THE HISTORY OF THE JEWS IN NEW ZEALAND

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By

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PREFACE

THE COMPOSITION OF JEWISH COMMUNITIES IN EUROPE before the Second World War ensured the preservation of historical documents and data of most of the communities concerned. Apart from the fact that in the twentieth century nearly all the continental European communities were financially supported and controlled by the State, which demanded documentation of records, there were also sufficient numbers of Jews interested in their great historical past and concerned with Israel's future destiny, to make it certain that the deeds of those who strove for Israel's glory and good name, and the struggles of the Jewish masses, would not go unrecorded. The fortunate and happy position of the Jews in both America and England, where Jews have lived in freedom and upon terms of equality with their neighbours for three centuries, has also inspired numerous writers and research workers to inscribe upon the tablets of history the names of those who have contributed towards the welfare of their country or their people. Both the tercentenary celebrations held to commemorate the coming of the Jews to the United States of America and the tercentenary celebrations held to mark the return of the Jews to England were accompanied by the publication of numerous articles and books describing the part that Jews had taken in the advancement of England and America in the establishment and maintenance of their Jewish communities and activities. Time and numbers had created a Jewish pride in their past and in their lot.

Because of the distance of the Jews in Australia and New Zealand from large Jewish centres abroad, and because both of those countries have not entirely emerged from their pioneering stages, their Jewish communities have not as yet developed a strong historical pride in their endeavours and strivings. It will surely come with time. Their story is worthy of recapitulation. They have many splendid men and women whose efforts for their country and community and whose spirit of modesty and sacrifice should be recounted to the generations to come and should be preserved for them. New Zealand Jewry possesses a remarkable record. Nowhere else in the world have Jews, in proportion to their numbers, taken such a prominent part in local, municipal and public affairs as the Jews have done in New Zealand. Nevertheless, a danger existed that their endeavours would not be written down. The Jewish communities in Australasia are not developing at a speedy rate. Communities have flourished and have disappeared almost without trace. It would be a pity for all these traces to be forgotten. Besides the loss to the general history of Australasia, it would also break a link in the "golden chain" of Jewish history which goes back to the dawn of man.

I have therefore taken it upon myself as a lover of Jewish ideals, and an ardent admirer of Australian and New Zealand colonial life, to make a start in arousing public interest in the beginnings of Jewish endeavour in Australasia, in the strivings of the Jews to maintain their faith and identity and in their contribution towards the progress of these two great countries. My first book, The Jews in Victoria in the Nineteenth Century, has received the support of the public to such an extent that it gave me the necessary encouragement to contemplate the writing of another historical book on British colonial Jewry. I was able to fulfil this dream when awarded the first Sir Robert Waley Cohen Travelling Scholarship. The award was established by the Jewish Memorial Council in memory of the late Sir Robert Waley Cohen, one of the most prominent Jewish lay leaders in Britain in the twentieth century. His genius and leadership gave strength to Jewish institutions in England. The eminence in which the United Synagogue, the office of the Chief Rabbi and the Board of Deputies of British Jews stand today in Britain is in a great measure due to his guidance and brilliance. He gave encouragement to the Anglo-Jewish ministry, and the Jewish Memorial Council, to mark his long and inspiring association with them, has instituted an annual travelling scholarship to be given to a Jewish minister of a congregation in the British Commonwealth who had served in his community for at least five years. The winning of this scholarship enabled me to travel to New Zealand to further my research. The result is presented in the text.

My appreciation is extended to the Jewish Memorial Council for its foresight in establishing a scholarship of such a nature as gives constant encouragement to the Anglo-Jewish ministry; to the Selection Board of the Jewish Memorial Council for choosing to present me with the first award; and to my dear friends David J. Benjamin and Tovia Shahar for their ready expert advice and for their perusal and correction of the manuscript.

L. M. Goldman
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CHAPTER I
JEWISH MARINERS

WHEN VASCO DA GAMA SAILED FROM THE SHORES OF PORTUGAL EARLY IN 1498 on his momentous voyage of discovery, he did not leave the land without a final private conference with his master and friend, Abraham ben Samuel Zacuto. In the presence of the waiting, tumultuous crowd, chanting a litany, the King's Astronomer also held a formal official conversation with da Gama as part of the solemn ceremonies which accompanied the departure. Manuel II, who had ascended the throne in 1495, keen on navigation, astronomy and the colonial expansion of his empire, had appointed Zacuto as his Astronomer Royal. The Admiral, under the special guidance of Zacuto, listened carefully and attentively to the scholar's advice, and gratefully accepted from him a copy of his astronomical tables, a large wooden astrolabe, as well as smaller ones of iron and brass which Zacuto had specially invented for him. Together with other nautical instruments and documents, the master presented his pupil with the copy of a letter brought to Portugal eleven years earlier by Zacuto's Jewish co-religionists, Rabbi Abraham of Beja and Joseph Zapateiro of Lamego. The letter contained the first known definite information that it was possible to sail to India by rounding the southern coast of Africa and thus pass from the Atlantic into the Indian Ocean.

Because of their knowledge of astronomy and mathematics, Jews were eagerly sought after as navigators and pilots in the Spanish and Portuguese fleets and as servicemen in the employ of wealthy merchants and ship owners, many of whom belonged to the Jewish faith or practised their religion secretly as Marranos. The Jews had many associations with the sea. Levi ben Gerson, early in the fourteenth century, had invented the Jacob's Staff which served the purpose of a quadrant. He had invented also that ingenious instrument, the Camera Obscura. Another quadrant introduced by a Jew was that of Jacob ben Makir, after whom it was called "Quadrans Judaicus". The best-known maps of the fourteenth century came from the Jews of Palma, in Majorca. Jaffrida Cresques, the Jew, is credited with that monument of cartography, the Catalan Map, now preserved in the Bibliotheque Nationale. It is unique in that it added the discoveries of Marco Polo to the contemporary map. Columbus, in his epic-making voyages, used Abraham Zacuto's Almanac Perpetuus. The discoverer of the New World complained about the PAGE 12"Jew Joseph" who had rejected his proposals to sail west. He referred to Joseph Vecinho, a pupil of Zacuto, whom King John II of Portugal had commanded to prepare a terrestrial globe for an expedition of two members of his household to seek the legendary Prester John, and through him a new route to India.

The ships of the Jews travelled far and wide. They were intrepid travellers. They sought trade and security in distant corners, and their close ties of blood and religion ensured them a sympathetic welcome wherever they happened to alight. Their search for spices, jewels and commerce, whether they journeyed by land or sea, led them into dangerous and peculiar adventures. The native Spanish and Portuguese Jews, in addition to speaking the vernacular of the country in which they lived, were familiar with Hebrew and Arabic and probably with one or two of the Romance languages. Those that had journeyed abroad, and they were many, could also understand and sometimes speak the language of the lands they had traversed. Their fluency in many tongues encouraged the merchants to engage them as interpreters and as agents to foreign courts and for the purpose of discovery of new markets and new lands.

When Christopher Columbus was refused assistance by King John II on the advice of the "Jew Joseph" Vecinho, he pleaded before King Ferdinand and Queen Isabella of Spain for help. They had spent all their money and pawned all their jewels to pay for the wars against the Moors. Luis de Santagel, a Marrano whose relatives had been persecuted by the Inquisition, came to the rescue of Columbus. He raised and lent the Spanish Treasury 17,000 ducats free of interest. Another Marrano, Gabriel Sanchez, and Juan Cabrero, a gentleman of Jewish descent, also encouraged and aided the brave sea adventurer. On 3 August, 1492, Columbus sailed for Palos. The day

before, 300,000 Jews and Marranos had been forced to leave Spain by the cruel decree of the King and Queen, to make their way amongst strange peoples. In the search for freedom, five crypto-Jews joined the visionary Columbus in his mad sea adventure. Hardly anything is known about Alfonso de la Calle. Of Roderego Sanches it is told that as a distinguished personage he was commanded by Queen Isabella herself to make the journey. He stood next to Columbus when he made his first landing. Maestro Bernal, a physician of Tortosa, had faced an inquisitional court two years previously on a charge of Judaising. Another was Marco who also practised as a physician. As was customary on such voyages, the master included an interpreter in the ship's complement. On his voyage to the west Columbus took Luis de Torres, a cultured scholar who, besides other languages, was well versed in Hebrew, Chaldaic and Arabic. Washington Irving wrote of Luis de Torres as a Jew, but unfortunately he was forced into baptism shortly before he sailed.

For centuries Jews were almost indispensable on mercantile voyages to the East and on journeys of discovery. Hakluyt, in his Voyages, relates that when Sir James Lancaster made the first journey for the Merchants of London to the East Indies in 1600 he was advised by his chief pilot, John Davis, who had returned from the Indies nine months previously in the fleet of Cornells Houtman, to carry a competent interpreter with him. Sir James chose a Jew as a personal body-servant. He had been captured by the English in the Barbary States and had resided in England for many years. Lancaster engaged him as the expedition's interpreter. They sailed as far as Bantam and Java where the services of the Jew "stood him [Lancaster] in good stead at that time".

The diplomatic and linguistic ability of the Jews and their forced wandering involuntarily involved them in strange maritime adventures. During Vasco da Gama's return from his first voyage to India, in September, 1498, he put in at the island of Anchediva, sixty miles from Goa. Whilst there, a boat with a small crew approached, led by a tall European with a long white beard, clad in linen, with an uncommonly fine touca on his head and a short sword in his girdle. He greeted the Portuguese in Castilian. Overjoyed to hear their native tongue and to see a European, they plied him with questions. He informed them he had been sent by his master Sambajo, the Arab Prince of Goa, to negotiate with the Portuguese navigator. They invited him on board and promised him security. He told them his name was Gaspar and that he had been born in Posen, Poland. A local persecution compelled his parents to take refuge in Granada in Spain, whence they had migrated to Alexandria. As a young man Gaspar crossed the Red Sea to Mecca and travelled to India. Captured by slavers on the way, he remained in captivity for many years, eventually gaining his release by feigning conversion to Islam. He settled in Goa as a ship-owner, marrying a Jewish woman and rearing a family. Entering Sambajo's service he had gained much experience at seafaring, becoming in time Sambajo's admiral.

On hearing Gaspar's story, Vasco da Gama suspected him of spying for his Moorish master,"seized him, disrobed him and flogged him unmercifully. To escape torture and save his life, Gaspar confessed his Jewish origin and admitted that he had also been sent to discover the strength of the strangers. Resolved to retain a man with such rare qualities, Vasco da Gama promised Gaspar his life if he would baptize himself as a Christian. He who had feigned Mohammedanism did not object to assuming Christianity. Rejoicing at having saved a soul, Vasco da Gama accepted the role of Gaspar's godfather. When the expedition returned to Lisbon in August, 1499, welcomed by King Manuel II, the Admiral, welcomed with great honours and gifts, presented his protege to his royal master as Gaspar da Gama. The King, pleased with Gaspar's skill, granted him a charter of privileges and loaded him with many servants and other rewards.

Gaspar served King Manuel II well. He sailed in 1500 with Cabral, who had been appointed as a leader of an expedition and who, on Gaspar's advice, shipped west on a voyage which led to the discovery of Brazil. He had by now become renowned, one captain writing of him as "a trustworthy man who speaks many languages and knows the names of many cities and provinces,

who made two voyages from Portugal to the Indies Ocean and journeyed from Cairo to Malacca, a province on the East of that Ocean. He also visited the island of Sumatra, and he told me he knew of a great kingdom in the interior of India which was rich in gold, pearls and other precious stones."

Within a few years, Gaspar had sailed round the Cape of Good Hope on a number of voyages. He sailed with Vasco da Gama to the Indies, with Francisco d'Almeida when he went to take possession of India as the first Viceroy, and with Cabral to Calicut and then to Cochin. There he met his wife again, but no inducement would sway this pious and learned woman to leave her faith or Cochin, where the Jews had established a number of synagogues. She negotiated the purchase of thirteen Sifre Torah for 4000 padraos from the son of Dr Martin Pinheiro, a judge of the Supreme Court at Lisbon. Young Pinheiro had brought with him a large trunk of scrolls which had been looted from the pillaged and destroyed synagogues of Portugal. D'Almeida heard of the transaction, confiscated the money, and after severely admonishing Pinheiro, reported the matter to the King.

After the murder of d'Almeida by the Hottentots on Table Bay, Gaspar served the next governor of India, Albuquerque. With him Gaspar made an attack on Calicut. The assault proved disastrous. Albuquerque was wounded and Gaspar was probably killed, for no more references to him are found after 1510. Nevertheless, his contribution to the rise of Portugal as a maritime power, in the few years he served King Manuel II, proved invaluable.

In spite of his fame, Gaspar was possibly not altogether a happy man in the service of Manuel II. Nor were any of the Marranos, particularly the patrician ship-owners and merchants. They were in constant danger of losing their riches on a charge of Judaising. Even Abraham Zacuto, although under royal patronage as King's Astronomer, knew when he bade farewell to his pupil Vasco da Gama on his voyage to India, that his days in Portugal were numbered. He had already experienced the bitterness of exile. On the day before Columbus sailed for America carrying Zacuto's navigation tables and instruments, the mathematician, together with about 100,000 of his Jewish brethren, had crossed the borders of Spain into Portugal. John II of Portugal did not believe in the enslavement of the Spanish Jews, and declined the gold offered him as a token of their gratitude. He believed in inducing the Jews to embrace Christianity by treating them with kindness. With bundle on back and staff in hand, led by pipers and drummers for encouragement, about another 150,000 Jews struggled towards the ports of Spain to migrate to North Africa, Italy, Turkey, the Kingdom of Naples, Navarre, even the Papal State, and to any other outlandish place which would accept them.

On the death of John II in 1495, his enlightened cousin Don Manuel II came to the throne. An ardent admirer of the sciences and believer in tolerance, he confirmed Zacuto's appointment as Court Astronomer and would not permit the fanatical friars to incite the people against the Jews. Love, however, changed his noble nature to tyranny. Don Manuel wished to marry the widowed Isabella, the daughter of Ferdinand and Isabella of Spain. They promised him her hand on two conditions, one of which was that he exile all the Jews in Portugal, both native-born and Spanish-immigrant. The condition was disagreeable to Manuel as he derived considerable benefits from the Jews, from their gold, commercial activities and knowledge. When the King was awaiting his bride at the border, she sent him a letter saying that she would not set foot upon Portuguese soil unless that country was purged of the "accursed Jews". Manuel bartered his honour, humanity and his Jews for the love of a woman.

On 24 October, 1496, the King of Portugal issued an edict compelling the Jews to choose between baptism and emigration. His initial mildness in carrying his order into effect lulled the Jews into a false sense of security. Angered by the small number of conversions, he issued a command for all Jewish children under the age of fourteen to be forcibly baptized. Heartrending scenes took place throughout Portugal, for as soon as the children were baptized into Christianity they were unmercifully separated from their parents; and the over-zealous minions of the King did not

confine their work to children, but forced baptism upon youths and maidens up to twenty years of age. Greed and fanaticism now entered Manuel's heart. He desired the Jewish wealth to remain in Portugal and he wanted the owners as Christians. The King deliberately hindered the arrangements of the Jews to leave the country, starved the recalcitrant, and dragged them from their prisons to the churches with ropes or by their hair or beards. Some Jews were fortunate to escape, amongst them Abraham Zacuto, who fled to Tunis and then to Turkey, where he remained for the rest of his life. The vast majority, however, entered Christianity which they, amongst themselves, intensely and fiercely despised. They practised their Judaism secretly with burning tenacity and fervour, praying that they would be granted the means to escape their unhappy lot in order to serve their God in tranquillity and peace.

CHAPTER II
THE JEWS COME TO HOLLAND

NOMINALLY, NO JEWS LIVED IN PORTUGAL AFTER 1497. The country teemed with new Christians, or Marranos—pigs, as they were called by their unconverted brethren. The bulk resided in Lisbon and in the other seaboard ports, forming the majority of the ship-owning and merchant class. As unobtrusively as circumstances allowed, the new Christians left the Iberian Peninsula by every ship, sailing to new lands where they hoped to discard the distasteful mask they were forced to wear. Every ship carried Marranos to the north, east, south and west. The caravels of Juan Sanches, a Saragossan Marrano, reached Mexico and Peru, Haiti and Santo Domingo in the early sixteenth century. Their numbers in the New World grew to such proportions that Queen Juanna of Castile hastily introduced the Inquisition into her newly acquired territories. By May 1520, Charles V had established his inquisitorial machinery throughout the Americas and his priests and Jesuits gloried in the task of eliminating heretics and heresy in Mexico, Peru, Central America and the West Indies. Despite the cruelty of the edicts and bans, distance lent enchantment, stimulating emigration until, at the beginning of the seventeenth century, Philip III became so perturbed that he promulgated an anti-emigration law, restricting certain classes settling in the Spanish colonies. He proclaimed: "We command and decree that no one recently converted to our holy faith, be he Moor or Jew, or the offspring of these, should settle in our Indies without our distinct permission."

About 1641, a notice addressed to the inhabitants of Lima and Los Charcos, the Bishoprics of Quito, Cuzco, Rio de La Plata, Paraguay, Tucuman, Santiago and Conception in the Dominions of Chile, Bolivia, Santa Cruz de la Sierra, Guamanga, Anequippa and Trizillo, invited the populace to inform the Inquisitors of anybody suspected of Judaism and heresy. Explicit instructions set out directions for the detection of Jews, Mohammedans, Lutherans and Alumbrados—persons who have made themselves saints and pretend to ecstasies and revelations. Numbers left Portugal for North Africa and Turkey and many undertook to settle in the new colonies established in India and in the trading stations set up in Cochin and the East Indies. Whenever the Marranos escaped from the influence of the Spanish and the Portuguese they would discard their Christian cloak and reveal themselves openly as practising and conforming Jews. In India, the Grand Inquisitor began to operate in September 1565, this step being followed two years later by a command prohibiting Marranos leaving for the East Indies and making every captain responsible for any Jew discovered on his ship.

Some of the earliest refugees from Spain and Portugal fled to the Canary Islands and from there to Flanders. Not long after the beginning of the sixteenth century, colonies of New Christians established their headquarters at Bruges and Antwerp, and, strong in faith, secretly attended organized services conducted by rabbis especially invited and smuggled in from Italy. Their courage attracted other Italian Marranos to settle in Flemish cities. They even dared surreptitiously to publish a prayer-book. Their systematic smuggling of crypto-Jews from Portugal on their merchant ships led the Netherlands authorities to set up an unofficial Inquisition

in Zeeland, which compelled some of the Marranos to land temporarily in England until such time as the coast would be clear for them to disembark in Flanders.

The continual widespread dispersion of the Portuguese Marranos to every part of the globe unquestionably resulted in a marked contribution by the Jews to the rise of Portugal as a great maritime nation. As soon as the crypto-Jews arrived in a new settlement they opened up trade with their relatives and brethren who had remained on the Portuguese seaboard. Bonds of blood, faith, struggle and persecution held the Marranos close together, each hoping that eventually they would attain a country where freedom would be found and where they could practise their religion without hindrance. The Marranos in Portugal through their wealth, position and experience would help their brethren overseas until they had established themselves in their new abode. The Marranos overseas sent goods and merchandise to their previous homeland in amounts which had never been reached before. Trading-houses abroad became a means of insurance in case of flight. The spice trade from India, although a royal prerogative, was exercised by the King through capable merchants, a large proportion of whom were New Christians. Francisco and Diego Mendes governed a mercantile and banking house which enjoyed virtually a monopoly of the spice trade between Lisbon and the Netherlands. Wary Marranos opened up branches in Antwerp, London, Hamburg and Amsterdam, and whenever suspicion fell upon them they would take refuge in their businesses abroad.

When, in 1580, Philip II of Spain became King of Portugal and closed the port of Lisbon to Holland, the Marranos in the Netherlands still procured Indian products. The flourishing and wealthy Jewish communities at Goa, the Malabar coast and Cochin, where they had erected many synagogues, sent their merchandise direct to Hamburg, from which town they were forwarded to Holland. The crypto-Jewish Hamburgers could also purchase merchandise directly from Lisbon, which consignments they passed on to their Flemish brethren. Practically all of the Indian trade with Northern Europe was conducted through the Portuguese Marranos whose hand was further strengthened by the struggle for freedom against Philip II by the Dutch and the claimant to the Portuguese throne, Don Antonio.

As a nephew of the King of Portugal, Antonio sought the Crown, supported by the New Christians as well as by a large section of the population. Philip II defeated him at Alcantara, so he fled to Holland and proceeded to Calais and then London where he resided with Dr Rodrigo Lopez, Queen Elizabeth's Jewish physician. At first the Queen of England and the States-General of the Netherlands, seeing in Antonio a means of diminishing the power of Philip, recognized him as King of Portugal. This gave protection to the Portuguese Marranos and encouraged them to increase their trade with the Indies, since the port of Lisbon was closed to the Dutch. Antonio sympathized with the Marranos, for his own mother was Iolanthe Gomez, a Jewess. The people of the Netherlands sympathized with them for, as Protestants, their common enemy was Philip II. This understanding led, from 1593, to the gradual migration of the Jews to Amsterdam where, in 1596, they were permitted to build a synagogue and practise their Judaism openly.

These good tidings, through the usual mysterious channels, reached Spain and Portugal, and immigrants poured into Holland where they immediately discarded the uncomfortable cloak of Christianity which they had worn. Among the immigrants came a youth, Menasseh ben Israel who, later in life as the Rabbi of Amsterdam, was destined to be the prophetic messenger who petitioned the Lord Protector, Oliver Cromwell, to permit the Jews to return to England. Holland had been an exceedingly poor country. The wars with Spain impoverished it still more. The capital, therefore, which the Jews brought into Amsterdam became particularly welcome and made possible the organization of great Trans-Atlantic companies and the equipping of trading expeditions.

Although the Jews were given asylum in Holland and the Dutch heeded the provision of the agreement when they joined in the Union of Utrecht which forbade persecution on religious grounds, yet prejudices against the Jews and jealousy of their influential commercial position

aroused the envy of the inhabitants. Every Dutch burgher had a desire to participate in the trade with the Indies. Sailing under the Portuguese flag of Antonio, Cornells Houtman, in 1594, led the first Dutch fleet to the East Indies, having previously learnt the secrets of the trade on a visit to Lisbon—commercial and geographical data were at that time generally kept hidden from the public. After Houtman's return to Amsterdam, his successful venture led to commercial rivalry between, on the one hand, the ever-increasing number of wealthy Jewish merchants and shipowners arriving daily from the Portuguese mainland and colonies, and, on the other hand, Dutch burghers who could see no good reason why the trade and wealth of the East should not belong to them.

When King Antonio died in Paris in 1595, the Dutch Government ceased to provide protection to its Portuguese citizens and their shipping. Portugal was now under the rule of Philip of Spain, who was at war with Holland. Private expeditions and privateers captured rich prize ships laden with precious stones and spices and the Jews could not recover the cargoes in the courts, for the Government would no longer take "enemy merchants" under its wing. Nevertheless, in spite of the jealousies and prejudices, the cultured, dignified demeanour of the Portuguese Jews won for them the respect of the populace, the right of worship and the privilege of competing in a trade which become more difficult year by year, yet which, with the passing of the generations, integrated itself within the sphere of Dutch commerce.

When the Christian ship-owners of Amsterdam founded the Dutch East India Company in 1602, they determined that no Jews should become high officials or directors of the Company. When they needed the Jews, however, they did not hesitate to employ them. Don Samuel Palache and his brother Joseph, amongst the founders of the Amsterdam community, rendered valuable service to the Dutch East India Company. Joseph Palache served as Admiral of a fleet fitted out by the Sultan of Barbary to assist the Netherlands by piracy upon Spanish shipping. Samuel Palache acted as Consul for the Sultan of Barbary in the Netherlands territories.

The articles of association of the Dutch East India Company occasioned a great amount of astonishment in its day. It comprised the first experiment in a joint-stock undertaking in which the stock was negotiable. At first the Jews did not invest in the Company as they had no desire to pour money into a company which was in direct competition with them and which showed prejudice against Jews by prohibiting them from becoming directors. Only two Jews were registered amongst the original shareholders of the Company—Stephanus Cardoza, who took shares to the value of 1800 florins, and Elizabeth Pinto, who invested 3000 florins. However, as the influence and power of the Dutch East India Company grew, the Jews gradually bought up its shares, and by the end of the seventeenth century became the principal stockholders in Holland, controlling a quarter of its stock. In the middle of the seventeenth century, the relief and sustenance of the needy Jews of Amsterdam was obtained by a communal tax on the Jewish shareholders in the East India Company, which formed a principal source of income of the community in that period and for many years afterwards. Although a Jew did not become a director of the Company nor one of the Council of Seventeen until 1748, it is not unreasonable to assume that many minor posts were filled long before that date by relatives and friends of the principal shareholders.

The initiative and forceful enterprise of the directors and stockholders of the Dutch East India Company led them to establish a station as far distant as Java soon after the formation of the Company. Supported by the Government, its success was also assured by the intrepid men who served it, who displayed qualities of courage, efficiency and devotion apart from personal ambition. A charter for twenty-one years for the sole rights to trade with the East Indies, ousted the private companies which, previous to 1603, had established posts along the Java seaboard. Booty prizes of Spanish and Portuguese shipping also attracted the brave and wily Dutch sailors. By 1609, the interests of the East India Company had grown to such an extent that it appointed Captain Both as Governor-General in Batavia. On his way home five years later he died, the Company appointing Jan Pieterszoon Coen to replace him. Brought up as a strict Calvinist, Coen

was descended from Italian Marrano-Jewish parents who had converted to Protestantism. As a young man of twenty he had sailed to India on commercial exploration and, by the early age of twenty-six, because of his high intellectual ability and bravery, the Company appointed him Director-General of the Indian trade, this to be followed later by his appointment as Governor-General of Java. His zeal to establish a Dutch colonial empire and his religious fervour prompted him to commit fearful atrocities in the subjugation of Djakarta and the foundation of Batavia as the capital of the Dutch East Indies. His depredations amongst English shipping forced him, in 1627, to return secretly to Java disguised as a sailor when he was appointed for a second term of office, his first five-year term having ended in 1624. He died suddenly in 1629 at the early age of forty-two, deeply mourned by the Company and by the Dutch Government, by whom he was considered one of Holland's ablest men.

