptation Revisited’, *Journal of Cross-Cultural Psychology*, 30/4 (1999), 422-442.
- Ward, Paul, *Britishness since 1870* (London: Routledge, 2004).
- Waterman, Stanley, ‘Eating, Drinking and Maintenance of Community: Jewish Dietary Laws and Their Effects on Separateness’, in Stanley D. Brunn (ed.), *The Changing World Religion Map: Sacred Places, Identities, Practices, and Politics* (New York: Springer, 2015).
- Weber, Max, *Economy and Society: An Outline of Interpretive Sociology* (California: University of California Press, 1978).
- , *The Theory of Social and Economic Organization* (New York: Free Press, 1964).
- Weiner, Isaac, ‘Sound and American Religions’, *Religion Compass*, 3/5 (2009), 897-908.
- Weiss Muller, Hannah, ‘Bonds of Belonging: Subjecthood and the British Empire’, *Journal of British Studies*, 53/4 (2014), 29-58.
- Weissbach, Lee Shai, ‘Buildings Fraught with Meaning: An Introduction to a Special Issue on Synagogue Architecture in Context’, *Jewish History*, 25/1 (2011), 1-11.

- Welch, Pamela, 'Constructing Colonial Christianities: With Particular Reference to Anglicanism in Australia, ca 1850–1940', *Journal of Religious History*, 32/2 (2008), 234-255.
- Wen, Nicole J., Herrmann, Patricia A., and Legare, Cristine H., 'Ritual Increases Children's Affiliation with In-Group Members', *Evolution and Human Behavior*, 37 (2016), 54-60.
- Wettstein, Howard (ed.), *Diasporas and Exiles: Varieties of Jewish Identity* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2002).
- Wiesel, Elie, *Rashi* (New York: Schocken Books, 2009).
- Wigley, John, *The Rise and Fall of the Victorian Sunday* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1980).
- Wilcox, Clyde, Linzey, Sharon, and Jelen, Ted G., 'Reluctant Warriors: Premillennialism and Politics in the Moral Majority', *Journal for the Scientific Study of Religion*, 30/3 (1991), 245-258.
- Wilkinson, Glenn R., 'At the Coal-Face of History: Personal Reflections on Using Newspapers as a Source', *Media History*, 3/1-2 (1995), 211-221.
- Williams, Sarah C., 'Is There a Bible in the House? Gender, Religion and Family Culture', in Sue Morgan and Jacqueline deVries (eds.), *Women, Gender and Religious Cultures in Britain, 1800-1940* (Oxon, England: Routledge, 2010).
- Williamson, Philip, 'State Prayers, Fasts and Thanksgivings: Public Worship in Britain, 1830-1897', *Past and Present*, 200/1 (2008), 121-174.
- Wilson, Elisabeth, "'Hymns of a More or Less Idiotic Character": The Impact and Use of "Sankey's" Gospel Songs in Late Nineteenth-Century Australia', *Journal of Religious History*, 42/2 (2018), 265-288.
- Wiltermuth, Scott and Heath, Chip, 'Synchrony and Cooperation', *Psychological Science*, 20/1 (2009), 1-5.
- Withers, William Bramwell, *The History of Ballarat: From the First Settlement to the Present Time* (Ballarat, Victoria: F. W Niven and Co., 1887).
- Wolfe, Patrick, 'Land, Labor, and Difference: Elementary Structures of Race', *The American Historical Review*, 106/3 (2001), 866-905.
- , 'Race and Racialisation: Some Thoughts', *Postcolonial Studies: Culture, Politics, Economy*, 5/1 (2002), 51-62.
- , *Settler Colonialism* (London and New York: Cassell, 1999).
- , *Traces of History: Elementary Structures of Race* (London: Verso, 2016).

- , 'Settler Colonialism and the Elimination of the Native', *Journal of Genocide Research*, 8/4 (2006), 387- 409.
- Woollacott, Angela, 'All This is the Empire, I Told Myself: Australian Women's Voyages "Home" and the Articulation of Colonial Whiteness', *The American Historical Review*, 102/4 (1997), 1003-1029.
- Wright, Clare, *Beyond the Ladies Lounge: Australia's Female Publicans* (Melbourne: Melbourne University Press, 2003).
- Young, Linda, "'Extensive, Economical and Elegant": The Habitus of Gentility in Early Nineteenth Century Sydney', *Australian Historical Studies*, 36/124 (2004), 201-220.
- , *Middle Class Culture in the Nineteenth Century: America, Australia and Britain* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2002).
- Zolberg, Aristide and Woon, Long Litt, 'Why Islam Is Like Spanish: Cultural Incorporation in Europe and the United States', *Politics and Society*, 27/1 (1999), 5-38.