Seven years after the death of Coen, the directors of the East India Company commissioned Antony Van Diemen as Governor-General. During his term of office the Council of Seventeen of the Company directed Van Diemen to pay attention to a territory called Zuidland. A rumour existed of a large island in the Pacific, full of gold and inhabited by Jews. Obeying orders implicitly, the Governor, in 1642, sent Abel Janszoon Tasman on a voyage of discovery in the yacht Heemskirk and the flyboat Zeehaen. If a name can be an indication of origin, Tasman probably employed Jews amongst his crew, for his quartermaster was a sailor by the name of Cornelius Joppe. On 13 December, 1642, Tasman and his men beheld shores never before seen by white men, which the master of the expedition named Staaten Land and which was subsequently named New Zealand by Captain Cook.

Tasman related in his diary that on 19 December, in the vicinity of what is now called Cook Strait, he sent a boat with seven men on board to warn the Zeehaento be on its guard and not to allow too many of the natives, who were coming out in their double canoes, to climb on deck at one time. When the boat cleared the Heemskirk, the canoes paddled towards her and the foremost native, with a blunt-pointed pike, gave the quartermaster, Cornelius Joppe, a blow on his neck that made him fall overboard. Joppe and two others swam to their vessel and were taken on board. Three of the others were killed and a fourth mortally wounded. One dead man was carried away by the natives and, without doubt, eaten. Finding little chance of obtaining supplies, Tasman weighed anchor and sailed from the place which he named "Murderers' Bay". He rounded the northern portion of the North Island, unsuccessful in seeking refreshment along the coast because he was afraid of the natives who came out to meet him. After about three weeks in the area, Tasman left New Zealand without landing and without planting the flag of his country on its shores. Neither did he find gold or Jews. New Zealand must have made an unfavourable impression upon him and thus he must have reported to his principals, for the Dutch made no further attempt to possess the land or to investigate it.

CHAPTER III
THE MAORI AND THE MUSKET

NOT UNTIL ONE HUNDRED AND TWENTY-SEVEN YEARS after Abel Tasman and his crew left New Zealand did another white man touch its shores. On his way home from Tahiti in 1769, hoping for discovery, Captain Cook sighted the distant hills of New Zealand, and remained in the area for about six months exploring and charting its coast. Like Surville and Dufresne, the French explorers who quickly followed him, Cook on his first voyage and on his subsequent visits in 1773, 1774 and 1777, succeeded in contacting the Maoris, with some maintaining friendly relations, whilst, with others, experiencing or witnessing frightening clashes which terminated in cannibalism. He left pigs, goats and fowls which increased in the forests. To many tribes he gave potatoes, which later became an important part of Maori food supply. When Cook's story was published in England and on the Continent, Europeans conceived a deep horror of the man-eating Maoris. New Zealand again became a neglected land.

After the English founded Sydney as a penal colony in 1788, eyes began to look towards the land to the east, but it was not until four years later that New South Wales first made contact with New Zealand. A sealing gang was left at Dusky Sound for about a year and collected the first fruits of the Australian seal trade which proved so lucrative to New South Wales. Sydney merchants soon discovered from visitors that kauri timber could be disposed of at a profit in India and at the Cape of Good Hope and that New Zealand flax proved a good substitute for Indian hemp when used for rope-making, sacking and cloth. Two Maori lads belonging to the tribe of which Te Pahi was chief were forcibly seized in 1793 and taken to Norfolk Island in order to teach the convicts the manner in which the flax should be woven. European whalers also found the seas around New Zealand well stocked with whales. Scores of vessels came out to carry on a profitable business of catching them and taking their oil to Europe and to New South Wales.

Each successive industry established in New Zealand required the presence of white workmen on shore for considerable periods of time, thus establishing friendly relations between the Europeans and the natives. For fuel for their stoves and for fresh water, vessels called in at Queen Charlotte Sound, Dusky Sound and especially at the Bay of Islands, near the extreme north of the North Island. There they also bought fish, pork and potatoes and paid for their food, sealskins, flax and timber, as well as for labour, with knives, blankets, tobacco and rum, and later with the natives' most prized acquisition, muskets and powder. From olden times, the various Maori tribes warred continually and fiercely with each other, this accounting for the comparatively small native population of about one hundred thousand in the two islands. Successful tribes carried the vanquished into slavery, eating the enemy dead and slaying any delectable or desirable captive. The natives soon learned the value of the musket, realizing that the man with the gun could easily overcome his foe. The Maoris also began to find out the advantage of having a white man dwelling near or amongst them. He acted as interpreter and agent to the ships which brought trade and articles which the Maoris began to desire. The natives seldom slew a white man, although from time to time quarrels did break out and deaths took place on both sides.

In the full flush of the whaling and sealing trade, over one hundred ships called in at the Bay of Islands in one year, the local native chief keeping ninety-six slave girls, who formed temporary unions with the visiting sailors. Some of the more adventurous seamen, charmed with the prospect of a semi-savage life, needed little persuasion to throw in their lot with the Maoris, joining their tribes and living according to native custom. The first "pakeha Maori" who lived in a native fashion was a young Englishman, George Bruce. When Governor King came to New South Wales he sent gifts to Te Pahi, the chief from whose tribe the two lads had been forcibly taken to Norfolk Island. Anxious to see the sender of the presents, Te Pahi and his four sons sailed to Sydney, where they were feted by all and entertained at Government House. On his return, Te Pahi induced Bruce, who had been kind to him during an illness, to return to New Zealand, to marry his daughter, tattoo his body and conform to the custom of his tribe. Bruce was the first of quite a number of "pakeha Maoris".

On the other hand, some of the natives, when they saw that the English did not harm them, shipped for voyages on board the whalers. They made good sailors and navigators. In 1805 a Maori sailed with an English surgeon all the way to London, and the English were as much astonished at the sight of a cannibal as the native was surprised at all he saw of London and other parts of England. Other natives also journeyed to England, one, Ruatara, returning in 1809 with the Rev. Samuel Marsden, the Senior Chaplain at Port Jackson.

Whilst in England, Marsden had enlisted the aid of the Church Missionary Society in establishing a mission settlement in New Zealand. His hopes, however, were dashed by an ugly incident. On his return to Sydney he heard of the Boyd which had sailed from Sydney to England. The captain had twice flogged a Maori sailor who, when the ship returned to the Bay of Islands to take on kauri spars, slipped ashore and informed his tribe of the insult proffered him by the white man. Revenge was agreed upon, which resulted in the slaughter of sixty-six persons who were

duly eaten. The horror of the disaster provoked high indignation and retaliation. The whalers indiscriminately shot the Maoris wherever they found them, over one hundred being killed out of hand in three years, while the natives slaughtered any white persons caught off their guard. Thus, in 1816, the Maoris slew and ate all the crew except one of an American brig, the Agnes,which was wrecked on their shores. The man who was kept alive was tattooed and served as a slave for twelve years. Marsden, therefore, had to postpone his venture, as did the New Zealand Company of New South Wales, which had made preliminary arrangements to open mercantile establishments in the land of the Maori.

Undaunted, Marsden tried once again to establish his mission. To help him, Governor Macquarie directed every vessel leaving Port Jackson for New Zealand to deposit £1000 in bonds to guarantee that no ship's crew would interfere with the sacred places of the natives or carry the Maoris off. Marsden's men contacted Ruatara, persuading him and his uncle Hongi, the chief of the Nga Puhi tribe, to visit Sydney to discuss the establishment of the mission. It resulted in the purchase of 200 acres of land on the shores of the Bay of Islands for the price of twelve axes, and the erection of rough houses as a station. The mission opened on 25 December, 1814, when Marsden preached from a pulpit built by Ruatara to a crowded Maori audience who did not understand one word of what he said. Marsden returned to Sydney leaving catechists behind in the belief his mission had succeeded. The position was far from satisfactory. Around the station, liberated convicts, who formed the bulk of the crews of the sealing and whaling ships, treated the natives coarsely and roughly. Murders, revengeful retaliation, thefts and quarrels resulted, and the crews and the traders did more harm than the missionaries did good. Hongi, the converted Christian, was also most dissatisfied, for the missionaries would not permit him to purchase guns and powder to slaughter the Maoris of the other tribes.

Hongi, however, did obtain his guns and powder. When the catechist Kendall returned to England in 1820, Hongi went with him, accompanied by another Maori chief, Nene. His guides pointed out to him the sights and might of England and introduced him to George IV who showered him with gifts, including an ancient suit of shining armour. He went to Cambridge, where he helped Professor Lee to compile a dictionary of the Maori language. All London, including the Jews of the East End quarter, came to see the chief who had eaten dozens of men. Hongi returned to Sydney loaded with gifts which he later sold, buying instead three hundred muskets and plenty of powder which he took with him to New Zealand. "There is but one king in England," he told his tribe, "and there shall be only one king amongst the Maoris." Within a few days he had defeated a rival tribe in battle, killing one thousand men and feasting upon their bodies, Hongi tearing out the eyes of the rival chief and swallowing them on the battlefield. Another thousand captives were taken to the tribal village where they were slain and cooked to provide a feast for the women.

The cannibal chief did become predominant in the North Island, slaughtering and feasting as he warred, but in 1827 he quarrelled with his friends. They also now had muskets, and in a fight Hongi was shot through the chest, from which wound he died a few months later. Pomare succeeded Hongi and adopted his warlike ambitions. The other tribes realized that they could only save themselves by the purchase of muskets, for which they offered the traders ten and twenty times their value in flax and other produce. Te Whero-whero ambushed Pomare and killed him, and Te Whero-whero in due course was challenged by the most determined and wiliest of Maori chiefs, Te Rauparaha, from Kawhia. Te Rauparaha, however, was defeated, and barely escaped with his life. Every tribe was now well supplied with muskets, none gaining the ascendancy. Slaughter and cannibalism and all the terrible scenes of Maori warfare continued day by day; the Maoris suffering horrible losses, the whites gaining trade and merchandise at little cost in comparison with the profits they made by selling abroad the goods so obtained.

CHAPTER IV
THE FIRST OF THE JEWISH PIONEERS

THE SITUATION OF THE WHITE TRADERS IN NEW ZEALAND was by no means secure. They were few in number. An estimate given in 1838 considered that no more than five hundred whites lived along the coastline and in the interior. They were a wild and reckless lot, and because most deemed themselves to be beyond the reach of English law, atrocious crimes were committed against white and native alike. Frequently, the native, proud and sensitive, would revenge himself for a wrong, real or imagined. Some Englishmen in the Bay of Islands, living at the settlement named Kororareka, a place much favoured by the whites on account of its "grogshops", built themselves homes on the hills behind the beach.

They secured their homes with high fences and defended them with a cannon or two. However, the natives were dependent upon the traders for their guns and powder. They eagerly welcomed the man with the muskets, and in the course of time nearly two hundred whites were living Maori-fashion with the tribes. They often acted as agents for the merchants of Sydney who had no desire to live with the Maoris, or act as lonely sealers, or live in association with the unruly mob of traders, whalers and adventurers who flowed in and out of Kororareka. A Captain Wiseman traded around Banks Peninsula in the Canterbury area of the South Island. He acted, in 1829, as agent for a Sydney firm, Cooper and Levy. Before Port Lyttelton, which now serves Christchurch, received its name, it was known as Port Cooper and a port close by to the north, which was the largest native village in the area, numbering one hundred and thirty Maoris, was called Port Levy. It is said that Wiseman bought Port Cooper from the natives on behalf of his principals, but the transaction is hidden in obscurity owing to the untimely death of Wiseman by drowning in 1831.

Cooper and Levy could well have afforded to purchase large tracts of land, even if the price had been far greater than the amount Wiseman is alleged to have paid for the port. The partnership of Cooper and Levy owned extensive properties in and around Sydney. In 1825 Daniel Cooper, of the well-known business, Waterloo Stores, together with Solomon Levy, bought from Samuel Terry and others a large Sydney business which later became known as the Cooper and Levy Stores. Born in Whitechapel, London,Solomon Levy arrived in New South Wales in the early days of the nineteenth century together with his brothers Barnett and Isaac. Barnett later became the first person to establish a permanent theatre in Australia. Solomon prospered exceedingly in business as an auctioneer, ship-owner and general dealer. At that time there was no organized Jewish community in Sydney, but Levy, in his generosity, subscribed to all religious institutions in the city. He interested himself in several organizations working for the improvement of the poorer classes and was particularly active in his support of the Sydney Public Free Grammar School, being a member of its management committee. He died on 10 October, 1833, whilst on a visit to London, leaving large sums of money for educational and charitable institutions of Jewish and Christian denominations in England and in Australia. By a special Act of the New South Wales Parliament, the money left to the Sydney College for the benefit of orphan boys was later transferred to the Sydney University and became its initial benefaction.

An Australian Jewish squatter and mercantile pioneer, Joseph Barrow Montefiore, essayed to establish trading stations in New Zealand on his own account. He was a remarkable man who had a remarkable career. He possessed all the vigour and religious zeal of his world-renowned first cousin, Sir Moses Montefiore, in addition to an urge to travel and to become a landed mercantile prince. Born in London in June, 1803, he was taken by his father as a young lad to the West Indies where the Jews had established an influential community. There he gained a good knowledge of agriculture on the local plantations and also learned to handle men. On reaching his majority he returned to London, joining the big business activities of his renowned family connections—the Montefiores and the Rothschilds—by buying a seat on the Stock Exchange as one of the "twelve Jew brokers", for a sum of £1500. The enclosed life of a city

office did not satisfy the man who had enjoyed an open-air existence in the West Indies, and when the British Government made it known that it was prepared to grant tracts of land to men of capital in order to open up the colony of New South Wales, Joseph Barrow Montefiore applied for such a grant. He stated that he possessed over £10,000 besides thousands of pounds held for him in trust. He was prepared to emigrate with his family and as an agriculturalist to specialize in the growing of medicinal herbs in which he had considerable experience, and to breed cattle and horses as well as Merino sheep. He arrived in New South Wales in 1829, purchasing large tracts of land in addition to the 5000 acres in the Wellington Valley, at the conflux of the Bell and Macquarie Rivers, received as a grant. The township built on the shores close by was called Montefiore.

Besides farming and breeding livestock, Joseph Barrow set himself up as a merchant in Sydney, trading under the name of Montefiore Brothers, his brother, Jacob, living in London, being the other partner. Jacob later added to his colonial interests when appointed by King William IV as one of the Colonial Commissioners administering the Colony of South Australia under the Wakefield Scheme. He accomplished his task from London, not coming out to Australia until 1853, when he came to Melbourne for about two years in order to expand his business in Victoria in connection with the buying of gold, wool and tallow. He came to a country where the name of Montefiore was already well known for reliability and trustworthiness. Joseph Barrow Montefiore had established the firm in a number of places as soon as he had arrived in Australia, travelling for this purpose through New South Wales and Van Diemen's Land, as Tasmania was then called, setting up agencies and viewing business prospects.

With the purpose of becoming acquainted with New Zealand, its products and its general character, as well as with the habits, manners and general disposition of the natives, and with the intention of forming extensive mercantile establishments, Joseph Barrow Montefiore chartered a barque in August, 1830, sailed for New Zealand, and coasted for four months around the islands. He had previously appointed Barnet Burns as his agent at Mahia to buy flax from the natives, and intended to visit him and another agent at Poverty Bay. In order to understand the natives better he had hired two Maoris who were visiting Sydney to teach him to speak the Maori language, in which he became fluent enough to make himself understood.

Travelling southwards along the west coast of the North Island, Joseph Barrow Montefiore alighted at Kawhia where the local Maori chief, Hapuka, begged him to establish a trading station. To induce Montefiore to accept, Hapuka gave him a parcel of land, about two acres in extent, beside the harbour. Two white men lived native-fashion in the area, whom Montefiore suspected to be runaway convicts. He added another white man to their number, appointing one of his men as a trader and leaving with him a considerable amount of merchandise to barter with the natives. The Maoris, extremely intelligent and quick in perception, treated Montefiore with the utmost courtesy and the most open-handed hospitality. They recognized a gentleman and easily distinguished him from the ordinary white men with whom they usually came in contact and for whom they had lost all respect on account of their outrageous behaviour and conduct.

Only very few "gentlemen" had visited New Zealand before Montefiore. Although he considered Maoris indolent according to western standards, he admired their courage and their inordinate love of bargaining. They not only welcomed the trader for the goods he had to dispose of but also gladly received him for the sake of striking a bargain. Wherever he went Montefiore put his trust in the Maoris, placing his guns in their charge. They would lead him into the interior where he surveyed prospects for the future. He felt secure enough, yet never forgot that treachery was possible. The Maoris possessed a sense of honour, and through his handing over his weapons, they probably considered Montefiore as a person under their special protection. At one village to which he and his men did not carry any arms, he overheard a Maori girl say that the natives intended to kill him and his companions on the following day. Montefiore and his party left

immediately. They returned next day fully armed, and the natives, noticing the whites on guard, did not attempt to molest them and proceeded to carry out their barter in the usual fashion.

Montefiore was deeply impressed with the beauty of New Zealand and the prospects it held for the pioneer. He once stated that although he had been in the Brazils, Van Diemen's Land, New South Wales and on the Continent, he had never seen a country to equal it for scenery, climate and productiveness. "It is a perfect paradise," he said. "I think so highly of the country that, although when I went out to New South Wales, His Majesty George IV granted me 5000 acres of land, I would readily have changed it for 1000 in New Zealand." He was the first to call New Zealand the "Britain of the South".

Montefiore, however, did not settle in the new country which fascinated him so profoundly. Sailing southwards to Entry Island, called by the natives Kapiti, he found the Maoris in the area in a wild, truculent state. Heavily armed and puffed with pride over a recent victory against a South Island tribe, they persistently threatened to kill every white man in their land. Their increasingly hostile and belligerent attitude persuaded Montefiore to abandon his original intention of establishing a large trading station at Cloudy Bay, in the South Island, and to terminate his exploratory voyage and visit to his agents in the Poverty Bay district. He sent his barque on, and he himself, with some anxiety and concern, boarded the brig *Elizabeth,* under the master Captain John Stewart, which then lay off the shores of Kapiti. The *Elizabeth* carried eight guns including two swivels, two kegs of gunpowder, two kegs of flints and bullets, besides an adequate supply of small arms. Once on board the Elizabeth, Montefiore soon discovered the source of the aggressive unrest amongst the natives.

Te Hiko, the Maori chief in the Kapiti area, had thirsted for revenge against Te Mai Haranui, the native headman on Banks Peninsula. Soon after Te Hiko's father, Te Pehi, had returned from England where he had been presented to King George IV, Haranui had killed Te Pehi in battle. Allying himself with Te Rauparaha, Te Hiko and his partner persuaded Captain Stewart to sail to Banks Peninsula, Captain Stewart being promised fifty tons of New Zealand flax in exchange for this service and some muskets. Close on three hundred armed natives clambered aboard the Elizabeth whose crew stowed the Maoris under the hatches below deck on approaching Banks Peninsula so as to make it appear that no natives were on board. As usual, the Banks Peninsula Maoris crowded the deck of the Elizabeth in order to trade with the master and men, but Haranui became suspicious and hastily returned ashore, leaving some of his slaves behind him.

Quickly the hatches were uncovered. Te Rauparaha and Te Hiko and their companions rushed on deck, slaughtered the unfortunate slaves and prepared for battle with Haranui. He had no hope. Overwhelmed by superior weapons, his village was soon taken. Fifty men fell to the enemy's muskets whilst another fifty were captured and taken on board, Te Hiko himself capturing Haranui, his wife and twelve-year-old daughter. Fearful of the violence which would certainly have been done to her daughter, the wife of Haranui strangled her child with her own hands and threw her overboard. Ghoulish orgies took place on board the ship amongst the Maoris, who annihilated most of their victims and devoured them without a restraining hand or voice from the crew of the Elizabeth. Captain Stewart, however, when he sailed back to Kapiti, kept Haranui in his own charge. He chained him below deck and held him as a security against the receipt of the flax which had been promised to him. Te Hiko and Te Rauparaha reluctantly set two thousand slaves to collect it, but, flushed with victory, still thirsted for Haranui's blood. A spark would have set the Maoris aflame.

When Montefiore went on board the Elizabeth for his own safety, he remonstrated with Captain Stewart for the ignominious part he had played in the unhappy affair. He pleaded with the master of the brig to return immediately to Sydney and to take Haranui back with him. He considered that the Maoris would not hand over the flax. The Captain, however, would not take Montefiore's advice, stating that although he recognized the folly of sailing to Banks Peninsula, he now had to go through with the project. Moreover, he alleged that Haranui had killed white men and had,

five years previously, taken off the crew of H.M.S. Warspite, slaughtered them and then eaten them. By chance, Montefiore was given a cabin next to Haranui, and through the thin wooden partition was able to converse with the unfortunate Maori chief in his native tongue. The warrior, reconciled to his fate, denied that he had anything to do with the Warspite incident. He did not ask for mercy, nor did he expect it, but Montefiore did persuade the Captain to unshackle the luckless man, although he still kept him under lock and key.

For three or four weeks the Elizabeth lay off Kapiti Island waiting to load the expected consignment of flax. Occasionally, Montefiore, accompanied by a number of heavily armed companions, would venture into one of the native villages in the vicinity. They usually avoided remaining overnight, for fear of sudden attack. One day, however, he went with a Maori chief to Otaki, ten miles from the ship, and the following morning came to Te Hiko's settlement. To his surprise he saw Haranui brought in in a canoe.

Fearful of reprisals against him, Captain Stewart had handed the Maori chief over to his enemies. Te Hiko and Te Rauparaha displayed their captured opponent to the villages along the shore, where the women derided and mocked him and laughed at the incapacity of the fierce warrior. That was the last Montefiore saw of Haranui. When he went ashore the next morning, the natives pointed out the widow of Te Pehi wearing a necklace of the entrails of the Maori chief. During the night, after wild and macabre scenes of frenzied, triumphant victory, Haranui's enemies had stuck a knife into his throat and killed him. With the customary ceremonies they cut up his body and ate him, his heart being divided into several portions and sent as a token of respect to the villages in the neighbourhood. Haranui's wife also, after she had been cruelly maltreated and abused, received similar treatment to that which had befallen her husband.

Montefiore, horribly shocked at the wilful delivery of the chief and his wife to certain death, entreated Captain Stewart to return to Sydney, convinced of the danger from the Maoris in their flushed, exultant mood and certain that they would not hand over the coveted flax. Captain Stewart still waited about another ten days and then, convinced of the futility of waiting any longer, set sail for Sydney, where he arrived on 14 January, 1831.

Without delay, Montefiore, on his arrival, reported the remarkable affair to the authorities. He then learned that Captain Stewart had acquired an evil reputation for dealing in the shrunken, shrivelled, preserved heads of murdered Maoris. The Governor, Sir Ralph Darling, insisted that Stewart come up for trial, but the Captain had considerable influence, and whilst he was out on bail he spirited some of the witnesses away. He also had Dr Wardell, the editor of the Australian, to defend him. The latter made good use of his columns, claiming that the law in Australia did not extend to any savage brawls in New Zealand. When Stewart came up for trial in May, 1831, the Crown was not ready to proceed, but charged him with another misdemeanour, for which he was allowed bail of £2000 for an indefinite period. The following month he was discharged on his own recognizance in the sum of £1000. Stewart never came up for trial before a human judge. His final reckoning came to him by other means not long after. He sailed for America and, whilst rounding Cape Horn, suddenly dropped dead reeking of rum. Unceremoniously his men cast his body into the sea.

Te Mai Haranui's nephew and other chiefs around Banks Peninsula sought protection from Governor Darling as the representative of England. The Governor did intend to send Captain Sturt as Resident to New Zealand, but a notification of his recall to the home country induced him to abandon this scheme.

Although Montefiore did not return to New Zealand, he still retained a connection with the country. On behalf of his firm he appointed Thomas Ralph, a young man respectably connected in Sydney, as his agent and trader along the banks of the River Mokau on the west coast. Ralph married a native chief's daughter with whom he lived happily. Internecine strife broke out amongst the Maori villages and though Ralph himself was on good terms with everyone, his

father-in-law's enemies expected "utu" from all relatives and associates. They surrounded the hut where Ralph slept with his native spouse and informed him that they intended to kill him or keep him as a slave. Stripping Ralph of all his possessions and clothes, they separated him from his wife and carried him away into the bush, burning the village to the ground, together with twenty-two tons of flax which Ralph had collected for Montefiore Brothers. Ralph's wife was probably eaten.

His savage tormentors showed him no mercy. Footsore and starved and undergoing indescribable indignities, he finally decided to escape. Unluckily he lost his way. Caught once again, his foes determined to kill him. Whilst in the act of lifting their spears for the fatal thrust, one of the young stalwarts threw him to the ground and placing his body over Ralph's back, prevented the others from carrying out their foul intention. Probably the young stalwart wanted Ralph as a slave. A slave in the hand was worth more than a dead pakeha. A fierce debate took place amongst the men as to Ralph's ultimate fate and finally his death was resolved upon. They concluded their deliberations with a feast around a campfire, throwing to Ralph morsels of food left over from their meal. Whilst the poor, starved man fearfully and hungrily ate the scraps thrown to him, a native crept up behind him and, at point-blank range, fired a musket at his head. It misfired. The maddened native was endeavouring to fire again when a chief snatched the musket from his hand. Arriving at one of the villages, the chiefs allowed Ralph to send a message to Captain Kent, who arranged for his satisfactory ransom.

Ralph's terrifying experience did not deter him from continuing to live in native fashion amongst the Maoris. He moved to Uawa River, Tolaga Bay, still working as a flax agent for Montefiore Brothers. As he was married to the daughters of a number of chiefs, they resorted to a novel method of dealing with Ralph whenever they started to battle amongst themselves. They locked him up in order that he should remain neutral, and released him when the battle was over.

Joseph Barrow Montefiore continued his mercantile connections with New Zealand for a number of years, trading mostly in flax and later adding whale oil as a commodity for export to England and Australia.

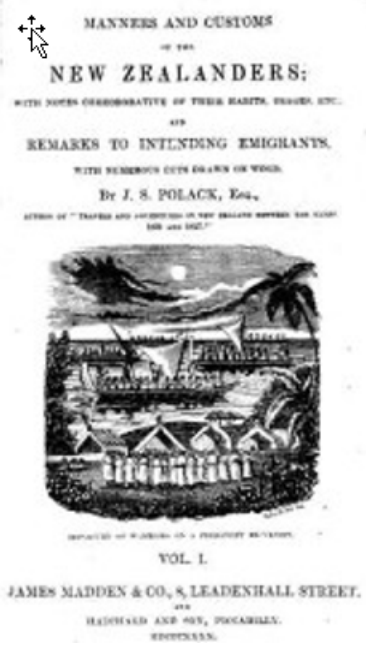
Joseph Barrow Montefiore, who visited New Zealand in 1830 and for a number of years afterwards traded in flax and whale oil. Though he did not settle in the country it was he who first named New Zealand "Britain of the South".

John Israel Montefiore, who came to the Bay of Islands in 1831, and later achieved respect and prominence in the mercantile and civic affairs of early Auckland.

A drawing by Joel Samuel Polack of Kororareka in 1836. Polack's substantial trading store is the building in the foreground. This book, and others he wrote on New Zealand, stamped Polack as a versatile scholar and knowledgeable writer and artist. **Fig. 1 next Pa**ge

The title page of J. S. Polack's Manners and Customs of the New Zealanders, published in 1838. This book, and others he wrote on New Zealand **Fig. 2 next Pa**ge

Fig. 1



MANNERS AND CUSTOMS

NEW ZEALANDERS:

REMARKS TO INTENDING EMIGRANTS.

By J. S. POLACK, Esq.

VOL. I.

JAMES MADDEN & CO., 8, LEADENHALL STREET.

The title page of J. S. Polack's *Manners and Customs of the New Zealanders*, published in 1838. This book, and others he wrote on New Zealand, stamped Polack as a versatile scholar and knowledgeable writer and artist.

Fig. 2

CHAPTER V
JOEL SAMUEL POLACK

AT ABOUT THE TIME JOSEPH BARROW MONTEFIORE RETURNED TO SYDNEY, another adventurous young Jew, twenty-four-year-old Joel Samuel Polack, was making preparations to leave Sydney for New Zealand. Though young in years, he had travelled extensively and could be described as a man of considerable experience. Born in London in March, 1807, of Dutch parents who had settled in England, he began at a very early age to follow the calling of his father, Solomon Polack, a well-known London Jewish artist. When only sixteen, young Joel Samuel exhibited miniature paintings at the Royal Academy. Apparently the proceeds from his activities as a miniature portrait painter did not bring him

affluence, for he joined the War Office and served in the Commissariat and Ordnance Department for which his talents and education well fitted him. A sound knowledge of a number of sciences, languages as well as histories, helped him to be selected for tasks which carried him to many parts of Europe, North America and even as far as South Africa on behalf of the Department. Of an inquiring mind and with an interest in exploration, he took the opportunity, whilst on the African continent, of sailing for Madagascar where, helped by his knowledge of French, he made investigations concerning the nature of the interior of the island.

His keenness to travel brought him out to Sydney where his brother Abraham already enjoyed a reputation as an innkeeper and a pillar of the Jewish community. In 1839 he was elected Chairman of the Building Committee to erect a new synagogue in York Street, Sydney. Joel Samuel Polack set himself up as a merchant and ships' chandler, but whether business competition was too fierce or whether he enjoyed exploration better than trade, is not known, but it was not many months after he had arrived in Sydney that he was already on his way to New Zealand.

He landed in 1831 at Hokianga, on the west coast of the North Island, where the Wesleyans had established a mission. The Methodists, when they founded their first mission station, in 1822, in the vicinity of the Anglican settlement in the Bay of Islands, worked in co-operation with their Christian brethren with little sectarian rivalry. Later, the Methodists alleged that the catechists and the lay workers of the Church Missionary Society station established by Marsden, were labouring for their own private benefit instead of trying to improve the status of the natives. The rivalries between the two sects grew to such an extent that the Wesleyans decided to move from the east to the west coast. Polack appreciated their efforts and motives, though the natives themselves were wary and suspicious. The missionaries acted in the kindest way to Polack.

Quickly learning to understand and speak the Maori language, Polack soon gained the trust and confidence of the Hokianga natives, who told him all he wanted to know since he was not a missionary. The natives respected the traders more than they did the missionaries because they received something from the merchants and greatly enjoyed bartering. Traders also had a better understanding of the character of the natives. The Maoris took a particular liking to Polack. He reciprocated. He respected their keen intelligence and enjoyed their sense of humour. For twelve pleasant months he collected flax at Hokianga, carefully noting Maori customs and recording their tales and legends. From them he learnt the native version of the coming of the white man. They thought the ship in which Captain Cook arrived to be a gigantic bird. When they saw a smaller ship and white human beings on it, they believed it was a house full of divinities. The killing of a chief from a musket shot they thought to be a thunderbolt from the "atuas", the gods, whilst the sound which issued from the musket was their thunder. Their dearest wish was to revenge themselves for the slaying of their chief, but they did not know how it could be done against the power of divinities. They considered the white man could bewitch them with a look and that some Maoris had become ill when staring at them. For this reason they thought it would be better to be rid of the "atuas".

As a clever, trained observer, Polack accumulated a great fund of knowledge on many aspects of the Maoris and New Zealand. His native friends helped him garner much of his material. Their friendship, too, led him quietly to form a liaison with a Maori girl.

Within a short time of arrival, Polack began to satisfy his passion for exploration. Using a whaleboat, he sailed for Kaipara on a commercial speculation, principally to discover if the river had a channel through its sand-bar. Early in 1832 he made a similar exploration, going farther afield in search of spars and flax. He always took his native servant, Puhi, with him. On the second venture ten natives accompanied him in order to visit their relatives and to gain prestige for serving a "Rangatira no Uropi", a gentleman from Europe. Wherever he went he was received hospitably, rubbing noses with the natives and causing astonishment amongst them. They would watch him dressing in the mornings, and his washing, shaving and mirror were continual sources of amazement. His comb did not arouse curiosity as they possessed a similar article for personal

use. At one village, as a sign of friendship, a native carried him on his back and took him down hill, whilst at another village where he rested, the head of a family offered him his beautiful, pleasant, vivacious, fifteen-year-old daughter as a wife. Polack was given no time to accept or refuse. The girl, Konihaua, ran off.

Sailing down the Wairoa River and exploring the Thames area, he estimated the land would be good for colonization, so he prepared the way by mapping and sketching the rivers, coastline and surrounding terrain. His journey was not free from fear. Once he came to a village where he was horrified to see decapitated heads of natives stuck on the palings of the Maori pa, and the fierceness of the terrifying shouts and movements of naked Maoris dancing a haka also caused him no little trepidation. Not without belief in God, Polack, on his return, offered a prayer of thankfulness to his Heavenly Father that He had brought him back safely to Hokianga.

Not long after he came back from his expedition, Polack realized that Hokianga held no future for him and that Kororareka, in the Bay of Islands, because of its excellent harbour and facilities, would be the town that would prosper. He transferred to Kororareka, setting himself up as a trader and as a wholesale and retail merchant. From the natives he bought five separate pieces of land, a total of 1100 acres. The first parcel of land, 250 acres in extent, at Taiaruru, he received in exchange for various articles to the value of 15 shillings. Another large estate cost him only 25 shillings, whilst yet another area of 91/2 acres in Kororareka cost him 40 shillings. He called the latter Parramatta. He bought it from Tohitapu, a ferocious warrior who had taken part in the massacre of Marion Dufresne, the French explorer, and his companions. For his part in the attack, Tohitapu had been allotted Dufresne's body.

Not all the purchases of land Polack made were voluntary. The three smaller sites were forced upon him by the natives and he bought them only for the sake of good will. On the Kororareka property, which lay on a hill close by the waterfront at the extreme north of the town, he built a substantial store which, because of its position, was one of the prominent buildings in the township. Although the natives fully understood the nature of a land purchase and a barter transaction, they had little perception of the value of their property in relation to the goods they received in exchange, but Polack had not the slightest intention of misleading them. The prices he paid were the current rates prevalent in the Bay of Islands at the time. In reality, the actual vendors of the land did not usually receive the full amount of the barter handed over to them by the purchaser. Native law demanded that all persons connected, even only vaguely, with the vendor should share in the goods received. Polack related that once, when passing through a native village where a transaction had just been concluded, he unwillingly received, at the insistence of the Maoris, a small portion of the proceeds.

No authority existed in the Bay of Islands to prevent the exploitation of the natives. Kororareka was a wild place. Throughout the seven seas it had gained an unsavoury reputation as a sink of iniquity. Every evil and crime imaginable was committed there by white against white and by white against the Maori. The violence offered to the natives by masters of sailing vessels nearly cost Polack his life. On his first expedition after taking up his abode on the east coast, he sailed for Tolaga Bay in his whaling boat. After showing him relics of Captain Cook, whom they called Kuki, the Maoris made an attempt to capture both him and his boat in the belief that he was about to commit an offence against them as masters of other vessels had done. He barely escaped with his life. Because of the relationship between white and native he always had to be alert against treachery when moving out of the settlement of the Bay of Islands. When he made an expedition to the Poverty Bay area in June, 1835, only a warning by two natives enabled him to take the action necessary to avoid capture.

If the Maoris had been united amongst themselves, it might have resulted in the complete annihilation of the Europeans at Kororareka, but each tribe vied with his neighbour, this sometimes leading to a mere token display of hostility but on other occasions resulting in great loss of life. At the Bay of Islands, Polack witnessed a fight in which three thousand natives were

involved but not one life was forfeited. The missionaries of the Church Missionary Society had little influence amongst them. One or two of the catechists had acted in such a way as to undo all the labour of Marsden and his colleagues. The missionaries did not enjoy the confidence of the whites because the missionaries opposed their evil habits and stood aloof from them. On the other hand the settlers believed the missionaries had acquired vast tracts of land for themselves personally and not for the church, and that they opposed colonization in order to serve their own private interests.

In the midst of the obscure state of affairs around the Bay of Islands there appeared another factor to add to the confusion. When the catechist Kendall had taken the native chief, Hongi, to England and so to Professor Lee at Cambridge so that he could transcribe into writing the spoken language of the Maoris, the appearance of Hongi awakened in one of the undergraduates of Queen's College the echoes of tales of adventure he had heard in his childhood about New Zealand. This undergraduate, Baron Charles de Thierry, born in London in 1793 of emigre French parents who had escaped the French Revolution by a hair's breadth, gave Kendall thirty-six axes and a sum of money variously stated as £700, £1100 and £16,000 to buy him an estate at Hokianga. In due course Kendall sent him a deed of purchase for 40,000 acres of land. Supported by the deed, the Baron applied to the Colonial Office for protection and for a loan of £10,000 to assist him to colonize New Zealand. The Government of the time, reluctant PAGE 37to add to its colonial obligations, refused to help de Thierry as New Zealand "was not considered a possession of the Crown". He then applied to the French Government which also refused to become involved.

Since no country claimed dominion over the islands, de Thierry considered himself free to act independently and launched a colonization scheme on the strength of his deed of purchase. Rumours of de Thierry's plans to annex the land they possessed reached the settlers in New Zealand and they put pressure upon the Governor of New South Wales to place New Zealand under his protection. The missionaries, in order to save the Maoris from the depredations of the whites, also influenced the North Auckland chiefs to meet at Kerikeri and to ask for the protection of "King William the Gracious, Chief of England". It resulted in the appointment in 1832, by the Governor of New South Wales, of James Busby, a Sydney engineer, as British Resident in New Zealand at a salary of £500 plus £200 for gifts to the Maoris. Since the British Government did not desire any further colonial responsibilities, Busby was given no authority except a letter to "the chiefs of New Zealand" and told "to conciliate the goodwill of the chiefs" and "to lay the foundations of your measures upon the influence which you shall obtain over the native chiefs". Kororareka's reputation would not allow Busby to take up his residence in the township. He built his residence on the opposite side of the bay.

Busby and Polack did not agree with each other. Polack, except for business purposes and one or two particular friends, kept himself aloof from the rest of the Kororareka community. He wanted to play the gentleman. He sought friendship with Busby as an equal, but the latter regarded Polack as obnoxious. Amongst other matters, Polack resented any imputation against his character but somehow Busby had discovered through the usual channels of gossip of a small isolated township that Polack had lived with a native girl at Hokianga. Polack's reformed views did not help him. When writing about two native women who were working for him, he was particularly careful to mention that they served him for washing and cooking only "as I determined in Sydney to have no communication with the women of this place as I had a responsible character to support." He even became puritan in his outlook. A white man, Dominick Ferari, who had worked for him as a carpenter, had been living with a native princess for years. One day, Polack informed Ferari that he did not consider himself a canonized saint but he could not allow Ferari to continue working for him, although he was an admirable artisan and a man whom he wanted and needed, unless Ferari married the girl legally under the auspices of the missionaries.

James Busby also would not tolerate Polack because he continued to trade extensively with a Maori chief of the district, Rete, who had been guilty of an attack upon the British Resident. Neither the settlers nor the natives paid much attention to Busby, who had no authority to wield

and whose sincere efforts were scoffed at and criticized by both the Governor of New South Wales, who had sent him, and the inhabitants of the Bay of Islands. Polack became one of his most hostile critics. As for the natives, they quickly learnt to ape the antagonism of the whites. Polack's hostility to Busby arose not only because he would not treat with him as an equal, but also because the Resident would not help him recover some possessions which the natives had stolen from his house. The natives would always demand "utu" for the slightest injury or pretext. Once, Polack's servant threw out a hoe to the gardener. It missed its mark and hit a local native chief who was passing. Next day the chief sent one of his slaves to Polack to inquire if it would be "equally convenient to strip him on Monday as he did not want to disturb the Sabbath of the missionaries". Normally, amongst the natives stripping a home of all its possessions constituted satisfaction of any demand for compensation. On another occasion, some Maoris came and asked Polack for tools to help the natives who were working in his garden.

Whilst Polack went away on business, the Maoris, in league with a female servant working in the house, entered the premises and stole £-150 worth of goods. Polack caught them and solicited the aid of Busby, who happened to be in Kororareka at the time, to have the Maoris return the merchandise to him. The Maoris told Busby that Polack cursed them and had said he would cut off the head of one of the Maoris and cook it in a frying-pan. The natives had a superstitious dread of being cursed. It was a sufficient injury to demand "utu". Busby told them that if they had any cause of complaint against Polack they should have told him. He ordered the stolen goods to be returned. The chief returned a musket and shovel but his companions brazenly refused to give anything back. The chief grabbed the musket and shovel and walked off with it again. Seeing that it was hopeless to argue any more with the natives, Busby strode off and made his way back by boat to his residence on the other side of the harbour, accompanied by defiant volleys from the muskets of the Maoris who fired over his head.

This demonstration annoyed Busby the more as he was inclined to believe the natives because they had never acted in that way before. He concluded a report on the matter with: "The Jew's bearing towards the natives had not been such as was in every way calculated, in the absence of efficient protection, to secure his safety." Polack persistently requested the Resident to take up his case with the Maoris, but Busby refused point-blank to do so. He had been taught his lesson. Once before he had pursued the natives in order to recover some stolen goods, but he had had to retire ignominiously after finding his life in danger when some of the natives began snooting at him. The settlers scoffed at him because he failed in his mission, and the Governor of New South Wales also criticized him, instructing him not to act as a constable and sarcastically referred to the fact of his "retiring with so little advantage". Besides an acrimonious correspondence between Busby and Polack, the latter, with an able and sharp pen acted as secret correspondent for the Sydney periodical the Australian which severely admonished the Resident for not helping the Europeans. Polack consistently sniped at Busby, writing in the strain: "Mr Busby is found to be worse than useless in protecting the residents." The quarrel between the two men grew to such intensity that Busby refused access to Polack and refused to have any connection with him except by correspondence.

In spite of Busby's antagonism, Polack was regarded as a man of standing in the community, though he may not have been popular. Busby's opinion of him could not have improved when Polack opened a brewery in 1835. Amongst the many crimes for which the Europeans were responsible against the Maoris, few were more iniquitous than the indiscriminate sale to them of spirituous liquors. It caused incalculable harm to their morale, self-esteem and conduct. It thoroughly demoralized them. Naively, Polack stated that he had built his brewery so as to put beer on the Kororareka market in order that it should take the place of spirits. If the natives acquired a taste for beer, he hoped they would be prevented from drinking more injurious liquors. Polack ordered his hops from Sydney and employed a Hobart Town brewer to brew them. On this account he later claimed to have introduced "New Zealand's first foreign manufacture". It may have been Polack's brewery which accounted for Busby writing so bitterly about him. In a letter to his brother, the Resident stated: "He is universally detested here. The other settlers know

that he is as great a rogue as the worst of them, and he, forsooth, wants to play the gentleman amongst them. . . . Confound the scamp that I should have taken up so much paper with him!"

CHAPTER VI
A SELECT COMMITTEE ON THE ISLANDS OF NEW ZEALAND

BUSBY'S DISLIKE OF POLACK did not prevent the trader from signing a petition with many other inhabitants of the Bay of Islands and sending it through the British Resident to His Majesty King William IV. The petition asked for relief of the situation then existing in the area. Although the petitioners were aware that the British Government had no desire to extend its colonies, they stressed that a great number of the white settlers stood in need of protection. More than five hundred lived north of the Thames, many of whom were rearing children born in New Zealand. More Englishmen were coming out as immigrants and shipping was attracted by the good anchorage, the means to replenish stores and the excellent fishing in the area. In the six months ending June, 1836, one hundred and one vessels visited the bay. The lawlessness of many of the British residents, however, and the shocking crimes committed by them and by visiting sailors, made Kororareka almost untenable. White people attacked other whites and natives with impunity. Property was not safe. Crews of vessels were decoyed ashore and whilst they were absent from their ships, the vessels would be plundered and thoroughly stripped. The British Resident had no power to stop the depredations and the petitioners were afraid that if His Majesty did not take action in the matter, more murders would be committed and violence done.

The petitioners also feared annexation. Baron Charles de Thierry had sailed from England, with his wife, two children and a small retinue, for New Zealand by way of Sydney. On the way he had stopped at Nukahiva, in the Marquesas. Here, on 21 July, 1835, he persuaded the local chiefs "to solemnly invest" him with sovereignty of the island and swear allegiance to him, his heirs and successors. Proceeding to Tahiti he wrote a majestic letter to James Busby, informing him of his imminent arrival "having already declared my independence to Their Majesties—the Kings of Britain and France and to the President of the United States". He signed himself, "Sovereign Chief of New Zealand and King of Nukahiva". On receipt of the letter, Busby ceremoniously summoned a congress of thirty-five native chiefs who, by official proclamation, announced their independence as "The United Tribes of New Zealand". The Declaration of Independence was sent to Governor Gipps of New South Wales and to Baron de Thierry. The former, with a customary scoff at the Resident, said that Busby, having no other guns, had fired off "his paper pellet" at de Thierry. The latter sailed on undeterred. On the other hand, the inhabitants of the Bay of Islands were deeply concerned with de Thierry's claims and they hoped that their petition to the British Government would bring relief.

Besides Polack there was one other Jew amongst the many petitioners who signed the document. He was John Israel Montefiore. A Londoner by birth, he came to the Bay of Islands in 1831 and acted as a trader in a store along the seafront. Although a distant cousin of Joseph Barrow Montefiore, he had no business connection with him. Nevertheless, as a bearer of a noble and aristocratic Anglo-Jewish name, he upheld the honour of his family in surroundings where even the strongest will could easily have been tempted. Some residents disliked Polack because they presumed he played the gentleman. All recognized John Israel Montefiore as a true gentleman. Polack once stated that the only persons he associated with on the Bay of Islands were Mr Montefiore and a "Captain Powditch, a person equally respectable". Whether or not Mr Montefiore reciprocated the feeling is not stated. In order to keep away from the wicked township, Montefiore, in August, 1836, bought for £20 sterling a 346-acre property from the Maori chiefs, Ware Rahi, Pau, Pokerehu and Tupunapara. Situated at Manawa Bay, on the eastern side of the Bay of Islands peninsula, the property, although a watering place, was so far away from the town

that Montefiore was able to find the isolation he desired. When, in 1838, other properties of a smaller size, purchased for about the same price, rose to a value of £4000 and land along the waterfront at Kororareka, because of keen competition, sold at prices equal to land in large towns in Europe, i.e., at £3 a foot, Montefiore's station was valued at only £47. As a gentleman he deliberately separated himself from the rabble.

Polack's restless nature induced him in March, 1836, to leave for Sydney for a prolonged period, taking with him, as he usually did, his native servant, Puhi. He could not long remain in one place when he returned. Early in 1837, he revisited Hokianga where he was deeply impressed by the progress achieved by the Wesleyan missionaries in improving the standards of the natives. Their efforts were somewhat hampered at the time by a crusade amongst the natives, rumoured to have been introduced by a captain of a ship, but which Polack believed was spread by a Christian sectarian. The movement, called Papahuriha, instilled a belief in the native that by shouting the magic word, meaning "Father in Heaven", no harm would come to him no matter what he did. Its adherents also observed Saturday as the Sabbath. Easily roused, the natives did not cover their religious differences by tolerance, but, in a most un-Christianlike manner, fought against each other with fierce fury.

Having won popularity amongst the Hokianga natives whom he had known previously, Polack was offered a daughter of a chief as a wife. Doubtless the chief thought he had honoured Polack, for the natives were very strict in their customs with regard to marriage, and through it a chieftainess conferred her rank and property upon her husband. No inducement would allow Polack to accept. Soon afterwards he decided to forsake his adventurous life in New Zealand, at least temporarily, and, on 15 May, 1837, he left for England.

A few months after Polack's arrival in London, the House of Lords appointed a Select Committee to inquire into the state of the islands of New Zealand. Rumours that the French intended to annex the islands were rife. In addition, Baron Charles de Thierry had at last arrived in Sydney and had written "to the White People of New Zealand" that on the first Wednesday of every month "six respectable men, previously selected by the body of the settlers, shall assemble to deliberate with the Baron de Thierry on all matters connected with the happiness and prosperity of the community". He promised a Utopian existence with equality of race, religious freedom, free medical attention and no taxation. Unfortunately for him, he could not persuade the master of any vessel to take him to New Zealand and he fretted in Sydney for many months. At last he induced an American skipper to oblige him and, together with an entourage of ninety-three of the riff-raff of New South Wales, set sail for Hokianga. He was deeply disappointed with his reception. All the Europeans there regarded his arrival as the best New Zealand joke to that date. Kendall, the catechist, dismissed some time previously by the Church Missionary Society, had disappeared with his money and the Maoris refused to recognize his claim to 40,000 acres. After a great deal of haggling, Nene, the Maori chief who had accompanied Hongi to England, granted to de Thierry 300 acres, and upon this small parcel of land he solemnly hoisted his discredited flag and established his Lilliputian kingdom. Although the British Government may also have regarded de Thierry's claims as fantastic, the increasing notice which New Zealand was receiving made it imperative for the Government to come to a decision regarding its policy.

Pressure upon the Government came also from another source, the New Zealand Land Company, of which Edward Gibbon Wakefield was the prime mover. The first New Zealand Association was formed in London in 1825. It sent an expedition with some sixty settlers to New Zealand, but when it arrived at Hokianga a native haka to welcome the guests so terrified the colonists, who mistook it for a war-dance, that all except four insisted, under the terms of the contract, that they be conveyed to England as they did not wish to stay.

In 1837 another New Zealand Association was formed with Francis Baring as chairman, and with a committee comprised mainly of former members and including some of those active in colonizing South Australia under the Wakefield scheme. Wakefield was impressed with the

overstocked labour market in England which caused unemployment and low wages amongst the working classes. He disapproved more of the competition amongst the employing classes. To relieve competition amongst them he believed emigration to the colonies must be designed to attract capital and some of the people themselves who had capital to invest. He thought the key to the problem was the method of selling land. The system by which grants of land were given away freely or were sold at a very low price had the disadvantage of creating landowners without labourers to work the soil. This made the colonies unattractive to capitalists who "do not like to work with their own hands", but "like to direct with their heads the labours of others". Unrestricted free grants also created dispersed settlement which produced an uncultured type of life unattractive to the British upper classes.

Wakefield's scheme proposed the sale of land at a sufficient and uniform price set high enough to need possession of capital by the buyer. The uniform cost per acre for all land would ensure the best areas being developed first; only when the best land had improved and risen in value would the poorer land be accepted. Thus would dispersion be discouraged and the country would develop gradually. Labourers would be attracted by free passages provided by the money derived from the sale of land and by the high wages offering which would allow them to buy their own properties after a number of years of faithful service.

Strangely enough, Wakefield outlined his scheme in a pamphlet entitled ***A Letter from Sydney***. He had never at that time been to Australia. It was an imaginative piece of writing composed in Newgate gaol. At the age of twenty, Wakefield eloped with and married an heiress who was a ward in Chancery, but was forgiven by the Lord Chancellor. Six years after the death of his wife, who left him with two children, he, with his brother William, abducted an heiress still at school and whom he did not know, and married her by false pretences. In prison after his conviction for this crime, he studied colonization and, after his release, his scheme attracted many moneyed men of Britain. Because of his record he had to work behind the scenes, a role for which his flair for manipulation and propaganda aptly fitted him.