### **Encyclopedias and Dictionaries**

- Australian Dictionary of Biography* (Australian National University).
- New Catholic Encyclopedia* (Michigan: Gales, 2003).
- Berenbaum, Michael, and Skolnik, Fred, (eds.), *Encyclopaedia Judaica* (Michigan: Macmillan Reference, 2007).
- Chryssides, George D., *Historical Dictionary of New Religious Movements* (Maryland: Scarecrow Press, 2012).

### **Theses**

- Abosch, Sara, "'We are Not Only English Jews—We are Jewish Englishmen": The Making of an Anglo-Jewish Identity, 1840–1880', Ph.D. thesis (University of New York, 2004).
- Cline, Robert Scott, 'Community Structure on the Urban Frontier: The Jews of Portland, Oregon, 1849-1887', M.A. thesis (Portland State University, 1982).
- Ishiguro, Laura Mitsuyo, 'Relative Distances: Family and Empire between Britain, British Columbia and India 1858-1901', Ph.D. thesis (University College London, 2011).

- Jensen, Judith, 'Unpacking the Travel Writers' Baggage: Imperial Rhetoric in Travel Literature of Australia 1813-1914', Ph.D. thesis (James Cook University, 2006).
- Johnson, Karl E., 'From Sabbath to Weekend: Recreation, Sabbatarianism, and the Emergence of the Weekend', Ph.D. thesis (Cornell University, 2011).
- Klapper, Melissa Rose, "'A Fair Portion of the World's Knowledge": Jewish Girls Coming of Age in America, 1860–1920', Ph.D. thesis (The State University of New Jersey, 2001).
- Lais, Peggy Jane, 'Chamber-Music in Melbourne 1877–1901: A History of Performance and Dissemination', Ph.D. thesis (Melbourne University, 2009).
- Larson, Ann, 'Growing Up in Melbourne: Transitions to Adulthood in the Late Nineteenth Century', Ph.D. thesis (Australian National University, 1986).
- Nordlinger McDonnell, Lillooet, 'In the Company of Gentiles: Exploring the History of Integrated Jews in British Columbia, 1858-1971', Ph.D. thesis (University of Ottawa, 2011).
- Offer, Elizabeth, "'Leading them Astray": The Reshaping of the Industrial Schools from Criminal Prevention to Child Protection through Police and Parental Interactions with the Neglected and Criminal Children's Act', Honours thesis (La Trobe University, 2016).
- Reeves, Keir, 'A Hidden History: The Chinese on the Mount Alexander Diggings, Central Victoria, 1851-1901', Ph.D. thesis (The University of Melbourne, 2005).
- Roselya, Lancia Quay, 'Jewish Women's Lives in Colonial Sydney and London, 1850-1900', Ph.D. thesis (Australian National University, 2007).
- Sartori, Jennifer, "'Our Religious Future": Girls' Education and Jewish Identity in Nineteenth-Century France', Ph.D. thesis (Emory University, 2004).
- Silberberg, Sue, 'A Networked Community: Jewish Immigration, Colonial Networks and the Shaping of Melbourne 1835-1895', Ph.D. thesis (Melbourne University, 2015).
- Silverstein, Jordana, 'Anxious Jewish Diasporas: Narrating the Holocaust, Negotiating Displacement', Ph.D. thesis (University of Melbourne, 2009).

## Websites

- Thulin, Mirjam, 'Jewish Networks', *Institute of European History (IEG)* [website], (2010) <<http://ieg-ego.eu/en/threads/european-networks/jewish-networks/mirjam->



thulin-jewish-networks#IntroductionTheDamascusAffairof1840>, accessed 3 May 2019.

Yona, Rony, 'Anti-Semitism and the Emergence of Jewish Internationalism, 1840-1914', *Nineteenth-Century Anti-Semitism in International Perspective* [website], (2016), <<https://antisem19c.hypotheses.org/795>>, accessed 12 Mar. 2020.