Lord Glenelg was willing to grant the New Zealand Association a charter for colonization provided that the Maori chiefs consented and that the Association subscribed a certain amount of capital before it assumed authority. A prominent member of the Association, Lord Durham, with whom Wakefield was connected in colonizing Canada, refused the monetary condition on behalf of his colleagues on the grounds that the Association would "neither run any pecuniary risk nor accept any pecuniary advantage". When, however, in 1838, Lord Durham as Governor formed the New Zealand Land Company, for the purpose of employing capital in the purchase and resale of lands in New Zealand and the promotion of emigration to that country, the Government was compelled once again to appoint another of its innumerable Select Committees to inquire into the state of the islands of New Zealand.

Joseph Barrow Montefiore and Joel Samuel Polack being in England at the time, both gave evidence before it. Conducted by the House of Lords, it opened on 3 April, 1838. The members of the Committee recognized the difference in standing between Montefiore and Polack, as only one other, apart from Montefiore, amongst a number of witnesses was entitled Esquire. Polack earned only the title of Mister. Closely questioned about his experiences in New Zealand, Montefiore gave the opinion that the North Island should be taken over by the British Empire, although he believed it would be no easy task. He did not favour the missionaries as he had never heard of their being of any use, although they may have done some good about which he did not know. They enriched themselves and owned large tracts of land. An interesting observation of his concerned the natives who, he said, did not like the taste of human flesh, but only ate it as a token of victory. As there was no rule of law in New Zealand, nothing was known of half the atrocities perpetrated against the Maoris or amongst the whites themselves. Because of the bad characters in the area, nothing could be worse than the Bay of Islands. So bad was the reputation of the whites that he would believe any story told about them.

The Select Committee questioned Polack more closely than it did Montefiore. An air of doubt as to Polack's bona fides prevailed, and perhaps a little prejudice, although the Committee recognized that the length of Polack's stay in New Zealand and his ability to speak the Maori tongue entitled him to speak with some authority. He suggested that if Britain annexed the country, a regular stipend should be paid to the Maori chiefs whose land had been bought. He did not oppose the natives owning firearms, and believed that it lessened the loss of lives amongst them. The only method of stopping the wars amongst the Maoris would be for the Europeans to employ the natives. He, too, did not favour the Church Missionary Society's activities, but admired the work of the Wesleyans. Asked if there were many Jews in New Zealand, he at first said that he knew of no others beside himself and John Israel Montefiore, but later on stated that four Jews lived there. Obviously, he meant the others were not worth knowing. When asked if the Jews had erected a synagogue he answered with an emphatic "No!" The Select Committee then closely cross-examined him concerning the sale of spirituous liquors to the natives, which had caused disastrous havoc amongst them. He denied selling spirits to the Maoris. He said that he only sold spirits wholesale like every other trader in the Bay of Islands.

Apparently someone whispered an adverse rumour concerning Polack to the members of the Committee, for he was recalled and re-examined. A Mr John Downing Towell then gave evidence stating that he had been in New Zealand as a surgeon for two months near the end of 1837. He had not met Polack there, but knew him well in New South Wales. He also knew his brother. Asked if he thought Polack should be designated a respectable man, he replied: "I am in possession of one or two facts of my own knowledge which would make me disbelieve him on his oath under any circumstances." He did not state the facts.

Polack had no opportunity to defend his reputation before the Select Committee. When the London Times discussed the inquiry it called Polack "a worthy and wandering offshoot of the seed of Abraham", and attacked him unmercifully as a purveyor of spirits. Deeply offended, Polack sued The Times and the jury, after a retirement of only a few minutes, awarded him £100 damages for libel, a result which should have given Polack a great amount of satisfaction. It was no easy matter to win a libel suit against The Times.

His reputation vindicated, Polack was elected a member of the Colonial Society in London and, in the same year, 1838, published two valuable, lengthy books, each of two volumes, through the auspices of Michael Bentley of New Burlington Street, London, the Publisher in Ordinary to Her Majesty. The first of the books was entitled, New Zealand: Being a Narrative of Travels and Adventures during a Residence in that Country between the Years 1831 and 18S7, whilst the second book, similar in character and content, but excluding his personal adventures, he called, Manners and Customs of the New Zealanders and Remarks to Intending Emigrants. His writings stamped Polack as a versatile and knowledgeable scholar, for he discusses with admirable clarity and detail practically every historical, geographical and scientific aspect of New Zealand known at that date.

An account of the early voyages of exploration to New Zealand, propounds the theory that Juan Fernandez visited the country in 1576—before Abel Tasman. Polack's vivid descriptions of the customs, habits, traditions and disputes of the natives abolished many of the fears and rumours then current concerning the Maoris. There is no doubt where his sympathies lay. He deeply deplored the fact that Europeans were not punished for the crimes they committed against the natives. He considered the Maoris extremely clever, intelligent and quick to learn. Admirable and natural sailors, they added to their craft by their excellence as map-makers. They hastily adopted European customs to their advantage and learnt from travellers abroad. Once they stopped him sailing up a river, demanding anchorage dues, just as the pakeha authorities demanded them at Port Jackson.

Geographical details of the coast, rivers, mountains and forests as well as the climatic conditions of the country, prove Polack's ability for keen observation, whilst his chapters on the fauna and

flora and geological features of the soil establish him as no mean scientist. For the intending investor or immigrant, exact particulars of the flax and whaling industries were invaluable. Besides an appendix setting out the petition, with the names of the petitioners, sent to King William IV in 1836 and requesting that New Zealand be taken over by the British Government, and a list of the names of the vessels which visited Kororareka and Waitangi in 1836, Polack's books are of inestimable consequence because of his own drawings and woodcuts which lavishly illustrate them. From them we gain a lasting impression of scenes at the Bay of Islands and Kororareka in the early years of white settlement in New Zealand.

Joel Samuel Polack cannot be regarded only as a New Zealand pioneer. He made a definite contribution to its culture, to the white man's understanding of the Maori, to its annexation as a British colony, and played his part in publicizing it in English-speaking countries and in Europe. His adventurous nature, superior airs and, perhaps, his Jewish background may have awakened prejudices against him. At heart, however, he inherited the Hebrew love for scholarship for the sake of study itself. In the preface of his first book on New Zealand he states that he regarded it "as the duty of every individual to add, to the best of his abilities, some contribution towards the general treasury of knowledge".

CHAPTER VII
THE FIRST JEWISH IMMIGRANTS

THE OUTCOME OF THE INVESTIGATION OF THE SELECT COMMITTEE OF THE HOUSE OF LORDS was a masterpiece of evasion. It resolved: "That it appears to this Committee, that the Extension of the Colonial Possessions of the Crown is a Question of public Policy which belongs to the Decision of Her Majesty's Government; but that it appears to this Committee, that Support, in whatever Way it may be deemed most expedient to afford it, of the Exertions which have already beneficially effected the rapid Advancement of the religious and social Conditions of the Aborigines of New Zealand, affords the best present Hopes of then-future Progress in Civilization."

Both the ministerial chief of the Colonial Office, Lord Glenelg, and the permanent head of the Department, as ardent officials of the Church Missionary Society, fiercely opposed annexation. As deeply religious men, they passionately believed in the protection of the aborigines and in the principle of granting self-government to colonists. The inhabitants of the Bay of Islands could not be designated as the type into whose hands government could be placed. When the New Zealand Association, in June, 1838, succeeded, through the efforts of its eleven directors in Parliament, in having passed by seventy-four votes to thirty-three the first reading of a Bill for founding a British Colony in New Zealand, the opposition mustered its formidable forces and threw the Bill out on the second reading by a majority of 60.

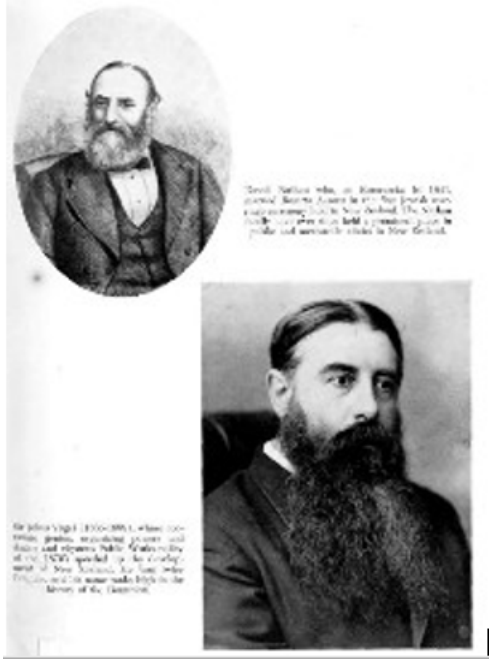
Within a short space of time the opposition reluctantly changed its mind completely. An increasing white population around the Bay of Islands and in the Cook Strait area, together with the formation of a vigilance committee at Kororareka, influenced the missionaries to accept the idea of British annexation. Both the Rev. Samuel Marsden and his colleague, the Rev. Henry Williams, realized that such a step would be in the best interests of the natives. At Kororareka, the vigilance committee had tarred an offender and "feathered" him with raupo flowers. It used an old sea-chest as a prison house.

Further fears of French colonization also forced the hands of the British Government. Bishop Pompallier, a French Roman Catholic, had arrived at the Bay of Islands, and the English missionaries suspected him of having designs upon the country. In addition a French whaler had bought Banks Peninsula from the natives for 1000 francs. As a result, a colonization company, in which King Louis Philippe had shares, had been formed and a vessel named the Comte de Paris was about to leave France with emigrants for Akaroa.

Whilst the British Government dallied, Edward Gibbon Wakefield exerted himself. He connived at a plan for fulfilling his colonization scheme whether the Government agreed to it or not. Watering down his original plan of establishing a company with a capital of £400,000, he created the New Zealand Land Company (afterwards known as the New Zealand Company) as a joint-stock association with a capital of £100,000 in £25 shares. A number of Jews bought stock. Seeking moneyed and influential men from all sections of the community, Wakefield induced Sir Isaac Lyon Goldsmid to invest in the Company and to become a director.

Goldsmid had won renown in the English Jewish communities and beyond. Besides being a partner in the firm of Mocatta and Goldsmid, bullion brokers to the Bank of England and the East India Company, he made himself familiar with the leading questions of political science. His early speculations on the Stock Exchange were unfortunate. On one occasion he lost £16,000 in a single transaction, but by subsequently contenting himself as a jobber and financier, he ultimately amassed a fortune. He was one of the founders of the London Docks and one of the chief agents in the establishment of University College, London, purchasing the site of the university at his own risk. He received the reward of a baronetcy, thus becoming the first Jewish baronet in England. The main effort of his life was made in the cause of Jewish emancipation, he being the first English Jew to take up the question. Soon after the removal of civil disabilities from the Roman Catholics in 1829, he enlisted the advocacy of leading Whig statesmen and induced Robert Grant to introduce into the House of Commons a similar measure for the Jews. Taking little heed of his ordinary business, he devoted himself almost exclusively to the advancement of this cause. He also interested himself in the alleviation of the poverty-stricken Jews of London and advocated their emigration to other parts of the British Empire. Probably, he had this in mind when he accepted the directorship in the New Zealand Company.

Learning that the Government intended to appoint Captain William Hobson as Lieutenant-Governor of New Zealand, the Company hurriedly but efficiently equipped the barque Tory, and dispatched her overseas on a preliminary expedition. The Company thought the Government might prevent her sailing at the last moment. It had requested the Colonial Office to supply it with letters of introduction, but the Colonial Office had refused on account of the fact that the Crown was about to seek sovereignty.



David Nathan who, at Kororareka in 1841, married Rosetta Aarons in the first Jewish marriage ceremony held in New Zealand. The Nathan family have ever since held a prominent place in public and mercantile affairs in New Zealand.

Sir Julius Vogel (1835-1899), whose economic genius, organizing powers and daring and vigorous Public Works policy of the 1870's speeded up the development of New Zealand. He was twice Premier, and his name ranks high in the history of the Dominion.

Rabbi Jacob Levi Saphir, on a visit from Melbourne in 1862, disembarked in Dunedin on a Friday. The feast of Purim fell on Saturday and this able scholar, working without pause, wrote the scroll of Esther in time for Purim night service.

Hokitika in 1867, two years after the West Coast gold-rush started. Marks and Fuerst's tobacconist store, right previous page..

–of the islands by cession, and would not pledge future recognition on the part of the Crown of any land purchased from the Maoris by the Company or anyone else. Nothing daunted, the preliminary expedition under Colonel William Wakefield embarked in order to prepare for the reception of colonists the following year.

The sailing of the Tory brought a definite decision from the Government, which issued a proclamation by which the boundaries of New South Wales were extended to include as much of New Zealand as could be acquired from the Maoris. It appointed Captain Hobson as Lieutenant-Governor with orders to proceed immediately to the Bay of Islands. With little ado, the Company, though aware that the Tory had not arrived in New Zealand and no land had yet been purchased, energetically advertised the attractions offered by the brave new world. It placarded London with inducements to working men to go to New Zealand. It offered land at £1 an acre, and later, for £100, the right to take up 100 acres of country and one acre of town land. Men and women of high position supported the movement. One thousand persons subscribed a total of £ 100,000 and they went, on 29 July, 1839, to the auction rooms in London in order to draw lots of priority to select sections in the town planned in New Zealand, even the location of which the Company did not yet know. Since no stipulation had been made in the advertisement that buyers must emigrate, speculation in lots immediately took place amongst the cream of London society which came to participate in the lottery and to speculate and gamble. The ladies appeared to be the most daring of the speculators. A number of Jews bought sections: Lots 145 and 186 fell to Solomon Jacob Waley, Lot 208 to Abraham Hort, Lot 223 to Samuel Levy Basserman, Lot 299 to A. Joseph, Lot 653 to Joseph Barrow Montefiore and Lot 773 to J. Montefiore.

Six weeks after the sale of lots of unplotted land, the New Zealand Company sent a fleet of ships of about 500 tons each into the unknown. On board, about seven hundred men and women, imbued with courage and enterprise, prepared for the long voyage. Discipline was good. Mechanics and craftsmen, agricultural labourers and domestic servants, who had been granted free passages, had been so carefully selected that the Company inquired into the character not only of the applicants but also of their sponsors. The gentry, some of whom had bought sections by lot, occupied the best cabins under the poop. Three Jews sailed with the fleet, all of them on the barque Oriental of 506 tons which set sail from London on 15 September, 1839. Abraham Hort, jun., a single young man about twenty years of age, occupied an upper cabin, whilst the brothers Benjamin and Solomon Levy, engaged to him as carpenter - an occupation taught to them at the Jewish orphanage called the Jewish Hospital, occupied humbler berths in the emigrants' quarters. Hort's father, Abraham Hort, sen., had won a reputation as a philanthropist amongst London Jewry. He was an intimate friend of Sir Isaac Lyon Goldsmid. By sending out his son to New Zealand, he hoped not only to expand his own commercial interests, but also, in a practical manner, to assist the poorer Jews of London.

About the same time as the New Zealand Company's fleet sailed from London and Gravesend, William Wakefield on the Tory arrived at Queen Charlotte Sound and, after wandering around Cook Strait on land-purchasing expeditions, took formal possession of Port Nicholson in the name of the Company. He reported that for goods valued at less than £-9000 he had purchased an area larger than Ireland embracing localities where the Company's settlements at Wellington, Nelson and New Plymouth were subsequently established.

Between 22 January and 28 February, 1840, the first four ships of the New Zealand Company arrived at Port Nicholson, the Oriental landing its passengers at Pito-one, later called Britannia by the settlers, on 31 January, 1840. In spite of his youth, Abraham Hort, jun., immediately took a prominent part in the affairs of the new settlement, and the second number of the New Zealand Gazette, published in Britannia on 1 April, 1840, announced that he had been elected to fill the vacancy on the Committee of Colonists through the retirement of Captain Smith. When the settlement moved over to Wellington, he took over the acre section, now mapped and planned and situated in Cambridge Terrace, which his father had bought in London. Of the others who had bought acre plots in London, S. J. Waley had his sections allotted in Ingestre (now Vivian) and Taranaki Streets, S. L. Basserman in Courtenay Place, A. Joseph in Brougham Street, J. B. Montefiore in Tinakori Road and J. Montefiore in Mein Street. Wellington's gusty winds nearly made an end of Hort's New Zealand venture. Keen on rowing, sailing and participating in regattas, he one day sailed a whaleboat close in by the Thorndon beach. A tempestuous blast upset the boat, and only good fortune helped his rescuers drag him ashore safe and sound.

CHAPTER VIII
THE BEGINNING OF THE AUCKLAND COMMUNITY

ONLY HOURS AFTER HORT LANDED AT PITO-ONE, CAPTAIN HOBSON LANDED AT KORORAREKA. Within a few days he had arranged to meet the native chiefs in a marquee on a lawn outside Busby's residence, and there, after some opposition which was soon overcome, the Maori rulers signed by their thumb-prints the document which came to be known as the Treaty of Waitangi. By it they ceded sovereign rights to Her Majesty the Queen, who, in return, guaranteed them protection of their possessions and land. Her Majesty had the exclusive right of preemption over such lands as the owners desired to sell at prices mutually agreed upon. By May, 1840, enough signatures had been collected from chiefs not present at Waitangi for Hobson to proclaim the sovereignty of the Queen over the North Island by virtue of the treaty, and over the South Island and Stewart Island on the ground of discovery by Captain Cook. Only few Maoris lived in the South Island. Barely in time to forestall French claims, Hobson sent a party to hoist the British flag at Akaroa. De Thierry from Hokianga, in a letter to Hobson, signed himself "Sovereign Chief", but the Lieutenant-Governor informed de Thierry that the only "Sovereign Chief" he recognized was Queen Victoria. He asked de Thierry to desist from his presumption. He did. When Hobson published his proclamation, more than a thousand passengers had already been landed by the New Zealand Company at Port Nicholson. Among them came C. Cohen who arrived on the Jewess, and the brothers Moses and Jacob Joseph who landed from the Exporter. Jacob Joseph, although completely blind, opened a hardware store on Lambton Quay. He conducted an extensive and successful trade in and about Wellington with the Maoris, and because of their trust in him they sold him land for which he gave them a fair price. His store was the first to be built of brick in Wellington

For their own protection, the inhabitants around Port Nicholson formed themselves into a government, elected a council, appointed Colonel Wakefield as President, and proceeded to enact laws and appoint magistrates. As soon as Hobson heard of it, he sent soldiers and police under the command of Lieutenant Willoughby Shortland with instructions to declare the Company's Provisional Government illegal. The settlers assured Shortland hat they had no disloyal intent, and welcomed his arrival amongst them. They had but made provision for their own good order until proper authority was established.

The happy relationship did not last long. According to the Treaty of Waitangi, Hobson had to protect the interests of the natives, many of whom began to dispute the transactions they had made. Other Maoris denied the right of chiefs to sell land which belonged to the whole tribe. The fantastic prices paid for some valuable properties was used as an argument to nullify barter which had taken place. The appointment of a Land Commission did not remove the disquiet of

the settlers and the New Zealand Company. Both in Wellington and in England, angry feeling was evoked which resulted in misrepresentation of Hobson and attacks upon his administration. In some cases land had been sold time and time again. When Captain W. B. Rhodes, master of the Eleanor, came in November, 1840, as an agent of Cooper and Levy of Sydney, to buy land around Wellington, he informed the Company that he had purchased the land of Kapiti Island from the natives. Knowing that the island had been sold several times, including once to the Company itself, the Company did not even bother to include the island in its list of claims. Cooper and Levy made a more profitable transaction when their agent proceeded to Akaroa to leave cattle and a stockman at the French settlement.

Losses incurred by men like Joseph Barrow Montefiore and John Israel Montefiore, who acted in the utmost good faith in their dealings with the natives and whose word could not be doubted, illustrated the reason for the settlers' fears. All their hopes could be dashed by a decision of the Land Commission. Improvements costing thousands of pounds could be lost in a moment. Joseph Barrow Montefiore made a claim for the land pressed upon him by the Maori chief at Kawhia. The Claims Commission made no recommendation for a grant. Of the 346 acres bought by John Israel Montefiore in 1836, the Commission, eight years later, allowed him to retain only 47 acres. In order to keep an equity in his own property he had to purchase 416 acres of land from others who had also acquired it from the Maoris and after him, but whose transactions had been confirmed. Confusion as to the legal ownership of property impelled Joel Samuel Polack, who had returned to the Bay of Islands in 1840, to insert an advertisement in the Bay of Islands Observer that a claim in the Government Gazette by George Russell for his land at Kororareka was without any foundation. He, too, however, had to make an official claim before the Land Commissioners and, besides a demand for 100 acres at the Bay of Islands, land he had acquired early in 1832, he petitioned for the confirmation of a claim of 152 acres on the Waitangi River. Fifteen years later, the matter was still in abeyance.

Another serious cause of the unhappy relationship between the settlers of the New Zealand Company at Wellington and the government authorities, concerned the choice of a site for a capital city. Hobson considered Kororareka an impossible place because of its reputation and its slim chances of development on account of the surrounding high hills. He planned and established as the capital a township across the bay, a few miles from Kororareka, which he called Russell, a name later assumed by Kororareka itself. He soon abandoned the scheme and, choosing a more central position in the North Island, selected a totally undeveloped spot on the Waitemata and named it Auckland. This angered the settlers at Wellington. Their town, especially planned to provide for government offices and comprising over a thousand inhabitants of reputable status, believed it was admirably suited as the capital. It was more central in relation to the country as a whole. The settlers had been led to believe that Wellington would automatically be selected as New Zealand's chief city.

A few wise men in the North with perspective and foresight, acquainted with Hobson's unswerving resoluteness, estimated that he would not waver in his intention to establish the seat of government in Auckland in spite of all opposition. They therefore considered it prudent to hasten as quickly as they could to the spot which Hobson had selected in order to survey the prospects for future business and to take whatever steps they thought necessary to consolidate their position. Amongst them came David Nathan. He had originally migrated from London to South Australia but, learning that Britain was about to establish a colony in New Zealand, he hastened to Kororareka. The prospect pleased him and, after returning to Sydney to settle his Australian affairs, to contact agencies and to purchase goods, he came back to Kororareka and, at the young age of twenty-four, established a prosperous store in the centre of Grand Parade on the foreshore. Two other Jewish stores stood on the seafront—Polack's at the extreme north and Monteifiore's close by. In the vicinity, a Jew, George Russell, conducted one of the eight seafront hotels, the Russell. Another Jew known to be living at Kororareka at the time was Israel Joseph, an auctioneer, a brother to Jacob and Moses Joseph of Wellington.

Apparently, David Nathan came from a strictly orthodox, well-known, London Jewish family with influential connections. His grandfather, Hiam Nathan, had emigrated from Holland in the latter part of the eighteenth century and had acquired a road concession at Hull, where he received payment from travellers at a toll-gate. Later he removed to London with his numerous children, amongst them Nathan Lyon Nathan, the father of David. It is believed that so prolific did the Nathans become, that a rich cousin of Nathan Lyon Nathan who had been fortunate in his affairs, would give each of his cousins a good training in business plus one hundred pounds PAGE 54and would send them out to the colonies to make their way in the world. David Nathan must have possessed more than one hundred pounds.

In order to establish the township of Russell, Hobson had bought land at Okiato from Captain Clendon, the American Consul. He had no money to pay him, so compensated him with a grant of 10,000 acres at Manurewa. Nathan bought the Papakura quarter of this, a property of 2500 acres, from Captain Clendon. It was situated not far distant from the spot marked for the capital, Auckland. With little delay Nathan set out to take possession of it. He sailed on the Mary for the nearest station, Thames, on the Hauraki Gulf. The master would take him no farther than Coromandel, from which he proceeded by canoe in search of the capital. Fortunately, he fell in with a party of pioneers led by the native, Taraia, also out on a similar search. Not long after, Nathan landed on the Auckland beach.

When Nathan stepped ashore he found a few tents and huts scattered along the beach, occupied by the seven government officials and the workmen and their wives whom Hobson had sent to start the settlement. With them dwelt a few passengers from the Platina, which had arrived a few days after Hobson's party, from Port Nicholson. They were dissatisfied with conditions under the New Zealand Company. Probably, Barnett Keesing came to Auckland on this ship or very soon after. Like Nathan, Keesing emanated from a well-known and respected London Jewish family whose ancestors had migrated from Holland, but while Nathan belonged to an Ashkenazi family, Keesing's ancestors were Sephardim. Nor did Keesing possess Nathan's resources. Keesing dealt in lemonade. Nathan set up his store in a tent along the seashore and, as a strictly orthodox Jew whose word was his bond, he quickly won the confidence of the Maoris through his absolute integrity and trustworthiness.

Polack, John I. Montefiore and Israel Joseph were not men who allowed the grass to grow under their feet. They also realized that Auckland, as the capital, would progress. Polack ceded a section of land on the Kororareka beach as a site for Her Majesty's Customs, and received in exchange a fair parcel of land at Auckland to which he proceeded in order to take possession. Prosperous Montefiore, who besides his store on the seafront at Kororareka sold large quantities of merchandise in bulk direct from ships as they arrived at the Bay of Islands, also sailed for Auckland to inspect its possibilities. Whilst there, he, as a recognized gentleman, regarded it as his duty to append his signature to a message to Hobson at Russell from citizens absent from the Bay of Islands, congratulating Hobson on his promotion to Governor when the country was about to change its status to a Crown Colony.

Although Polack, Nathan, Montefiore and Israel Joseph were in Auckland a month before the first land sale took place, they did not purchase any sections. As experienced businessmen they regarded the prices as far too high. So did the Colonial Under-Secretary who pricked the bubble and stated that it was "quite preposterous that Land should fetch as high a price at Auckland as in the immediate vicinity of London and Liverpool". The upset price was £ 100 an acre, but amidst great excitement 44 acres, divided into 116 lots, were sold and brought in a total of £21,499. Only one Jew bought land at this sale. He was Moses Joseph who travelled from Wellington especially for the sale. He returned to Sydney soon after.

Nathan, Joseph and Montefiore, though not disposing of their Bay of Islands assets, decided to make their permanent residence in Auckland. Nathan returned to Kororareka to settle some of his affairs, and there took part in the first Jewish service held in New Zealand. It was a wedding

service. He was the bridegroom. In traditional manner, beneath a canopy, on Sunday, 31 October, 1841, David Nathan took as his bride Rosetta Aarons, a young widow, the former wife of a sea-captain from Chelsea, London, who had died on his way out to New Zealand. Israel Joseph celebrated the marriage as Acting Officiating Minister and read the Ketubah previously obtained from Hobart Town. Obviously not a Hebrew scholar, Joseph filled in the blanks of the Ketubah to the best of his ability and signed it, with George Russell as the other requisite Jewish witness. On the reverse side of the Ketubah, three notable Gentile townsmen, together with George Russell, signed a statement in English that the marriage had taken place in accordance with Jewish custom. A grand reception followed the ceremony, and the British fleet being in the bay, it received an invitation to attend, and the more than two hundred officers who attended amongst the other guests, made the reception an unforgettable event in the history of the town.

A few days later Nathan and Joseph returned to Auckland, each opening a tent store along the beach, Nathan's "Commercial House" being erected at the corner of Shortland Crescent and High Street, then situated at the Waitemata foreshore. He had bought the quarter of an acre of land at one of the early land sales. Joseph built a dry goods store in Commercial Bay, holding sales every Monday at 11 a.m. It is believed that Nathan ate no meat whilst in New Zealand until a Shohet arrived in Auckland, but that did not prevent him from providing ham and bacon to the Gentiles. He and Israel Joseph joined forces in June, 1842, going into partnership as auctioneers and commission agents in the tent at the corner of Shortland Crescent and High Street. This was not a simple matter. Only men of standing and impeccable reputation could act as auctioneers. According to a Government Ordinance, auctioneers had to pay a licence fee of £30 and a levy of 10 per cent on all sales. The partnership continued for about two years, then each went on his own way, Nathan remaining on the site where he commenced a mercantile business which has won renown and is now the oldest in New Zealand.

John Israel Montefiore also achieved prominence in the town as a trader and land agent, selling his animals, wines, spirits, goods and land from his allotment at 3 Lower Queen Street. Squatters were a great problem to him, for Montefiore often had to publish warnings in the Press cautioning trespassers not to build on his clients' land. He also attempted, with four others, including the Deputy Surveyor-General, Captain William Cornwallis Symonds, to establish a newspaper and printing company, but within twelve months insufficient subscribers for the £2 shares impelled the trustees to liquidate the Auckland Newspaper and General Printing Company, as it was called. Other Jews who arrived in Auckland before the end of 1843 included Ralph Keesing and his father Henry—the head of the large Keesing family— Asher Asher and his wife Hannah, and Samuel Brown. An increase in the Auckland Jewish community also occurred when Sarah Nathan was born on 10 January, 1843, to David and Rosetta Nathan, the first Jewish birth recorded in New Zealand.

As a devout practising Jew, David Nathan sought the first opportunity to establish Jewish public worship in Auckland, and as soon as his premises at the corner of Shortland Crescent and High Street were completed, the small Jewish community met, whenever occasion demanded, in his private quarters. When the community expanded, he fitted up a special room in his store to serve as a synagogue. Ralph Keesing acted as the Reader. Provision was also made to acquire a cemetery, and on 12 July, 1842, the Governor granted a section of land in Symonds Street to David Nathan and John Israel Montefiore as a burial-ground for the Jews. Unfortunately for David Nathan, the first person whom he had to bury on the land was his own six-month-old daughter, Julia, who died on 24 August, 1844. A deep and genuine respect for their own religion inspired the Jews to revere the faiths of their fellow citizens. They contributed a share in the foundation-stones of all the original chapels built in Auckland. Nathan, Montefiore and Joseph donated handsomely to each of the denominations which erected houses of worship in the town. Joseph even collected contributions in his home on behalf of the Roman Catholic church.

Both Nathan and Montefiore took a prominent part in the civic affairs of the town, Nathan adding dignity and weight to any worthwhile movement which he considered of merit and which

contributed to the progress of the community, whilst Montefiore, by active leadership and public expression of the beliefs he held dear, stood out as a man of principles. When Hobson, a few months prior to his death, ordered the building of a new customs house and jetty which did not please the commercial section of the community, Montefiore helped to organize a protest meeting at Wood's Royal Hotel. He spoke convincingly against the plan and moved a motion of protest against the project. He and Nathan were amongst the delegates appointed to meet the Governor about the matter. Though seriously ill, the Governor held to his resolution, with the result that Montefiore with seven others wrote to the Colonial Secretary, Lord Stanley, expressing their disgust with Hobson and their opposition to the scheme. Montefiore did not forget an old friend. When Captain Symonds died, he was amongst the foremost to organize the erection of a monument to his memory.

The new Governor, Captain Robert FitzRoy, after his appointment in December, 1843, proved to be as resolute as Hobson, and more unpopular. Montefiore discovered this to his own embarrassment. During a period of depression in the colony, FitzRoy imposed additional taxes upon bread and clothing, which aroused the anger of the populace. At a public meeting of protest, Montefiore, one of the principal speakers, stressed the hardship and injustice of the imposition, and he was elected as one of the delegates to meet the Governor at his house. A crowd of labourers and curious spectators followed the deputation. Displeased because he had not received prior notification of the deputation, the Governor proceeded to lecture the delegates on their abrupt manners and breach of etiquette. Before allowing them to unleash their contradictions, he inquired if all the delegates had signed the petition of protest, and those who had not done so took the hint and hastily left. FitzRoy then commenced upon another stinging lecture to the remaining delegates on his rights and duties. The representatives, unaccustomed to be spoken to in such a manner by a colonial governor, stood up abruptly after listening awhile in astonishment, and unceremoniously beat a hasty retreat, muttering and threatening to send strong adverse reports to the Government in the homeland.

CHAPTER IX
THE BEGINNING OF THE WELLINGTON COMMUNITY

THE POVERTY-STRICKEN CONDITION OF THE JEWS IN LONDON IN THE EIGHTEEN-FORTIES influenced a number of the younger generation to seek their future abroad, even as far as Australia and New Zealand. Those who chose New Zealand preferred Wellington to Auckland. It enjoyed a larger population and the organization of the New Zealand Company. Because of the splendid reports sent to his family by Abraham Hort, jun., his brother, Alfred W. Hort, came over to Wellington, and together the brothers, from their home at Te Aro, initiated trade with the Pacific Islands which a decade later led to their recognition as the leading merchants and shipowners in Apia, Samoa and Tahiti. They owned a substantial fleet of large and small sailing vessels trading between Tahiti, Samoa and Fiji, with headquarters at Apia, Samoa. Though very young, Abraham Hort, jun., had achieved a notable position in the town of Wellington. When, in October, 1842, Wellington assumed the status of a borough, Abraham Hort, jun., one of its three most distinguished merchants and only twenty-two years of age, was elected by 155 votes as an alderman.

Probably, Sir Isaac Lyon Goldsmid influenced his relative J. M. Levien to migrate to Wellington in the first year of the foundation of the town. Levien built a house on Thorndon Flat, and attained some eminence as an artist in New Zealand wood. Goldsmid may have influenced others who soon followed Levien. Henry Nathan, his wife Jane and child were among the early pioneers. Nathaniel Levin, a young man of twenty-one years of age, followed soon after. He opened a store on Lambton Quay a month or two after his arrival. He came on the same cattle-boat from Sydney as Abraham Hort, jun., who had travelled to Australia on a business venture. It appears that a relative, Simeon Levin, came to stay with him for a short period in 1843. Glowing accounts

from relatives of conditions in Wellington in comparison with London may have urged others to take the step to sail for New Zealand. Another member of the Joseph family, Hyam Joseph, migrated and later removed to Auckland. Kaufman Samuel arrived by the Exporter in 1842, soon followed by two other of his relations. Two brothers, J. and James Hyams came on the same boat as Kaufman Samuel, and G. and L. Levy arrived on the Tyranian a few months later. Amongst others known to be in Wellington before the end of 1843 were one Aarons and Morris Asher, who later transferred to Sydney. He conducted a wholesale and retail general store on Lambton Quay, and frequently advertised in the local Press that he could sell cheaper than anyone else because he had the means.

Sir Isaac Lyon Goldsmid, as a director of the New Zealand Company and a leader of Anglo-Jewry connected with the Neveh Zedek, the institution which combined the labours of a Jewish orphanage, youth occupational training centre and old-age home and which was known as the Jewish Hospital, must have favoured and been instrumental in sending young Jewish women to Wellington so as to give the young Jewish men already there an opportunity to marry within their faith. Two young ladies from the institution, Elizabeth Levi, aged twenty years, and Esther Solomon, aged eighteen years, did embark on the Birman in October, 1841, and arrived three months later at their destination. On 1 June, 1842, Wellington celebrated its first Jewish wedding when Benjamin Levy took Esther Solomon as his wife.

Before the High Holydays in 1842, London's Jewry was agog and its hopes raised of an alleviation through migration of the pressure upon its charitable funds and public institutions. In consultation with his friend Sir Isaac Lyon Goldsmid, the distinguished London Jew, Abraham Hort, sen., widely known for his staunchness to his faith, philanthropy and public service, had decided to migrate with all the members of his family to join his two sons at Port Nicholson. He looked forward to facilitating migration for needy Jews, especially Germans, who at that time were hard pressed by their government and by importuning missionaries. As a man who had filled the highest positions at Duke's Place Synagogue and on charitable boards, he received the special blessing of the Chief Rabbi of England, Solomon Herschell, and a written authority from him to establish a congregation in Wellington and to promote Judaism in whatever way he thought correct.

In the first week of September, 1842, Hort embarked from London on thePrince of Wales together with his wife, five daughters and his son-in-law,Solomon Mocatta, who was married to his eldest daughter and who had assisted him in his public endeavours. A Samuel Joseph also boarded the ship. Hort had no difficulty about Kosher food, for he took with him a young man of about nineteen years of age from the Neveh Zedek, David M. Isaacs, in the capacity of Shohet, Mohel and Hazzan. In contrast to the other migrant passengers, Isaacs behaved himself in exemplary fashion, and for this he was rewarded by a signed testimonial from the captain, chief mate, doctor and cabin passengers, and addressed to His Royal Highness the Duke of Sussex, Patron of the Jews' Hospital, Mile End, for the education and apprenticeship of youth and for the support of the aged poor, and to Sir Isaac Lyon Goldsmid, Bart., and the rest of the directors of the New Zealand Company. Augustus Frederick, Duke of Sussex, and sixth son of George III had shown himself a friend of the Jews in many ways including his patronage of the Jews' Hospital. Isaacs proved himself worthy of it.

As soon as the Prince of Wales arrived at Port Nicholson, via Nelson, on 3 January, 1843, Abraham Hort, sen., automatically assumed the leadership of the small Jewish community, winning the admiration of its members by his zeal and piety. He also took an active interest in every movement of merit in the general community. He became recognized as a man of consequence and character, thereby gaining the respect of all. On the Sabbath, four days after his arrival, he gathered together his family and eight other male co-religionists, and, in a moving prayer composed especially for the occasion, expressed the heartfelt gratitude of the travellers to the Almighty for their safe arrival. Although he had brought out Isaacs as a Hazzan, it was Hort who conducted the services, and he never let an opportunity pass without delivering a

sermon on the significance of the occasion which was being celebrated. Isaacs acted as the Shohet, and earned his living as a shoemaker on Lambton Quay.

A man of wide knowledge, Hort was also a man who looked ahead. He brought out from London his own Matzah for the Passover, and to make certain of having sufficient supplies, ordered an adequate quantity from Sydney. In case the Matzah did not arrive in time, he had taken further precautions, and had arranged with a local farmer to cut the necessary amount of wheat, and with a baker to prepare it. Two years later he actually had to bring his emergency scheme into operation, for the ship with the Sydney Matzah aboard failed to dock in time. Wellington's first Passover service was a memorable affair. Not having yet built his own home, Hort conducted the evening service in the parlour of Mr Levien, in which twenty-four happy souls prayed in unison. From there, Isaacs, Levien and Samuel Joseph proceeded to Hort's room for the Seder service and meal prepared by Mrs Hort and her daughters. As a learned, married man, Solomon Mocatta conducted his own Seder service in his own home with his wife. On the following two days, the statutory services were held, Hort, as usual, delivering his sermons. They apparently had effect, for the small gathering subscribed £40 towards the building of a synagogue and the acquisition of a cemetery.

As soon as he came to Wellington, Hort, as a responsible Jew, recognized the principle that no town where Jews resided should be without its cemetery and synagogue. Accordingly, within ten days of his arrival, he sent a memorial to the Administrator, Lieutenant Willoughby Shortland, praying for grants of land for these two purposes. Beneath Hort's signature appeared the signatures of his two sons and Solomon, Benjamin and L. Levy, Kaufman Samuel and two relatives of the same name, Nathaniel Levin, Solomon Mocatta, David M. Isaacs, Samuel Joseph, Aarons and Morris Asher. About a fortnight later, Shortland replied that the Governor regretted he had no power to grant land for such purposes, and would refer the case to Her Majesty's Principal Secretary of State for the Colonies. Governor FitzRoy had learnt his lesson. A few years previously, whilst administering the Colony of New South Wales, he had been favourably disposed towards the claims of the Jews, and had allowed the Sydney Jewish community a grant of £1000 from the Supplementary Lists in order to defray the debt incurred in the building of the synagogue. Lord Grey, the Colonial Secretary of the day, had reprimanded him and informed him that he opposed further grants to the Jews, and regretted that FitzRoy had allowed the claim for £1000. FitzRoy had no desire to be selected for reprimand again. The refusal prompted Hort to appeal for subscriptions on the Passover, but apparently FitzRoy changed his mind about the cemetery, for when Hort applied again, in June, 1843, an immediate grant was made of one acre of land of which Hort consecrated one-quarter. FitzRoy was probably moved by Hobson's precedent in Auckland and the precedent of previous governors in New South Wales with regard to cemeteries. He appointed four trustees for the land—Abraham Hort, sen., Nathaniel Levin, Solomon Mocatta and Kaufman Samuel. Not until 4 February, 1845, did Hort officiate at the first burial—the second son of Benjamin and Esther Levy, aged only eight months.

According to Hort, Governor FitzRoy had also promised him a grant of land for a synagogue. This seems most unlikely in view of FitzRoy's previous experience. Shortland may have assumed FitzRoy's assent, but it is very doubtful if it was ever given. This also appeared to be the Government's view. When Lord Stanley, the Colonial Secretary, refused Hort's memorial in November, 1843, Hort stubbornly persisted in a campaign which continued for over fifteen years to have FitzRoy's promise fulfilled. As late as 24 December, 1857, I. E. Featherston, Superintendent for Wellington, transferred to E. W. Stafford, Colonial Secretary at Auckland, an application from certain members of the Hebrew Congregation at Wellington for a "reserve" promised by Governor FitzRoy as the site for a synagogue. On 22 February, 1858, Stafford replied that the promise had been made without the authority of the law but that a Bill would be proposed in the next session of the General Assembly to enable the Government to fulfil this and similar equitable arrangements made on behalf of the Crown. The Bill, however, was not introduced. A year later, Hort again applied through the same channels for the promise to be

honoured, but Stafford asked for certified copies of any documents containing such a promise to be exhibited. They could not be produced. The struggle then waned.

Hort, although always sanguine in the belief that a grant of land would eventually be made officially by the Government for the building of a synagogue, did not tarry on his own behalf to arrange a house of worship for Jewish prayer. After living colonial-fashion in a one-roomed house, he bought a half-acre plot in Abel Smith Street, and there built himself a home described as one of the finest in Wellington. He did not build on the acre of land at Cambridge Terrace which he had bought in London. In his new home he made special provision to fit out one of the larger rooms as a synagogue together with a gallery in order to seat the ladies.

Besides acting as the lay leader of the small Jewish community, Hort also served as the lay minister. He arranged for a Minyan to be present as in a proper Kehilah at the first Brith celebrated in Wellington on 17 June, 1843, for the infant son of Benjamin and Esther Levy. Hort considered David Isaacs a first-class Mohel, and took pride in the honour presented to him to act as Sandek. The community rejoiced with him when he acted as officiating minister at the marriage of his second daughter, Jessie, to Nathaniel Levin on 31 July, 1844. At the first Pentecostal services at which he ministered as Reader, he noted with deep regret that some of the members of the community would not close their places of business for the second day of the Festival. He preached his sermon to such effect that two congregants henceforth closed their businesses on the Sabbath. He desired to conduct the community on orthodox lines, and although he hoped all would work for its welfare, he foresaw "a struggle between the 'liberals' and the 'Tories'".

It may have been his fear of "liberalism" and assimilation which prompted him at first not to write about organized Jewish emigration to New Zealand. On arrival in the country, he discovered that his two sons had married outside the Jewish fold, as had J. M. Levien, the relative of Sir Isaac Lyon Goldsmid. Nevertheless, in his regular correspondence with the weekly London Jewish journal, the Voice of Jacob, he pointed out the benefits of emigration to New Zealand. He regarded the climate as salubrious, the soil fertile and the commercial position good. The country was open for capital and enterprise. Flax, he believed, would become New Zealand's staple product. The natives were intelligent, and at the time of writing were living in amity and were trading with the whites. He advised that only agriculturalists and tradesmen should emigrate as others would stand no chance. For those who adhered to the dietary laws there would be no difficulties as long as Kosher food was taken with them on board ship. If Jewish emigration grew, he thought the New Zealand Company would co-operate in supplying Kosher meat.

The editor of the Voice of Jacob, aware of London's depressed conditions, strongly supported emigration to New Zealand. He stated that emigration was not expensive, and in some conditions even gratuitous. He suggested New Zealand as a colony where oppressed Jews, especially Germans, could go, but warned that any continental migration should be organized and carried out with the greatest of care, as it could add to the burden of the English Jews. Religious observances could easily be kept, he stated, both on board ship and in Wellington, where a Minyan already existed. He suggested that Sir Isaac Lyon Goldsmid do something more for his co-religionists, and hinted that he should take note of the activities of the missionaries. The directors of the New Zealand Company, of which he was one, had agreed to co-operate to the extent of £.150 per annum for three years with the Colonial Committee of the Church of Scotland in sending a kirk minister to Nelson, the Company's new settlement. The newspaper pointed out that one of the main planks of the Church of Scotland's programme was the conversion of Jews. Not until he had been in the colony for two years did Hort suggest a semblance of organized migration. He proposed that three or four families should be given free passages and grants of land of between 20 and 25 acres each, which would be paid off in instalments after seven years. Other emigrants could then follow. Orthodox Jews could take advantage of the offer, for he had arranged the community on an orthodox basis. Hort's increased concern with emigration stemmed from the fact that the number of Jews in Wellington had dwindled. Out of a total population of 2273 in the settlement in 1845, only 19 were Jews. No Minyan attended the Passover service

held in his home that year. Better wages in Auckland enticed craftsmen and labourers to forsake the sponsors who had brought them out to the southern settlements. The Wellington, New Plymouth and Nelson settlements had not fulfilled the hopes of their inhabitants, because the New Zealand Company was unable to put the colonists in quiet possession of their land. In addition to the long and ruinous controversies with the Imperial Government, the natives were beginning to display their dissatisfaction with the land deals.

Serious trouble had broken out in the Nelson district. A survey party sent out to Wairau had been obstructed in their task by Te Rauparaha and his nephew Te Rangihaeata, who opposed the claim. Although the dispute had been listed for official investigation, interested persons in Wellington and Nelson had organized an armed group under Arthur Wakefield, another brother of Edward Gibbon and William Wakefield, with instructions to arrest the two Maori chiefs. The attempt to place manacles upon Te Rauparaha wildly incensed the Maoris, who disliked their chief being treated as a common criminal. A bitter argument broke out in which a member of the British party accidentally fired a shot. The natives accepted it as a signal for a fight. Outnumbered, the whites fell back, and, being untrained, ultimately gave themselves up. In the action one of Te Rangihaeata's wives had been killed, and, driven to mad rage, he would not listen to the pleas for mercy. He and his followers slew twenty-two of their opponents including Arthur Wakefield. Amongst the terror-stricken Europeans, demands were made for the punishment of the culprits, and Wellington sent an impressive, sympathetic address to the Nelson settlement condoling with the victims of the "Wairau Massacre". As leading citizens, Abraham Hort, sen., Jacob Joseph, Hyam Joseph, Solomon Mocatta, Nathaniel Levin and Kaufman Samuel appended their signatures to the memorial. Governor FitzRoy came over from Auckland especially to judge the issues. After hearing both sides, he came to an unpopular conclusion as far as the Europeans were concerned. "The whites," he stated in his report to the Colonial Office, "needlessly violated the rules of the law of England, the maxims of prudence, and the principles of justice."

Crafty Te Rauparaha and Te Rangihaeata regarded FitzRoy's decision as a victory. Rumours floated into Wellington that the Maori chiefs were about to attack the town and, in order to safeguard themselves, the citizens formed a military sub-committee to study the town's defences. Among the members were Abraham Hort, sen., and Nathaniel Levin. Later, hostilities broke out between the Maoris and the whites. Each accused the other of commencing them. The Maori chiefs, believing they were being cheated out of their land, moved from obstruction to raiding and killing civilians. In Wellington, the militia, in which service was compulsory, was hurriedly called up. Levin rose from ensign to lieutenant and then quickly to captain. Some fighting took place in the Hutt Valley, but eventually the Maoris were driven north and well away from the settlement.

The dissatisfaction of the Maoris in the south affected the natives in the north. At Kororareka, the moving of the capital to Auckland had taken trade and people from the Bay of Islands. Maori chiefs could no longer levy tolls on ships which anchored in the bay. Prices for goods increased considerably because of the heavy customs duties imposed by the Government. The authorities would not allow the natives to sell land direct to the Europeans, whilst the Government would not buy the land the Maoris wished to sell. The Land Commission's procedure took too long, and its decisions were often perverse. That which was taken from the whites was not returned to the natives but declared Crown property. In any case, Hone Heke, a proud Bay of Islands chief, considered British rule cramped his style of living. In his eyes, the symbol of his hatred was the flag that flew on Tapper's Mount, on the top of the hill at the foot of which stood Polack's store at the extreme northern end of the Kororareka township. Hone Heke cut the flagpole down. Such insurrection could not be allowed by the authorities and, against advice, the flagpole was re-erected. Hone Heke cut it down again. Although the whites were greatly outnumbered and the authorities warned that to raise the flagpole once again would cause a serious outbreak, FitzRoy's advisers insisted upon its replacement. A guard was placed beside the flag-pole and, halfway down the hill between the flag and Polack's store, a blockhouse was built, manned by

about six men. Close by stood three old ships' guns. Hone Heke laughed at the preparations of the whites and boasted he would cut the flagpole down a third time.

Polack's store became the headquarters of the Kororareka Association of Vigilants. Although Joel Samuel Polack travelled from time to time to Auckland he maintained his home and chief place of business at Kororareka. Only one other Jew of note did the same—Benjamin Isaacs, the proprietor and editor of the Bay of Islands Advocate from November, 1843, to February, 1844. He later settled in Australia where he was associated with several newspapers and where he established the Bathurst Advocate in 1848. Polack had become famous in the town. In 1842, as the result of a bitter dispute, he had fought a duel with Benjamin Turner, in which both were slightly wounded. As it was considered to be the safest place in the township, the militia built a stockade around Polack's store. In the cellars the residents stored their money and valuables, and every night the women and children went there to sleep. The militia also stored their ammunition in Polack's house, but did not lay up provisions of food. On 11 March, 1845, Hone Heke started his attack, as expected, from the road which ran out from the south of the town. This assault, however, was a clever strategic trick, for Hone Heke had deployed his main body of warriors around the high hills to the north and captured the flagpole by craftiness and surprise. By ten o'clock in the morning, Polack's store was so full of women, children and non-combatants as well as militia that the officers in charge decided to evacuate the women and children. The position was serious. Ammunition had run out at the blockhouse. Taking advantage of the Maori warriors' martial courtesy in allowing the women, children and wounded to proceed to the evacuation ships unmolested, the leaders carried out the movement in haste and by twelve noon all the evacuees were on board ship. A lack of strong leadership led the officers of the militia and the local magistrate to come to the decision to abandon the town. A fierce quarrel broke out among the white combatants which quickly settled itself. In the heat of the argument, an unknown person spiked the guns. Another person, smoking near the ammunition, allowed his pipe to fall on a powder-keg. Up went Polack's building. Two persons were killed instantly, and Polack himself was amongst those seriously wounded. A fire, which broke out after the explosion, nearly burnt him to death. During the night all the men were evacuated to the ships in the harbour where, from the decks, they could see the sacking and looting of the town and their homes by Hone Heke and his followers. They could also see a broken flagpole.

On 13 March, 1845, Kororareka was abandoned. The ships left for Auckland where the citizens, horror-struck with the disaster, blamed everyone but themselves. FitzRoy came in for much abuse. They questioned his method of raising the militia. In a petition, the signatories deplored the state of the colony. They volunteered to enrol themselves as soldiers. They had no confidence in the officers, who had no stake in the colony and did not care about its future. They supported the Canadian method whereby officers were selected for the militia according to the number of men they could raise to follow them. The first name on the petition was that of John Israel Montefiore. Amongst the others was that of David Nathan.

By the end of 1845, New Zealand was in distress. The settlers were despondent and embittered; the Treasury was empty; the Maoris were flushed with success; and British prestige was at its lowest ebb. FitzRoy was recalled.

CHAPTER X
THE COMMUNITIES DEVELOP

IN THE PLACE OF FITZROY, Her Majesty appointed Captain George Grey, a brilliant, young professional soldier who, at the age of thirty-three, had already won his spurs as an explorer in Western Australia and as the Governor of South Australia. With military precision and with the enlisted aid of friendly Maori chiefs, he quickly captured the hostile native strongholds in the north, and through moderation and an acquired understanding of the native language and customs, achieved a peace, from Auckland northwards, which was undisturbed in

the subsequent skirmishes and wars with the Maoris in the south. Cleverly capturing Te Rauparaha, Grey opened a campaign against his nephew Te Rangihaeata. Driving him steadily northwards, away from Wellington, Grey succeeded, with the help of the powerful Maori chief, Wiremu Kingi, in confining Te Rangihaeata to a limited area, a step which led finally to an amicable settlement between Grey and the natives. He also began to win their respect and affection. They appreciated his speedier and more equitable methods in settling land disputes and his introduction of Maori myths and legends to European readers. With the British Government supporting him freely with money and men, he straightened out the financial muddle which he had found on his arrival, established law courts and an effective civil service, and encouraged educational activities. Her Majesty also showed appreciation of Grey's services by awarding him a well-earned knighthood.

Although Grey attained peace and financial stability, the increase of the European population through migration proceeded only at a very slow rate. This was reflected in the Jewish population. In 1848, out of a total population of just over 16,000, Jews living in New Zealand numbered 61, of which 33 resided in Auckland and 28 in Wellington. Throughout the history of the European settlement of the country, the Jews have maintained the same steady average figure of 0.25 per cent of the total white population. By 1858, the Jewish numbers had only increased to 188, over 100 of whom were living in Auckland, the rest being about equally divided between Wellington, Canterbury and Otago. With the assistance of the New Zealand Company, the Free Church of Scotland, which, through a variance in belief, had broken with the Established Church, founded the Otago Province and its capital Dunedin in 1848. Two years later, in 1850, the Church of England founded Christchurch in the Province of Canterbury.

At first, the Maori wars hindered speedy migration, but later, Grey's policy of protecting the native interests brought him into collision with the New Zealand Company and with many settlers eager for land. This further retarded migration. The discovery of gold in America, in 1849, and in Australia, in 1851, attracted migrants from all over the world, some leaving New Zealand for the goldfields in California, in New South Wales and in Victoria.

Israel Joseph of Auckland, David Nathan's former partner, transferred to Australia. After Joel Samuel Polack recovered from wounds sustained in Kororareka, he tried to settle down as a ships' broker and buyer of flax in premises opposite the Custom House in Auckland, but the call of adventure was too great for him and, on hearing of the gold discoveries in California, he left immediately for the Barbary Coast. He later settled in San Francisco where he married the widow of William Hart, a sea-captain and an old acquaintance of his from Kororareka. Polack died in San Francisco in 1882. From Wellington, Solomon Mocatta and his wife left the country permanently, and small, rotund David M. Isaacs, whom Hort had brought from England as his religious assistant, sailed for Geelong, Victoria, where he helped to establish the local congregation. In 1855, Ballarat's Victorian community appointed him as its first minister. There, too, he was the mainstay in building the synagogue. Only in the latter years of the first decade after the gold discoveries, when diggers in Australia were confronted with hardships when leads ran out and payable employment was difficult to procure, did migration once again trickle through to the widely separated settlements of New Zealand.

Auckland traders, in order to arrest the movement of the population to the goldfields overseas, formed themselves into an organization with a committee of fourteen, and offered a minimum award of £500 to anyone making known to them a payable goldfield in New Zealand between 35° 40' and 38° south latitude. David Nathan sat on the committee and headed the list guaranteeing the reward. Strangely enough, within a month of the advertisement gold was found at Coromandel. To the deep disappointment of the discoverers and the sponsors, however, the gold was found to be of inferior quality and un-payable. John Israel Montefiore, who had become a specie expert, reporting on the Coromandel find to the Sydney Morning Herald whilst on a visit to Australia, stated that the specimens shown to him bore specks of gold bewixt a lot of ore and sand. The natives, understanding a keen bargain, put a prohibitively high price on their

auriferous fields. They became more reasonable on realizing that gold does not always pay. Four years later the discovery of another goldfield at Coromandel also proved to be a disappointment, and dashed the gleeful hopes of the Auckland merchants.

In one respect, the opening up of the goldfields in California and Australia did benefit New Zealand. It created an immediate demand for all the agricultural products which the country could supply. The natives became more contented on account of the high prices they received for the products they grew. Money in the hands of the Maoris also brought prosperity to the merchants. Nathaniel Levin, who had established the firm of Levin and Company on Lambton Quay, Wellington, lost no time in launching an "adventure" by packing a ship with goods for the Californian coast (in those days an "adventure" meant to sail at one's own risk). Levin had risen to become one of Wellington's most enterprising and successful businessmen. He had entered the whaling business, firstly exporting whale oil and bone, and later purchasing three whaleboats and a shore whaling station employing twenty-seven men at Cloudy Bay across the strait from Wellington. He was one of the first to send wool from New Zealand, becoming one of the largest shippers of that commodity in the country. The wharf opposite his business was known as Levin's Wharf. As he prospered he entered more varied businesses, trading mainly in cattle and properties and supplying farmers with equipment and finance. He did not neglect Wellington's civic and social interests. The authorities appointed him one of the town's first Justices of the Peace and he was a member of the first committee of its Chamber of Commerce. With his father-in-law, Abraham Hort, sen., he was one of the founders of the Wellington Club. The Wellington Savings Bank also elected him to its Committee of Management. Increased prosperity extended his charitable benevolence, and his name was hardly ever missing from lists aiding the needy and any settlers in misfortune.

Levin had his setbacks. An "adventure" with his brother-in-law, Abraham Hort, jun., to establish a passenger service to Tahiti by the 40-ton sailing brigantine Rovers Bride, ended unsuccessfully. A passenger died on board, and Hort induced the master to put into Auckland, where it was found that the brigantine leaked badly. The repairs took several weeks, which resulted in heavy financial loss. Bad luck seemed to follow Abraham Hort, jun. A partnership which he held with his brother-in-law, Solomon Mocatta, had to be dissolved. A successful trading business in the Pacific Islands required him and his brother Alfred to reside near their headquarters at Apia, Samoa, but in 1854, Hort Brothers suffered severely through the competition of the subsidized German firm of Godeffroy of Hamburg. In 1860, their premises were burnt down, and they had to liquidate the business. Two years later, Abraham Hort, jun., died at Ovalau, Fiji, and was taken to Sydney for burial. The experiences of the family were not altogether wasted, for Mrs Alfred Hort wrote a number of works concerning the Pacific Isles and, in 1866, published a novel which received a fair notice at the time and which was entitled, Hena, or Life in Tahiti.

Sir George Grey's peace policy and the gold-rushes in Australia and California also brought moderate prosperity to the inhabitants of Auckland. Most of the hundred-odd Jews who lived there in the eighteen-fifties did reasonably well in the trades and businesses with which they or their parents had been connected in England. Storekeeping, auctioneering and hotel-keeping predominated. Solomon Hyam Levey and Philip Levey (who also spelt their name as Levy), Morris Marks, Henry Keesing, jun., and William Possenniskie were amongst the better known publicans in the town. Possenniskie tried to attract custom by installing a bath in his hotel. Among the smaller dealers and shopkeepers of good repute were to be found Barnett Keesing, J. H. Asher, Benjamin Moses, Samuel Brown, Benjamin Asher, Nathan Goldwater, John Keesing, L. Kronenberg, Bernhardt Levy, Gabriel Lewis, Samuel Marks and Isaac Doitsh. Philip Aaron Philips, Hyam Joseph, Henry Keesing, Abraham and Ralph Keesing in partnership, Nathan Henry and Asher Asher operated as merchants in a bigger way. L. and J. Levy conducted a library, and Miss Goldstone received young ladies for an English education which she stated she was qualified to give through having had fifteen years of study in Paris.

Amongst the town's leading merchants stood David Nathan and Charles Davis. Everything which Nathan touched turned to gold. As a man of absolute integrity, he was the townspeople's confidant, and they passed on to him any intimate or personal business they desired to transact. He pursued an active auctioneer's career. The authorities placed into his hands the selling or letting of the Governor's residence when Grey was about to leave the colony. From them he received a contract to supply the British Navy. Through the natives, who trusted him implicitly, he built up the largest kauri-gum business in New Zealand. From dealing in wines and spirits and groceries he extended to general merchandise, later entering into large transactions in maize, wheat, tea and coffee. He also started out as a shipping agent, thereby opening up trade between Mauritius, the South Sea Islands and Japan. In a publication issued by the Shaw, Savill and Albion Shipping Line commemorating its centenary, tribute was paid to David Nathan and to the company's wisdom in choosing him as its agent. It attributed its early successes to his sound judgment and advice. Auckland was the port to which their first ships were dispatched. David Nathan grew into a benevolent financial force in the city. His voice amongst others directed whether or not foreign money should be accepted in the Auckland area.

The career of Charles Davis started out quite differently from that of his close friend David Nathan. As a young man, Davis worked in the solicitor's office of a son of Benjamin Yates, the first Jewish minister and founder of the Liverpool Hebrew community in England (the name had been anglicized from Goetz). Whilst working assiduously in the solicitor's office, Davis also fell in love with his master's daughter, Julia, and not having permission to marry her, eloped. The couple came out to New Zealand. In Auckland Charles Davis set himself up as a solicitor, earning a reasonable livelihood and being highly respected. Alert and clever, and a man who seldom allowed an opportunity to pass, Davis investigated his position and came to the conclusion that he could succeed far better in business. In due course an advertisement appeared that he had been induced to take out an auctioneer's licence. He reciprocated the inducement by providing a free luncheon to all who attended his sales. He traded in wool, oil and kauri-gum, and specialized in New Zealand products. Acting as a shipping agent, he booked passengers and freight to all parts of the world, and formed a close connection with a Jewish sea-captain, F. A. Levien, who commanded the clipper brig Hargraves, carrying passengers and goods between New Zealand and Australia. Unfortunately, the connection only lasted about a year owing to the sudden death of Captain Levien. Charles Davis's business went ahead by leaps and bounds, and within a comparatively short period he was counted amongst Auckland's leading merchants.

John Israel Montefiore did not prosper to the extent of his co-religionists David Nathan and Charles Davis. He sold timber and conducted a wine and spirit store in Queen Street. Nevertheless, he seemed to possess private resources, and was considered an authority on finance. When shortage of money in Auckland lifted the value of foreign currency to an unwarranted level, Montefiore headed the list of twenty-three leading Auckland firms which refused to accept foreign money except at the price prevailing in the sister colonies. David Nathan and Henry Keesing also signed the manifesto. On 3 December, 1846, twelve gentlemen, including Montefiore, met in order to form a Savings Bank. Montefiore agreed to allow the safe of the Savings Bank to be lodged in his brick store and the meetings of the trustees to take place on his premises for the receipt of deposits and other business of the bank. As a trustee and one of the two honorary auditors, Montefiore and his colleague, in suspended excitement, opened the doors of the brick store on Saturday night, 5 June, 1847, at 7 p.m. for banking business. Alas! Nothing happened. The two managers having sat in rotation one hour, and no business having been transacted, the doors were closed. They had to wait a fortnight until the first deposit was made. A century later total funds exceeded £30,000,000. Depositors' accounts in nineteen branches numbered 263,346, a remarkable total for a city of 340,000 inhabitants. Besides Montefiore, other Jews connected with the Savings Bank over the century as trustees, presidents and vice-presidents included David Nathan(1864-1885), Charles Davis (1867), Laurence David Nathan (1886-1904),Sidney Jacob Nathan (1906-1917), Nathan Alfred Nathan (1917-1931),Robert Edward Isaacs (1920-1938) and Sir Ernest Hyam Davis (from 1942). It has also PAGE 72been stated, a century after the bank opened its doors, that its success "was due to

the fact that the pioneers included a number of public-spirited men who volunteered to act as trustees without thought of reward; who offered the free use of their premises for meetings, for deposits, and for safe custody of the funds entrusted to them; who took the responsibility of seeking satisfactory investments; and last, but by no means least, who agreed to attend at the appointed time and place to conduct the bank's business until a stage had been reached where sufficient progress had been made to justify the employment of paid officers". Montefiore was among the foremost of these public-spirited men.

When, in 1859, Montefiore reached fifty years of age, he decided to retire as a trustee of the Auckland Savings Bank. It appeared he also retired from all his public activities except the chairmanship of the Auckland Chamber of Commerce. Ten years later he left New Zealand for ever, settling at South-sea in England, where he lived until his death at the ripe old age of eighty-nine years.

The populace in Auckland did not aspire only to succeed in business. It also sought entertainment. Jews who provided this need included R. Hertz, who advertised his first Grand Fancy Dress Ball to which he called the attention of all those who considered dancing No Sin. Isaac Davis, a "Professor of Violin" who led the orchestra at the Theatre Royal, also sought to teach pupils. In April, 1858, Wizard Jacobs arrived in Auckland and entertained for six nights at the Theatre Royal. He advertised himself as the "Great Wizard, Ventriloquist, Professor of Experimental, Scientific and Mechanical Philosophy, Good Modern Magician and Improvisor. Patronized by Her Majesty, Prince Albert, Royal Family, Louis Napoleon and Eugenie and King and Queen of the Belgians. Success in Australia and California". In spite of their seeming flamboyance, the advertisements were modest. Jacobs had enjoyed over twenty-five years of wide experience on the stage in England, America and the Colonies, and had won popularity amongst all classes for his acting, dancing and generally amusing entertainment, but most of all for remarkable performances in feats and tests of the memory. John Lewis Jacobs had been born in Liverpool of pious Jewish parents. Although on the stage, he attended synagogue regularly and did not ride on a vehicle on the Sabbath day.

The gradual growth of the Auckland Jewish community demanded a larger and more permanent building for the conduct of the Sabbath and Holyday services than the room in the store of David Nathan. In 1855 the current leaders of the congregation, Philip Samuel Solomon, Charles Davis and Abraham Keesing, leased a wooden edifice in Emily Place for seven years. P. S. Solomon officiated as the acting minister, frequently assisted by Charles Davis and Ralph Keesing. Before the lease terminated, and during the absence of David Nathan abroad, a serious breach occurred in the community between a faction led mainly by the Keesing family and the honorary officers of the congregation. The dispute probably concerned the appointment of a minister and a Shohet, for the break-away group established a congregation of their own at the shop of Isaac Doitsh in High Street, called it "Sha'are Tikvah" (The Gates of Hope) and appointed J. E. Myers as its spiritual guide. He came out to Auckland under the auspices of the Chief Rabbi, Nathan Marcus Adler, and was only nineteen years of age.

The new faction's protestation for "Love and Harmony" did not conform with the advertisement which it published in the local press notifying all and sundry of its intention to secede. Thus it advertised:

We the undersigned privileged Members professing the Jewish Faith, hereby acquaint our co-religionists and Christian friends from this date we do not recognize Mr Charles Davis as President, Mr P. A. Philips as Treasurer and Mr P. S. Solomon as Officiating Minister, on account of their recent behaviour in our Congregational matters . . .

For the sake of insuring that Love and Harmony of feeling so necessary in parties meeting for religious worship, we have determined to found a separate Congregation, under the jurisdiction

of the Reverend Chief Rabbi, Dr N. M. Adler and have accepted the Rev. J. E. Myers of Jews' College, London, to be our Officiating Minister.

Abraham Keesing, Ralph Keesing, Asher Asher, Nathan Henry, Bernhardt Levy, Henry Keesing Jnr., Isaac Doitsh, Nathan Goldwater, John Keesing and Four others.
Dated, Auckland, Friday 25th day in Nisan 5619, April 29, 1859.

Besides advertising, the new faction must also have made certain unpleasant references to the honorary officials of the old congregation, for P. S. Solomon, who dabbled in law, sued Isaac Doitsh in the Supreme Court for libel, slander and perjury. A very wise judge heard the case and came to the conclusion that the details should not be given publicity and that the dispute should be settled privately. The litigants took his advice. The defendant handed in a written apology to the Court, withdrawing all he had published and said about Solomon, and promised to substantiate his apology by donating a goodly sum of money to charity. Nevertheless, Isaac Doitsh maintained the new congregation in his store, and after the Rev. J. E. Myers resigned, after serving only a few months in Auckland, and left for the Belfast Hebrew Congregation in Ireland, Doitsh once again acted as officiating minister assisted by Nathan Henry. At Emily Place, P. S. Solomon continued to function as the Honorary Minister of the "Beth El" Congregation. Later, Solomon settled in Fiji, where he assumed the editorship of the Fiji Times. Admitted to the Supreme Court, he eventually became a Queen's Counsel, and on several occasions performed the function of Acting Attorney-General. As a member of the Fiji Legislative Council, he wrote a pamphlet dedicated to the Royal Commission appointed to inquire into the feasibility of annexing the Fijian group of islands, a valuable service to the country duly acknowledged by the Commission.

In striving for their religious beliefs, the pioneer Jews of New Zealand could not be accused of parochialism. They were deeply conscious of their obligations towards persecuted Jews in other parts of the world, particularly in the Holy Land. Non-Jews and the Press also displayed an interest in the Jews of Palestine although not all were motivated by humanitarian reasons. One newspaper alleged that Lord Rothschild had purchased the Holy Land. It believed the Jews would be restored to their own land. "But whether that report be true or false, we have no doubt that the time is at hand when, by some means or other, the Jews will be restored to their forfeited possessions, and we regard that event as the sign that will assure Christ's waiting people of the speedy advent of Christ to establish that fifth kingdom which, unlike those that preceded it, shall never be destroyed." When the news came through about the starvation of Jews in Palestine caused by the Crimean War, the newspapers published letters asking the public to help. Gentiles gave most of the £320 which David Nathan and Charles Davis collected and sent to London. In Wellington, Abraham Hort arranged a concert at Barrett's Hotel from which he made a profit of £36 which he transmitted together with the £69 collected from the Jewish community. The Chief Rabbi and Sir Moses Montefiore reported that more than half of the £ 18,000 received for the Jews in Palestine Fund came from Australasia.

Proud, free and independent, without suffering any of the voting disabilities of the Jews in England, their co-religionists in New Zealand rejoiced when, in 1858, the British Parliament passed an Act providing for the relief of Her Majesty's subjects professing the Jewish faith by enabling the House to modify the form of oath which permitted them to take their seats in Parliament and to vote there. In Auckland, the Jews held a public dinner at the Masonic Hall to celebrate the event, an occasion at which members of all branches of the Christian Church attended, and at which innumerable toasts were proposed and responses given. "Thoroughly catholic sentiments pervaded the remarks of all speakers—the members of the Jewish persuasion bearing testimony of the kindly manner in which they had always been treated by their Christian fellow-citizens in Auckland, who had never sought to inflict any social pains and penalties, or to subject them to any disabilities on account of matters of faith . . . Baron Rothschild in reply to the message sent to him mentioned the assistance given by liberal-minded citizens overseas which encouraged him to persevere in the eleven years' struggle for equal rights from which

British Jews had been excluded. He wrote: 'The exemptions from these distinctions enjoyed in your Colony naturally heightened the interest with which you watched the struggle.'"

Within the New Zealand Constitution conferred by the Imperial Act of 1852, and which Sir George Grey helped to frame, religious minorities did not suffer the disabilities included in some of the British Acts. The Constitution provided for the election of six Provincial Councils and for an elected Superintendent over each Province. The Superintendent enjoyed powers over his Province similar to those which the President enjoyed in the United States of America. In addition to the Provincial Councils, the Constitution provided for a General Assembly composed of an elected House of Representatives and a Legislative Council nominated entirely by the Governor. The scanty population of the country as a whole, the separateness of the various settlements and the lack of easy communication between them, made the dual form of government absolutely necessary. In 1850, a judge and another prominent person took six weeks to travel from Nelson to Wellington, now only a few hours' journey by sea. This isolation later led to a movement to transfer the capital from Auckland to Wellington so as to make the seat of government more central. With dual control in the country, conflicts arose as to the powers of the Assembly in relationship to the Councils. Representatives and councillors usually favoured the side of the Provinces as against the Central Government. Their friends and constituents lived in the settlements and it was there that their interests lay.

No Jews sat in the first Provincial Councils which began to perform their function in 1853. However, in the Auckland Province, where Philip Aaron Philips was later elected as a councillor, the more influential Jews seemed to favour the appointment of Lieutenant-Colonel R. H. Wynward as its first Superintendent. He was elected. Sir George Grey himself favoured the provincial system and, though the British Government had passed the Constitution, he would not implement it as far as the House of Representatives and Legislative Council were concerned. Because of this, many believed he opposed self-government when he actually objected to clauses in the Constitution which he considered unjust to the Maoris. He became as unpopular a governor as Hobson had before him. It resulted in the termination of his appointment. He left New Zealand on the last day of 1853. A few days before his departure, the citizens of Auckland invited him to a farewell dinner, and it may have been his unpopularity which prompted only Henry Keesing of the Jewish community to act as one of the twenty-five stewards. His unpopularity was certainly the cause of an unhappy incident at a meeting which Abraham Hort, sen., had called a few months previously at the Britannia Saloon, Wellington, for the purpose of adopting an address expressing regret at the Governor's impending departure. Only about fifty persons came to hear Hort's address in which he criticized the Press for not patronizing and publicizing the meeting. A Mr Gibson differed from Hort's praise of Grey, and caused amusement by his remarks relative to Grey and the withholding of the Constitution. Other remarks by Gibson so aroused the indignation of Hort, that he declared he would dissolve the meeting, and eventually he did so, "unwisely and abruptly", as one report stated. In Hort's speech at the farewell dinner held later, he revealed that during the Maori attacks in the Wellington area, a major in charge of the defending militia asked his family to persuade him not to go to the Hutt Valley as a defender of the settlement. His family could not dissuade him.

Not until the middle of 1854 did the first National Parliament meet in Auckland. At the very first session a problem arose as to the recitation of prayers at the sittings. Some members objected to their ministers reciting prayers for other denominations. There was no State religion, claimed another member. Still another said: "The Constitution has raised no hindrance to colonists of the Hebrew faith or Unitarians sitting as members of the House; and surely if Jews and Unitarians were the majority of its members, and the nearest Church of England clergyman was brought in to perform divine service, the service would be but a monstrous mockery; and, again, if conducted according to their views, he himself, and no doubt other members, would feel obliged to leave the room." It was pointed out by a member in favour of prayers that no Jews had been elected to the House, and if they had been, they would not object.

Edward Gibbon Wakefield related that in America the legislators were about to close the mails on Sundays but that it had been pointed out that religious equality demanded that the mails should then be closed on the Jewish Sabbath, so the motion was abandoned altogether, although it was acceptable to all and was about to be passed. America would not introduce religious inequality into its legislation. Dr Lee said he did not know of any religious ceremony where Christians and Jews could unite. This thought induced Mr Weld to move an amendment against reading prayers in Parliament, for he said: "Hebrew gentlemen might be elected and therefore it would be impossible to frame a form of prayer suitable to them and to Christians also without involving the House in debate." The amendment was lost by ten votes to twenty and the motion in favour of prayers carried, but the House also passed the following cautionary rider: "That, in proceeding to carry out the resolution of the House to open proceedings with prayer, the House distinctly asserts the privilege of a perfect political equality in all religious denominations, and that, whoever may be called upon to perform this duty for the House, it is not thereby intended to confer or admit any pre-eminence to that Church or religious body to which he may belong."

A move at this juncture to adjourn the debate proved unsuccessful. A Church of England clergyman was then called in. He read the prayers, for which he was duly thanked by the Speaker. A similar sort of discussion to that in the House of Representatives took place at the opening of the Legislative Council, but the result differed from that accepted in the Lower House. On the motion of the Hon. Francis Dillon Bell, Hort's son-in-law, the Council accepted the suggestion that the Speaker read the prayers instead of a clergyman.

The Lower Chamber, realizing that its method was not entirely satisfactory, appointed a committee to inquire into the question. It came to the conclusion that instead of a clergyman reciting readings he had chosen himself, a form of prayer duly decided upon would be read each day at the meeting of the House.

From the very beginning of responsible government it appeared patently clear that the House of Assembly was determined to pass its legislation only upon democratic principles. No better example can be quoted than the case of a Jewish man by the name of Lazarus Berlowitz. A Pole by birth, he had migrated to England, from which country he had sailed to Australia when he heard about the discovery of gold. Believing he could make more money by selling jewellery than by digging for the precious metal, he took a parcel of various pieces of jewellery to Nelson where he intended to sell it. The police and the customs officer at Nelson had received notification of jewel robberies in Melbourne and had been warned to keep their eyes open for smugglers. On arrival at Nelson, Berlowitz was asked to produce an invoice for the goods he had in his possession. He could not do so. Without any investigation as to his character, the police and customs officer hauled him before the Nelson magistrate, who summarily ordered Berlowitz's goods to be sold by public auction as goods suspected of being stolen. The auction resulted in the receipt of £277, far less than the amount which Berlowitz had paid for the contents of his parcel.

Berlowitz did not keep silent. Inquiries substantiated his protests of possessing an unblemished character. The Nelson authorities then handed the £277 to Berlowitz. He claimed damages from the Government and after the matter had been brought up in the House, a Select Committee decided he should be granted compensation to the extent that he should be no worse off than if the case had not occurred. Berlowitz valued his goods at £880. He could only prove invoices to an amount of £622, and when the Government authorities paid him only that sum, he protested clamorously and claimed additional compensation for legal expenses and loss of profits. Another Select Committee of the House re-affirmed the decision of the original committee. Berlowitz then advertised in the Press that he had been naturalized in Melbourne, "from which I trusted to receive justice Though it has been Denied me here". He also advertised a petition to the Governor, Sir Thomas Gore-Browne, for permission to appear at the Bar of the House to plead his case. A member of Parliament moved a formal motion to that effect in the Chamber, and in the subsequent debate which aroused deep interest, it was revealed that Berlowitz had also presented a petition

with 1700 signatures, which had been negatived, to the Commitee of Grievances. After a very thorough and fair discussion, the members resolved that justice had been done to Berlowitz and they would not allow him to appear at the Bar of the House. One member said his claim should be rejected "even if it should involve a war with Russia". Two years later the matter was raised once again in the House, but the members would not accept a motion to hear Berlowitz further. Only in a democratic parliamentary institution whose members were imbued with democratic principles could a man have received so much patient attention as that which Berlowitz gained over the matter of a few pounds.

Although no Jews were elected to the first New Zealand Parliament, Jews did take an active interest in politics and civic affairs. Their names often appeared as supporters of parliamentary candidates. Asher Asher, Charles Davis, Henry Keesing and David Nathan fulfilled some of their civic duties by serving as commissioners on the original Auckland Harbour Board. The leaders of the Jewish communities, David Nathan in Auckland and Abraham Hort, sen., in Wellington, did not confine their activities to their coreligionists alone. Nathan did not seek public office, but supported any worth-while movement with his name and influence. A petition with the name of David Nathan included on it, gave the request an air of respectability. He signed petitions protesting against the New Zealand Company's claims for land in the Auckland area, and one which pleaded for changes in the system of voting. As a loyal citizen and out of respect for Her Majesty, he made it his duty to attend the Governor's levees. He led the way in donations to charities and to public institutions.

Abraham Hort, sen., too, did not seek public office, but he did not fear publicity. He never felt happier than when addressing a public meeting, particularly if the meeting had been called for a benevolent purpose. In April, 1856, a fire broke out in Wellington after which he, Nathaniel Levin and Jacob Joseph, amongst others, donated £220 for the relief of the victims. Hort's speech helped in the formation of a fire brigade. The year previous to the fire, an earthquake did considerable damage in the city. It was Hort who presided at the meeting to consider various public questions arising out of the disaster, such as asking the Superintendent to name a day for public prayer to give thanks to the Almighty for their deliverance; seeing whether any citizens needed assistance; conveying thanks to the military for the assistance it gave; and passing a vote of thanks to the masters of vessels in Port Nicholson who gave asylum to those whose homes had been damaged.

The 1855 earthquake was not the first which Hort had experienced, and after which he had taken a prominent part in a public meeting. On 16 October, 1848, a heavy earthquake brought down many buildings including Nathaniel Levin's premises on Lambton Quay. Auckland sent an address of sympathy to Wellington with an amount of £500 to aid any sufferers. At a meeting at the Britannia Saloon, Hort, one of the principal speakers, declaimed in his typical style on the thoughtfulness of Auckland in sending a message of sympathy to her sister city, but typically, too, with pride, he asked the meeting to decline to accept the £500. He claimed Wellington could look after its own. The meeting did not accept the money.

On the very same day that the 1848 earthquake occurred in Wellington, Abraham Hort, sen., experienced another kind of upset. His third daughter, Margaret, became engaged to the Hon. Francis Dillon Bell, a prominent member of the Legislative Council. Dillon Bell did not belong to the Jewish faith. Neither Hort nor the community objected to Christians as such. They respected the Christian faith and supported its needs in the city. They believed Christians should observe their Christianity. If Jews could help them to do so, it was their privilege to assist if they so desired. Hort saw no incongruity in his laying of the foundation-stone of the Church of England Chapel at Karori. His son, Abraham Hort, jun., donated the land for the site of St Peter's Church in Willis Street to the elders. Some Wellington Jews did not object to praying together with their Christian neighbours. Four days after the earthquake of 1848, the authorities called for a Day of Humiliation, Fasting and Prayer. At Kumutoto where the Wellington Gentlemen's Club now stands, Kaufman Samuel, who had become a man of consequence in the city, arranged in his

home for Christians and Jews to pray together on that day. A contemporary said it was "the first time on record in the history of the Jewish faith in New Zealand that those of the Hebrew faith united with other churches". Nevertheless, as a pious and observant Jew, Abraham Hort, sen., would have demanded that his children should follow the faith in which they had been born and should marry within the fold. That his sons did not do so may have been an added urge for them to make their home at Apia, Samoa. The Bishop of New Zealand, Bishop Selwyn, also opposed mixed marriages, for when Dillon Bell requested him to officiate at the marriage between himself and Margaret Hort, he grew angry with Bell and refused to do so. Bell wrote to Sir George Grey for advice. He counselled him to many in a registry office. The ceremony duly took place on 2 April, 1849.

According to Jewish law, a child born of a Jewish mother is a Jew with all privileges. Apparently, Margaret Dillon Bell decided to rear her son, Francis Henry Dillon Bell, born at Nelson in 1851, as a Christian. This must have caused Abraham Hort, sen., deep anguish and may have been the reason for his sailing to Tasmania to reside in Hobart. His departure seemed permanent, for Nathaniel Levin, the only remaining trustee of the Jewish cemetery, applied for the appointment of new trustees. Solomon Mocatta had returned to England and Kaufman Samuel had died at the early age of forty-four years. The cemetery, bounded by Cemetery Road, Glenbervie Terrace and Difficult Road needed watching. Part of it had been appropriated, an occurrence not uncommon in New Zealand townships where Jewish numbers have dwindled. Wellington's Jewish cemetery had been reduced from an acre to less than three roods.

Hobart's small, dwindling Jewish community and New Zealand ties brought Hort back to Wellington once again. He could not have been very happy, for the community did not grow, and his own children broke their ties with the Jewish faith. If he could have foreseen the future before he sailed for New Zealand in 1842, he would surely not have made the journey. His daughter Margaret, before she died in 1892, converted to Christianity. Her husband, Sir Francis Dillon Bell, achieved cabinet rank, was knighted and appointed Agent-General for New Zealand in London. Her son, the Rt. Hon. Sir Francis Henry Dillon Bell, became Mayor of Wellington and Prime Minister of New Zealand. Another son served as an Anglican minister in London. A son of Nathaniel and Jessie Levin, William Hort Levin, married in St Peter's Church, and was eventually buried by the Archbishop of New Zealand. A plaque commemorating William Hort Levin's work for St Peter's Church can be seen within the building.

Hort may have been satisfied with the material success of his children and grandchildren. He could not have been satisfied from the spiritual point of view. Yet, when he decided to leave New Zealand for ever in May, 1859, in order to return to England, he did not depart with any bitterness nor with any lack of understanding of the friendly relationship which should exist between members of different denominations. In reply to a farewell speech he said that he did not leave Wellington without a pang. He was pleased to recall his spiritual leadership which "rendered our infant community respected throughout the colony". He was also glad to have the good wishes of other denominations. Hort expounded on the immortality of Moses, and quoted the prophet Malachi to that effect. He ended his speech with good wishes and blessings "on the sincere professors of every other creed, as the most ardent prayer of Abraham Hort".

Before he sailed on the Clantarf with his wife and two daughters, over fifty friends tendered him a dinner at Bannister's Hotel, where the hosts dwelt upon the liberality, hospitality and private virtues of Hort, whom they could ill afford to lose. His co-religionists gave him an illuminated address in which they thanked Hort for acting as their spiritual leader. They traced the formation and maintenance of the congregation to his active exertions. They thanked him for the vellum Scroll and Pentateuch Ark which he gave hem as parting gifts. They would remind them of him whenever they were used. "We, by your acceptance of the Purse now tendered," they continued, "containing contributions from every member of the Jewish community, with which we request you, on your arrival in England, to obtain some memorial, is token of the estimation in which you are, and ever have been, held by us." The address was signed by Jacob Joseph, Joseph Edward

"The Ghost Synagogue". Tait Bros, Hokitika photographers during the gold boom, took this photograph of the Synagogue in 1867.

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Nathaniel Levin, one of the first Jews to settle in Wellington and founder of the great New Zealand commercial house of Levin and Co.

The ship Wellington, built in Glasgow for Nathaniel Levin of Levin & Co.William Hort Levin, a son of Nathaniel, took a leading part in the commercial affairs of early Wellington, and the town of Levin was named for him.

Nathan, Lewis Moss, Adolph Bing, H. Nathan, J. Abrahamson, Nathaniel Levin, Solomon Levy and Lipman Levy.

Ten years after his departure from New Zealand, Abraham Hort, sen., died in London, but his spiritual influence remained in Wellington for many

years. As soon as he left the New Zealand shores, the congregation, small as it was, continued its religious services, first at the house of Joseph E. Nathan, but later, more permanently, at the home of Jacob Joseph on Lambton Quay.

CHAPTER XI
THE MAORI WARS

IF HORT HAD WAITED A YEAR OR TWO BEFORE HE LEFT NEW ZEALAND, he would have seen his dreams beginning to come true. Two important national developments took place soon after his departure—the start of the Maori Wars which flickered and flamed intermittently from 1860 to 1872, and the discovery of gold in payable quantities in the Province of Otago in 1861.

The former happy contacts between the whites and the natives had gradually given place on the part of many of the Maoris to resentment and open hostility. Money had ceased to be plentiful. Prices for their produce had dropped. The first flush of prosperity on the Australian goldfields had vanished, and thousands of migrants had turned to farming, thus reducing the demand for Maori foodstuffs. With the encouragement of the Provincial Governments, impoverished migrants, hungry for land, began to flow into New Zealand, determined to gain the coveted native holdings whether the Maoris liked it or not. Many natives overtly opposed the sale of land to Europeans. The pakeha had offended their pride and manhood. The Maoris found themselves insignificant and despised in the midst of a civilization in which they did not share. Petty government officials insulted proud and honoured Maori chiefs, and treated them in an off-hand manner. According to the Treaty of Waitangi, the natives had been promised equality. It was not given. When the Maori landowner asked for the right to vote, he was told that only those who held a Crown title could do so. They had no representation in Parliament. Nothing had been done to organize native districts where they could live according to their own tribal customs. Neither was English law enforced. Greedy, land-hungry Europeans looked on whilst native murdered native in disputes as to whether or not they should sell their inheritance to the white man.

Little had been done to provide education, and the promise that 15 per cent of all land sales would be devoted to native welfare was not honoured. Moreover, the Maoris feared that their power and strength would disappear with the alienation of their lands, and they looked with apprehension at the destruction of their nationality. Sir John Gorst, Government Commissioner in the Waikato, stated succinctly in a report: "... Despairing of obtaining these boons from the Government, the desire to withhold land altogether became nearly universal, in order to check the aggrandizement of that power which might hurt them as an enemy, but did not much benefit them as a friend." In the Taranaki district, Wiremu Kingi, who had previously befriended the Europeans, led the opposition against selling land to strangers. In the Waikato area, the opposition manifested itself in the choice of a king, Te Wherowhero, and the setting up of a flag, not in defiance of the Queen, but as a symbol that they could conduct their own affairs according to native custom.

A crafty Maori foe of Wiremu Kingi, Teira, in order to stir up trouble for Kingi, deliberately sold land to a European at Waitara in defiance of the wishes of the Taranaki chief. Kingi had lived on that very land for years. The Governor investigated Teira's rights, and came to the conclusion that he had the power to sell. Surveyors were sent to map the land, but Kingi resisted, with the consequence that the Governor sent armed troops into the area. War broke out immediately. For about twelve months the Maoris ravaged the settlements in Taranaki with the help of the King natives from the Waikato, whilst the British troops shut themselves up in New Plymouth. In May, 1861, a temporary truce prevented further bloodshed for two years.

Believing that Sir George Grey, with his understanding of the Maoris and their ways, would soon win their hearts, the Colonial Office sent him out once again to New Zealand to replace Sir

Thomas Gore-Browne as Governor. Democratic in thought, but autocratic by nature, Grey did not find his task easy. Prudence demanded that he listen to the voice of the Ministers of the Crown and the vote of Parliament. Nor did the natives trust him as they had formerly. Grey had persuaded them to part with their land. Wiremu Kingi, who sought peace, did not receive the support of the Waikato tribes, flushed with their victory in the first phase of the Taranaki War. He had to follow the majority. Their influence spread to the tribes in the east around Hawkes Bay and the Bay of Plenty.

Strangely enough, Grey's own errors of judgment led to a renewal of hostilities. He had decided to give up the Government's claim to Waitara, but insisted, after a thorough investigation, that the Maoris relinquish their illegal retention of land close by at Tataraimaka. Before notifying the natives of his intention to abandon Waitara, he sent troops to oust the Maoris from Tataraimaka. The Maoris set an ambush and slew the troops. Grey's proclamation soon after, notifying the abandonment of Waitara, was taken as a sign of weakness.

Amidst heightened tension, the King tribes of the Waikato warned Grey that an advance of troops beyond the Mangatawhiri, a stream running into the Waikato, about forty miles south of Auckland, would mean war. Julius Vogel, a member of the Jewish faith who had been elected to the House of Representatives for Otago, proposed a motion in Parliament to the effect that each Province preserve order within its own borders, subdue its own Maoris, PAGE 84and "enjoy the proceeds of the confiscated lands" it might take from the natives. Vogel wished to save money for his province. The Maori Wars never touched the South Island. Even in the North Island the war was confined to an area bordered in the north by the Mangatawhiri stream and in the south by a line from New Plymouth in the west to Napier in the east. The remainder of the Maoris remained loyal to the Government, as did even some tribes in the battle zone, such as the Arawa tribe of Rotorua.

Rusden, the New Zealand historian, deeply prejudiced against Vogel in particular and Jews in general, states that after discussion of Vogel's proposal "this premium upon pillage was withdrawn". It was this very scheme of confiscation which Grey adopted. He suggested the presentation of Maori land from the Waikato to the Hauraki Gulf to soldiers and volunteers, thus establishing a barrier of military settlers to defend Auckland. The Ministers comprising the Government carried the idea further by proposing the confiscation of native land for the purpose of attracting immigrants.

Grey sent a message to the hostile natives on 11 July, 1863, threatening those who waged war against Her Majesty or remained in arms with forfeiture of their lands guaranteed to them by the Treaty of Waitangi. The message did not reach the Waikato tribes until 14 July, but Grey had already commanded his forces to cross the Mangatawhiri on 12 July. Had Grey again been mistakenly precipitate or had his action been deliberate? He claimed afterwards that the Waikato tribes had made preparations to attack Auckland. Sir John Gorst scoffed at the suggestion. Probably Grey, as a skilled soldier, desired to have the matter over and done with as soon as he could. He could show grace to the rebels after he had defeated them. No doubt pressure was also brought to bear upon him by politicians and speculators who were anxious to acquire the rich native lands. Auckland merchants who had made fortunes from the preparation of war, could not be ruled out either from amongst those who wished the flames of battle to bum brightly and so serve to increase their tainted gains.

The superior numbers and weapons of the British forces and volunteers made the result of the Maori Wars a foregone conclusion. It took much longer, however, than the Government ever expected. The heights of heroic bravery with which the natives fought, their skill as bushmen, and the nature of the terrain with which they were minutely familiar, prolonged the many skirmishes from months into years. Some of Grey's generals also fought reluctantly. Perceiving the Maoris' courage and the justice of the native cause, they entered the fray half-heartedly. Once Grey himself took over the command of an assault on a pa, and captured it, without loss, with

but a few hundred men. The previous commander had asked for thousands of soldiers. After the battle of Orakau in April, 1863, and the Maori abandonment of their stronghold at Maunga-Tautari, the campaign in the Waikato ended. With it the King Movement came to an end. At first negotiations for peace broke down, but on 25 May, 1865, Wiremu Tamihana surrendered on behalf of the native King. A number of Jews fought with the British forces and amongst the volunteers in the Maori Wars. Only one Jew is known to be amongst those who took up a military land grant of confiscated property presented by the Government. He was Coleman Phillips who came from Weymouth, England, to Auckland in 1846. He joined the 2nd Waikato Regiment, gained the Queen's Medal, and saw active service. He did not make a success of his holding. He sold out and entered the service of the Waikato Steamship Navigation Company as a purser. Clever, ambitious and studious, he rose to become a certificated master of a vessel, and was not satisfied till he commanded the company's fleet.

Wiremu Tamihana's peace treaty with Grey did not bring tranquillity to the whole country. A horrible aspect of the Maori Wars, which had commenced in Taranaki, spread over to the east coast. Many of the Maoris, bitterly disappointed with the encroachment of the pakeha into their land and their way of life, blamed the missionaries for their downfall. The missionary had brought the Bible. The trader had followed with his wares, and it all ended with the soldier with his guns and destruction. Converted to the teachings of Christianity to which they held with a simple faith, the natives had substituted the new religion for their own paganism, and added the tales of virtue from the Old and New Testaments to their own heroic legends. They called a settlement in Wanganui, Hihuharama, the Maori for Jerusalem. With their hatred of the Europeans, especially missionaries, growing from day to day as the fortunes of war went against them, many of the Maoris discarded their Christianity and adopted a religion which, in their minds, opposed the faith which they had been taught by the European to believe. They embraced a form of Judaism which emanated from their imaginations and from perverted ideas about which they had read in the Bible. They reverted to pagan practices and included them in their revived worship of "Atua Pai Marire". From a misrepresentation of the confessional, they claimed that the words "Pai Marire", when pronounced, sanctified any crime. They believed that legions of angels awaited them on the battlefield to assist them in their cause, and that if they went into the fight crying "Hau! Hau!" they would be invulnerable. They changed their Sabbath from Sunday to Saturday. If they drank the blood of the head of an enemy which had been cut off, they thought that the angel Gabriel would appear to them. The severed head was taken as the medium of communication with the Mighty One above. They considered the eating of an enemy's eyes as a token of final victory over the vanquished. An authority described the new religion as "a large measure of Judaism, some leading features of Mormonism, a little mesmerism, occasional ventriloquism and a large amount of cannibalism".

Despairing of defeating the enemy by ordinary methods, the natives of Taranaki tried to overcome their foes by magic. After defeat in Taranaki, Hauhauism spread thence towards the east and around the coast of the Bay of Plenty. Learning from hints dropped by the natives that they had adopted the Pai Marire cult, a German missionary at Opotiki, Carl Sylvius Volkner, decided to take his wife out of the danger area to safety at Auckland. Volkner had come to New Zealand under the auspices of the North German Missionary Society, but had separated from that body and joined Bishop Selwyn. Ordained a priest of the Church of England, he took up his post at Opotiki, and quickly won the esteem and affection of the Maoris by his kindness and understanding. He had also won the respect of two Jewish brothers, Morris and Samuel Levy, who had established a store there. They were born in the island of Jersey, and during the Australian gold-rush had journeyed to Melbourne where they had bought city property and lighters for work in Port Phillip Bay. Morris Levy had gone to sea as a boy and possessed a master's ticket. Attracted by the New Zealand gold-rush, the brothers sailed for Otago in 1861. Discovering gold-digging to be harder than his own calling, Morris Levy settled in Invercargill, where he lightered and acted as a pilot to warships from his coaster, the Eclipse. During the depression in 1863, he moved north to Opotiki, where he joined with his brother Samuel in conducting a store and running the Eclipse between the Bay of Plenty and Auckland.

Volkner, believing his relationship with the Maoris to be of such a nature that he had nothing to fear from them, decided to return to Opotiki from Auckland with Morris Levy and a Rev. T. S. Grace, who assisted him in his work. As Jews, the two brothers were safe. When forsaking Christianity, the Maoris in their own eyes believed that they had adopted Judaism. On 1 March, 1864, on approaching Levy's Wharf in front of the store, those aboard the Eclipse noticed a great crowd of Maoris waiting on the bank. Samuel Levy came on board and told them that the day before, the Maoris had taken an oath to kill every missionary and soldier who came near them. When he went ashore, Captain Levy, on hearing the confirmation of his brother's story, planned to escape at nightfall, but during the day, the Maoris ordered Volkner and Grace out of the boats and tied them up. Captain Levy protested, so the natives took the two missionaries together with four members of the crew and locked them up in a whare, with twenty Maoris with double-barrelled guns on constant guard. They asked the brothers to separate their own luggage and goods from that of the others. Samuel Levy took Volkner's watch and money and hid it in the ground, but afterwards he returned them to Volkner when there seemed to be hope of release for the party. During the night, the Maoris debated the fate of their captives.

In the morning, the brothers Levy were told that the missionaries would be shot. Captain Levy remonstrated and, in order to save their lives, he offered his boat, cargo and store for plunder to the Maoris. They accepted his bribe. At that moment, another party of half-castes approached and asked Volkner to come out to a meeting. Thinking he was freed, Volkner ran out of the whare, but the half-castes marched him off at once and told him they were going to kill him. Passing the church, Volkner asked for five minutes for prayer, which they gave him. By this time about eight hundred natives had gathered around a tree, and, in a frenzied mood, rigged up tackle taken from the schooner to the topmost branch. The Levy brothers were now helpless. Stripping Volkner of his clothes, the natives presented them to the Maori chief who put them on, he being very pleased with the watch and chain. Volkner showed no fear. When the Maoris covered his eyes with a handkerchief he shook hands with some of them. They hanged Volkner. Before life was extinct they took him down, cut off his head and drank the blood. A frightful scramble then took place amongst the women as to who could drink the most, at the same time smearing upon their faces some of the blood that dropped on the ground. The chief took the eyes out of the head and ate them before the whole crowd. The body was then thrown to the dogs.

Later, all the whites were tied up and imprisoned in a settler's hut. They thought their last moment had come, but the Maoris only robbed them, after which, with the exception of Grace, they were released.

In the evening, the Maoris assembled in the Roman Catholic chapel and placed Voikner's head in the pulpit, dancing a wild haka and screaming with the utmost frenzy. All night through the orgies went on around the church. Every half-hour, to the sound of a horrible, piercing whistle and the clamour of the church bells, they would assemble at a different spot.

Next day, Captain Levy offered £500, then £1000, for Grace, but the offer was indignantly refused. During the negotiations another Maori chief arrived. Levy entered into discussions with him. Several days passed in bargaining, and at the end the Maoris agreed to accept a ransom on condition of the release of all Maori prisoners in Auckland. Samuel Levy volunteered to remain behind as a hostage whilst his brother sailed for the capital.

On 15 March, Captain Levy and his crew embarked. On turning from the river into the sea they found the steamer-warship Eclipse (another vessel with the same name as that of Levy's schooner) with the Bishop of New Zealand on board. He had heard of Volkner's death and had come in an endeavour to save Grace. Captain Levy informed him it would be useless to try to rescue Grace by force. Accompanied by two naval lieutenants, Levy rowed back to the settlement. The men were not around. They were sitting in council deliberating as to the action they should take, for they had seen the approach of the warship. Searching for Grace, Levy discovered him at the back of a house by the river, the women guarding him in front. Not missing the heaven-sent

opportunity, Levy told Grace to jump into the boat and to lie flat. He covered him with serge coats. They pulled out as fast as possible while the women began to shout in protest. The men came running out firing their muskets, but tide and current were in favour of Levy and his men. Later, with the help of a Maori interpreter, Samuel Levy also managed to escape from the village. At the end of the month, a public meeting held in the Supreme Courthouse in Auckland thanked the Levy brothers for their action in saving Grace. Accounts of their courage appeared in newspapers all over the world. Some fine personal sketches by Samuel Levy enabled many readers to picture the scenes which took place at Opotiki. In compensation for Captain Levy's losses, the Commissioner awarded him £328, of which £109 was in cash and the rest in scrip. However, he lost heavily through the incident. Acting as a pilot on the Huntress when it entered Opotiki in October, 1865, on a punitive expedition, gave him no material satisfaction.

Later, the Maoris gave their reasons for killing Volkner although they had been on good terms with him. They had decided that the root of all the calamity which had descended upon them was the influence of the missionaries in persuading them to part with their land. They also claimed that Volkner had, whilst in Auckland, informed the Government that the Opotiki natives were hand in glove with the rebels. Further, they had killed him as "utu". A woman of the Arawa tribe, friendly with the English, whose husband had been killed, had shot the brother of the Opotiki chief in cold blood. The law of "utu" demanded a life for a life. Volkner, as one of the English side, was the sacrifice.

Captain Levy's experience affected him deeply. He returned to England where his affairs did not prosper. News of his poverty reached New Zealand, where investigations brought to light the fact that Levy had not received his scrip. Being a modest man, he had never mentioned it. Parliament quickly rectified the omission. This enabled him, in 1871, to return to Nelson, where he died thirty years later.

Incidents provoked by the Hau Hau continued for a number of years. A major reason for the necessity of maintaining a costly defence force was the activity of a Maori chief, Te Kooti. He had fought on the side of the Government, but as he was suspected of treason and generally regarded as an undesirable, the authorities had deported him without trial to the Chatham Islands. Making himself leader of the prisoners, he seized a schooner and returned to the mainland, thirsting for revenge for the injustice which had been inflicted upon him. He descended upon the Gisborne settlement killing thirty-three Europeans and thirty-seven Maoris, including women and children. He looted and burned homesteads, leading the Government forces a dance all over the central portion of the country. As well as being a brilliant guerrilla fighter, he claimed to be a Maori prophet. God, he proclaimed, had revealed himself to him through a manuscript which he had found in a cave where he was hiding. He designated the document the Maori Bible. Special words therein he announced to be Hebrew commands although they really happened to be words of Maori origin. The word "Tereina", for example, he put out to be a Hebrew term used by the Almighty to Adam, which being interpreted meant, "be thou created out of my shadow". For four years Te Kooti laughed at the forces sent against him. They never caught him. Finally, he took refuge in the King Country where the Maoris were left unmolested and where for some years it was death for a pakeha to enter. Eventually Te Kooti was pardoned. The last shot in the Maori War was heard in 1872. Understanding came to both sides; wisdom prevailed. Te Kooti's prophetic cult came to be recognized as one of the official established religious denominations of New Zealand. The end of the hostilities did not bring a cessation of the land disputes. Processes of law, however, were established by which justice was done to the Maori, and opportunity given to the pakeha, but so involved were some of the claims of the Maori tribes, that Land Court suits which originated over one hundred years ago have still to receive a final judgment.

CHAPTER XII
GOLD

THE SETTLEMENTS IN THE SOUTH ISLAND, OTAGO AND CANTERBURY, did not encounter the same difficulties as the inhabitants of the North Island. Few Maoris dwelt there. Canterbury progressed apace, provided as it was with fertile plains and rolling downs where flocks, brought over from Australia, rapidly multiplied upon the natural pastures. Fleecy wool and golden grain poured out for export from the gateway of Christ-church, Port Lyttelton. Before the gold-seekers ever came to Otago, Canterbury had attained solidity and prosperity.

A new era began for Otago and New Zealand when a Californian gold-digger won the reward of the Provincial Council in 1861 by discovering a payable goldfield at Tuapeka. Thousands of eager, hopeful miners flowed into Dunedin by every boat, followed by a host of merchants and traders who contrived to supply the digger with his needs. They came mostly from Victoria and New South Wales, where the goldfields around Ballarat, Ben-digo and Bathurst had lost their initial lustrous and glamorous sheen. As in Australia, the miners in New Zealand moved from place to place. The discovery of a lead would attract diggers like flies to a honey-pot. At the hint that gold had been found, a spot where no white man had set his foot before would, within days, be covered with thousands of men hewing into the virgin soil. On the other hand, the loss of a lead would, within weeks, transform a hive of industry into a ghost-town. After the discovery of gold in Otago, some of the prospectors moved over to the West Coast, and in 1865 were successful in finding the precious metal in the Hokitika district. From Christchurch, the pioneers built a road over the mountains to the west. Prospectors also succeeded in the Nelson and Marlborough areas. In 1867, payable gold was at last found in the Thames district of the Auckland Province.

Jews also came with the gold-seeking immigrants. The majority came from England, with a fair sprinkling, too, from the German-Polish border, especially from the district of Posen. A few dug for gold. Most of them, however, sought their fortune in supplying the wants and needs of the miners. They had not yet rediscovered the ancestral love of the soil which had raised then Gentile, pioneer neighbours in Canterbury into wealthy farmers and landowners. The medieval persecution of the Jews in Europe which deprived their forefathers of the right to own land, still had its effect upon the Jewish migrants who sailed for New Zealand. Nevertheless, supplying the miner with his daily wants was as risky and as speculative a business as digging for the gold itself. Cold winters, unmade roads and a scarcity of supplies made the cost of cartage almost prohibitive. The price of flour rose in Dunedin to £50 a ton. On the goldfields prices were much higher. When a lead ran out, a well-stocked store could depreciate to a fraction of its original value.

As the gold disappeared from the fields, the miners and their followers would return to the larger towns, and an examination of the fluctuations in the Jewish population in the Provinces of New Zealand from 1861 to 1901 is a fair indication of the migratory movements which took place within the period in the North and South Islands. (See table on p. 92.)

It will be noted from these figures that the main body of Jews arrived in New Zealand between 1861 and 1867, newcomers averaging about one hundred and fifty souls a year. In the next thirty-three years they maintained an average increase of only ten persons per annum, probably a natural increase. Little migration took place. Auckland maintained a steady number of the Jewish faith, the decrease in 1874 denoting a general depression which had started the previous year. At the close of the nineteenth century, the increasing importance of Wellington, which Parliament had selected as the capital in 1865 as being more central than Auckland, attracted more Jews to it than to any other city because of its growing influence. The Jewish population in Otago and Canterbury reached its peak about 1880, receiving numbers who had removed from

the West Coast and Nelson, where the extraction of alluvial gold had ceased to be a profitable industry. From 1880 onwards, the Jews in the southern cities began to trickle, family by family, to the North Island. In the 1896 census, a Spanish and Portuguese Jew desired to denote that the Sephardi Jews still retained supremacy over the Ash-kenazim, and insisted on describing himself as a Spanish Jew and as a member of a separate denomination.

English and German-Polish Jews in the middle of the nineteenth century conformed to their religious practices. On the approach of the High Holy-days, Jews would seek each other out so that they could pray together on the New Year and the Day of Atonement. If numbers warranted it, they would arrange for regular Sabbath services, the requisition of a building as a house of worship and the employment of a minister to act as a Reader in the synagogue, as a Shohet at the abattoirs and as a teacher at the Hebrew school. Before the discovery of gold in Otago, only five Jewish families ventured to live amongst the Scots at Dunedin. Wolf Harris, George Casper, Hyam E. Nathan, Joseph Fogel and Adolph Bing formed the basis of the congregation which Hyam E. Nathan assembled in his home in High Street.

By the beginning of 1862, numbers had grown to such an extent as to warrant the establishment of a formal congregation. A general meeting elected Hyam E. Nathan as President, Henry Nathan as Treasurer and Hyman Joseph as Hon. Secretary. The committee consisted of Henry Hart, Ezekiel Nathan, Abraham Myers, R. De Costa, I. Herman and Benjamin L. Farjeon, who proposed that the community be named the Dunedin Jewish Congregation and who later flourished as a world-renowned author. Jacob Fogel, Morris Marks and Mordecai Kutner failed to be elected, the latter in spite of his riches. Dr Samuels, who acted as Coroner at Waitahuna, and George Casper, although elected initially on the temporary committee, did not stand for a permanent position. Solomon Lazarus, C. J. Levien, Samuel Isaacs and S. Collins also attended the initial meeting. Among the foundation members were Henry Hoffman, Louis Sampson, S. Daniels, S. Falk, B. Marks, Edward Solomon, I. Isaacs, Isaac Sanders and I. S. Raphael. Henry Nathan was elected the Honorary Reader with Samuel Isaacs assisting him.

As in most colonial communities, the congregation concerned itself firstly with the requisition of a cemetery, and secondly with the arrangements for acquiring a permanent place of worship. The original Jewish settlers had received a small section of land for a burial-ground but, with migrants pouring in, Hyam E. Nathan, Henry Nathan and Benjamin L. Farjeon had to seek a larger piece of ground from the Superintendent of the Province, who courteously granted the request, appointing the former two gentlemen as trustees. In accordance with the custom at that time, the trustees set aside a section of the cemetery for the burial of suicides and other persons considered unfit to be interred amongst the members of the community. Another custom of the period necessitated the appointment of an honorary official, "Gabbai d'Beth Almin", whose task included looking after cemetery affairs and the supervision of funeral arrangements on the death of any Jew in the province. Only the honoured could receive such an appointment, for the duties were regarded as sacred.

With the initial business concerning the cemetery completed, the congregation occupied itself with the requisition of a building to serve as a house of worship, and leased a small wooden edifice in George Street where the Plaza Theatre now stands. It proved to be too small for the number of worshippers who wished to attend the High Holyday services of 1862, so the committee hired the Oddfellows' Hall. These premises proved to be unsuitable, and at the last moment the congregants had to accept the offer of Hyam E. Nathan of the use of his business rooms in Stafford Street. Besides the regular readers, Jacob Frankel and R. Furst also assisted at these services. Jacob Frankel had plenty of experience behind him. He had acted as a Hazzan in Greenwich, England, in California, in Hobart Town as well as in Melbourne, Victoria.

Customarily, after a colonial congregation had procured a cemetery and synagogue, it sought to engage a minister. Dunedin did not hurry. It had to be urged to fulfil its duty by a picturesque figure, Rabbi Jacob Levi Saphir, who came out on a visit to Dunedin in March, 1862. He may

not have been altogether welcome. His object in coming was to collect money to erect a school and synagogue over the historic site of the grave of Rabbi Judah the Pious in Jerusalem. The Dunedin Jews did not object to giving money for worthy causes in the Holy City, but they were concerned with the establishment of their own communal requirements. When a request arrived from Melbourne to assist in the mission of Rabbi Zvi Sneersohn, who collected funds for the starving in Palestine, the Dunedin Congregation replied that the request could not be entertained. Sneersohn and Saphir, two distinguished, learned luminaries of Israel had by coincidence arrived in Victoria about the same time. Saphir had arrived a few days after Sneersohn and, as a clever and discreet man, he decided to visit Dunedin after making short calls at the Victorian country towns of Ballarat and Bendigo and at Adelaide.

Rabbi Jacob Levi Saphir possessed distinctive qualities and ability. Born in Vilna, Lithuania, he had settled with his parents at Safed, Israel, at the age of ten. A brilliant linguist, he learnt to speak Arabic, Hebrew, French, Spanish, Italian, Russian, German and Yiddish, and could make himself understood in English. When he was thirty-five years old, the Ashkenazi community in Jerusalem sent him on a world-wide mission for its school and for the poor. Like the medieval Benjamin of Tudela, the Jewish Marco Polo, Saphir travelled in many lands and published his experiences in a two-volume book entitled Eben Sappir. Its preface and contents mark him as no ordinary emissary, but as a keen scholar with open eyes, studying the life of the Jewish and general communities of the countries which he visited.

He wrote of the mud of the unpaved Dunedin streets caused by the melting snows of the winter, which, he stated, lasted for nine months in the year. He considered the Maoris intelligent, and subscribed to the view that they originally came from India. His magnetic personality and scholarship soon won him popularity and respect. Samuel Edward Shrimski, who later became prominent in parliamentary circles, inaugurated on his behalf the "Fund for the Relief of the Poor in Palestine". It also received the approval and support of the Board of Management of the synagogue. Saphir's zeal is portrayed by an incident which occurred immediately on his arrival. He disembarked from his ship on the Friday before the feast of Purim, which that year fell on a Saturday night. To his dismay, Saphir discovered that the Dunedin Jews did not possess a Megillah. He spent his first day in Dunedin perspiring over parchment that he had bought in Sana, Yemen, for the purpose of writing a Sefer Torah during his travels. Before the inauguration of the Sabbath, Saphir had completed writing the Scroll of Esther. Forty people attended the Purim night service, and a Minyan came the next morning.

With sadness, Saphir noted that even the most orthodox in the community who observed the Sabbath and closed their places of business on Saturday, did not eat Kosher meat. One woman told him that in the first year of her living in Dunedin, she and her family did not eat meat at all, but after the birth of her child she had no alternative but to buy trefah. Like many living in the colonies where no Shohet was engaged, she salted and rinsed the Trefah meat in accordance with the dietary laws, and separated the meat vessels from the milk utensils. Members excused themselves to Saphir by claiming that they had a synagogue and Reader, which in their eyes had preference over a Shohet, whom they could not afford to bring out from London. In Saphir's opinion a Shohet had preference, and he kindly urged the congregants to rectify their error.

Saphir remained in Dunedin for the Passover Festival. The community had ordered Matzah from Sydney, and Saphir made the Kosher wine and "kashered" all the utensils, but he himself would eat only potatoes and fish. All who had no family met at the home of Hyam E. Nathan for the Seder. About forty persons sat around table. The members of the congregation persuaded Saphir to remain for the dedication of the George Street synagogue in which he took part and during which he once again exhorted the worshippers to engage a Shohet. On the day following the Feast of Pentecost, Saphir embarked to return to Melbourne, well satisfied with his visit to Dunedin both from the material and spiritual point of view. The congregation had promised to appoint a ritual slaughterer.

CHAPTER XIII
THE MOST SOUTHERN CONGREGATION IN THE WORLD

THE DUNEDIN CONGREGATION KEPT ITS WORD. For its minister and Shohet it engaged none other than David M. Isaacs, whom Hort, over twenty years previously, had brought over with him to Wellington from England. Isaacs was still a bachelor. That was partly his trouble. His congregants in Ballarat, where he served, believed a minister should be a married man. Part of the Ballarat Congregation emanated from Germany and Poland, and thought that those born in England, including their minister, did not attain to the standards of piety and learning to which Jews should aspire. Quarrels broke out between the two sections. "Because Isaacs is an Englishman," wrote the secretary of the congregation, "some of the foreign Jews think he can do nothing right." Isaacs resigned, and sued the Ballarat community for £156 owing to him. At the last moment, Isaacs settled out of court for £36. At that juncture, Dunedin advertised for a minister, and Isaacs went back to the country which he knew so well. He made, however, one stipulation before he returned. He told his sponsors that he suffered severely from rheumatism, and that if the climate proved unsuitable for him, he would have to leave. He stayed only nine months. Nelson's climate proved to be far more suitable for him, and there he settled down, earning his livelihood as a photographer, a profession then newly introduced into New Zealand. Not having Saphir's inspiration, the congregation decided not to engage another minister. Once again, for the High Holydays of 1863, the George Street synagogue could not be used. Being too small, it could not accommodate all the worshippers. They crowded into the Masonic Hall. Soon afterwards, the committee decided to build a new synagogue at the corner of Moray Place and View Street at a cost of £2450, including the land. For some reason or other they did not consider it desirable or necessary to lay the foundation-stone of the new synagogue. They did conduct a consecration service before the New Year of 1864, at which Henry Nathan and John Lazar took part with the assistance of a choir. Lazar, the Honorary Secretary, also delivered an address. His experience and ability allowed him to deliver it with confidence. He had had a picturesque career. From Edinburgh, his father, Abraham Lazar, a clothier, had taken him at the age of eighteen months to London.

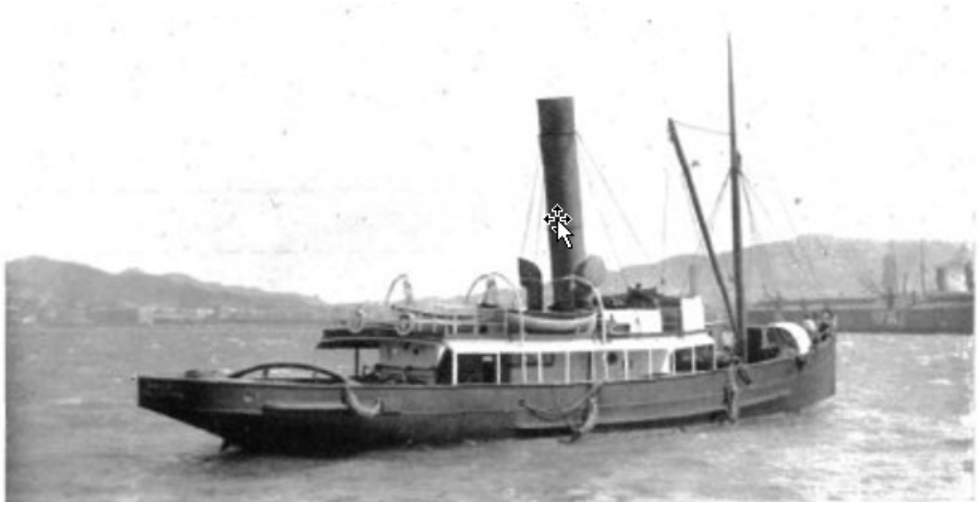
When John grew up, he became a commercial traveller and later opened his own business as a silversmith and jeweller. His father then dealt on the Stock Exchange. In 1836, when twenty-three years of age, John sailed with his wife and family for Sydney. On the long voyage, all the passengers became seriously ill, and many died, including three of Lazar's children. He had already lost three children in England. John took to the stage and managed and played at Levy's Theatre Royal, for which he received £8 a week, a large salary in that period, and an indication of his ability. He was very popular. After four years in Sydney, he transferred to Adelaide where he leased Solomon's Theatre, and where he made sufficient money to be considered a man in comfortable circumstances. He travelled extensively in New South Wales, Victoria and Van Diemen's Land, and in 1849 returned to Adelaide where he leased a theatre in partnership with George Coppin, the famous Australian actor and parliamentarian. This led later to Lazar's son, Samuel, forming his own Lazar's Italian Opera Company which toured and became renowned all over Australia.

Two years after his partnership with Coppin, John Lazar entered business as a silversmith. He also entered local politics, and from 1851 to 1859 sat as a member of the Adelaide City Council and then as an alderman. For three consecutive years, from 1855 to 1857, he was mayor. Under the new constitution of the Colony of South Australia, the Government appointed him as its first Returning Officer. Extensive mining speculations in the colony led to Lazar losing every penny he possessed. When he arrived in Dunedin, in 1863, his friends did not forsake him. In Adelaide he had held office as Deputy Provisional Grand Master in the Grand Lodge of Freemasons. He received an appointment as Clerk of the Dunedin Town Board, later rising to Town Clerk. Lazar could not only preach. He could also conduct a Jewish service. On the High Holydays of 1865,

Wellington, c. 1890. The wooden Synagogue (built in 1870 and in continuous use for sixty years) can be seen on the Terrace. The warehouse of P. Hayman & Co., in Panama Street, is clearly signposted, while the top of Hallenstein Bros.' clothing factory on Lambton Quay is directly below the second house uphill from the Synagogue.

The Nelson Synagogue (centre foreground). This photo, dated 1911, shows the Synagogue still in a good state of preservation, though it had not been opened for Jewish worship since 1895.

The ship Lady Jocelyn, which in 1883 took overseas the first cargo of frozen mutton shipped from the North Island. The Dry River Estate in the Wairarapa, farmed by Coleman Phillips, a leading agriculturist of his day, provided this historic shipment.



The ferry steamer Duco, which foundered in Wellington Harbour when carrying three hundred members and friends of the Wellington Jewish Social Club to a picnic at Lowry Bay.

he and Solomon Joseph assisted Henry Nathan, the Honorary Reader, in leading the worshippers. Soon after, he accepted an offer to become Town Clerk of Hokitika on the West Coast, where gold had then been discovered. Dunedin appreciated his services. The town gave him £-200 as a gratuity.

About the time Lazar left for Hokitika, Hyam E. Nathan and Henry Nathan departed permanently for England. The former left as a disgruntled man. His relationship with the congregation he had helped to found was not a happy one. As a founder he may have presumed proprietary rights over it. The other members certainly resented it. In his own office, his colleagues on the committee passed a resolution against the negligent manner in which he conducted the affairs of the congregation. He held on to the books. He also held on to his autocratic power. Although seemingly at fault when he scuffled on the floor of the synagogue in which he tore Abraham Solomon's coat, it was his opponent who had to apologize, and not he. He received only a pro forma reprimand. The quarrels were not altogether unexpected. When composing the laws of the congregation, the committee had made provision for a Protest Book to be kept. The protests had to be made in writing, and had to be countersigned by the President as to their correctness. There was no lack of entries. One member laid a charge against another for breaking open the doors of the synagogue. Another earned the penalty of expulsion on a charge of misbehaviour. The congregation, like many other Anglo-Jewish colonial religious institutions, persisted in their petty disputes although they consistently prayed for peace. A passion for individual liberty and communal democracy conflicted with the passion of the autocratic honorary official for petty power.

When David M. Isaacs went to live in Nelson, the Dunedin community reverted to its former practices in regard to its consumption of meat. It recognized, however, the principle laid down by Rabbi Saphir that a Shohet had preference of appointment over a preacher. After accepting the offer of the Rev. Jacob Levy to kill Kosher meat for the New Year festivals of 1867, the congregation appointed him as Shohet, Reader and Mohel. The practice of purchasing non-Kosher meat, however, had become so ingrained amongst the congregants, that the butcher threatened to refuse Levy permission to kill any beasts owing to the lack of demand. Levy battled along in spite of difficulties. As he was unable to preach, the President, Simeon Isaacs, obtained for him printed sermons from England which competent members of the congregation read from the pulpit. Isaacs also set about curing the chronic lack of a Minyan at the Sabbath service. Any committeeman who did not attend had, automatically, to send in his resignation. The congregation claimed to be so poor and so much in debt that it denied Levy a supply of Matzah which he usually received annually on the Passover Festival. It did not deny Matzah to the needy. As Levy received a pittance, it did not count him amongst the poor. The relationship between Levy and his congregants became so involved, that they asked him to resign. He saw no reason for doing so. The committee then asserted its power and dismissed him. To prevent his establishing a congregation of his own, it issued an edict to the effect that any honorary or paid officer attending a private Minyan with a Sefer Torah, would have his position declared vacant immediately. This embittered the dispute and led to open letters in the daily Press which did no one any good.

Amidst constant conflict between the President and the committee, the congregation, immediately after Levy's dismissal, appointed Rev. Bernard Lichtenstein as minister and Shohet in order not to entertain any proposal of Levy's return. Although a native of Russia, Lichtenstein spoke English fluently. He had served as minister at Nottingham. A quiet man with a retiring disposition, he managed to soften the tempers of the bellicose amongst the committee, and the congregation settled down to a period of comparative peace during the seventeen years in which he held office. They had to show him, however, that they ruled. They informed him that all donations offered to him as personal gifts had to be handed over to the synagogue funds. Though mild by nature, Lichtenstein at first insisted strongly upon religious standards. He would not allow any man who desecrated the Sabbath to assist him at the High Holyday services. No one who could read the service observed the Sabbath. In a quandary all the committee resigned, for Lichtenstein could not read all the Holyday services himself. He had to give way. The same problem arose on the

following Passover Festival, and all the committee resigned again with a similar result to that of the High Holydays' dispute. Dunedin did not lack laymen able to conduct a service. C. J. Levien, H. Friedich, and H. Naphtali often assisted as Reader. Later, L. Mendelsohn, S. Goldston and Dr W. Heinemann frequently helped when ministers were absent or needed assistance.

With the passing of the years, Lichtenstein's mildness allowed him to make concessions to the environment and to his committee. His first departure from the regular custom which he had practised in Russia and England concerned the choir. He allowed Joel Moss, the choirmaster, the son of the choirmaster of London's Duke's Place Synagogue, to introduce ladies into the choir. The twenty-three members of the mixed choir sang in good voice at Lichtenstein's next innovation—a consecration service for girls between twelve and seventeen years of age. Conducted on the Pentecost Festival, this service was considered by the Dunedin Jews a great event in their lives. Apparently, the choir did not please Moss at all at the next Holy-day services. He took a drastic step. He walked out of the synagogue in the middle of the service, and resigned. The committee took a more serious step when it blandly decided to commence the Sabbath service with the Reading of the Law, totally omitting all the Morning Service except for the Shema, before which they inserted a new custom—the reading of the Ten Commandments. They also decided to omit the prayer, Yekum Purkan, and to read the Haphtorah and the Prayer for the Royal Family and the Governor of the Colony in English instead of in Hebrew.

Pure pride urged them to insert the phrase "the officers of the congregation" in the prayer for the welfare of the Governor. They stifled the fervour of worshippers who wished to join in the prayers, for they fixed a notice on the door of the synagogue stating that: "Members attending Divine service are not to read or sing aloud with the minister". When the Chief Rabbi in England heard of the committee's strange decisions, he wrote in strong terms to the effect that any alteration in the order of the Divine services needed his consent, and that he could not agree to the shortening of the prayers. In spite of the first law of the congregation clearly stating that it would conduct its affairs under the guidance of the Chief Rabbi, the committee insisted that it possessed the power to curtail prayers. It regarded the length of the service as its own prerogative, and, indeed, it introduced a regulation that the Sabbath service, including the Reading of the Law, should not take longer than one hour, a tradition in the Dunedin Synagogue which persists to this day.

In a community which openly defied the Chief Rabbi, it is not at all astonishing that the members did not zealously carry out the tenets of their faith. The congregation dismissed its porger, and the butcher again threatened to stop supplies because of insufficient customers buying Kosher meat. It also undertook to bake Matzah for the Passover under the supervision of the minister. Usually, in English countries, Matzah would not be considered properly prepared unless supervised by an authorized Beth Din. They allowed I. Benjamin to bake Matzah, although they had previously refused permission to T. Taylor to do so at Port Chalmers. When Aulsebrook and Company, of Christchurch, prepared Matzah, the minister who followed Lichtenstein, the Rev. L. J. Harrison, would not accept it. He sent to Sydney for his supplies. Unfortunately they were damaged by water, and the Matzah that year had the flavour of the sea. Later, the community accepted the Matzah of Aulsebrook and Company, as well as the Matzah of Wright and Company, of Dunedin, without question. Nor did the community pay much attention to Sabbath observance, in spite of the exhortations of Lichtenstein and the encouragement of D. E. Theomin, a prominent leader of the community. When the London Emigration Committee wrote to Dunedin asking if it could accept immigrants, the congregation replied, "ultra orthodox is objectionable as the Sabbath is not kept".

General apathy in the essential field of education naturally followed the abandonment of religious practices. Not until four years after the foundation of the congregation did it open religious educational classes under Joseph Myers, who also lectured occasionally in the synagogue and officiated at services. The ministers tried their utmost to strengthen the school, but the members gave it no support, and eventually no one took any interest in it at all. The synagogue committee

had to take the school under its own wing. An attempt to organize the adolescents into a Social Union of Youth did not meet with much success, and after Rev. Bernard Lichtenstein passed away on 19 June, 1892, the school closed down altogether. It reopened again on the appointment of Rev. Julius Louis Harrison nine months later, but it only assumed its proper place amongst the communal institutions on the appointment of Dr Wolf Heinemann in July, 1896, as Superintendent of the Dunedin Hebrew School. A professional pedagogue and philologist, he associated himself with the Otago University, where he examined in German and Hebrew. He founded the Selwyn College School. On many occasions he lectured in the synagogue, and his scholarship and ability raised the Hebrew school to a standard it had never attained before. For reasons of his own he resigned after three years, and the loss of his services was felt afterwards for a very considerable period.

About the same time as the community established a school, Julius Hay-man with the help of Godfrey Jacobs and Maurice Joel, an indefatigable worker for communal affairs, formed the Jewish Philanthropic Society of Otago. Strangely enough for a Jewish community, it did not greatly interest itself in this charitable institution. Probably it had saved too much money. One of the Society's main sources of revenue was a loan to the synagogue which the major organization renewed from year to year at an annual rate of interest ranging between 6 per cent and 7 per cent. Ezekiel Nathan, a pious and saintly President, tried his best to revive an interest in the movement, but finally it disbanded because of insufficient support. The incongruity of a Jewish community without a philanthropic endeavour urged Samuel Jacobs to organize the ladies of the community, who formed a Hand-in-Hand Society "for the relief and assistance of distressed women who may be either in the Province or strangers".

The apathy of the Dunedin Jews towards their religious exercises did not indicate that they abjured their religion or Jewishness. They had no inhibitions concerning the fact that they were Jews. Formal religion and its symbols had to be supported. Although they did not attend the services regularly on Sabbaths, absence on the High Holydays would almost have been considered a betrayal. When the synagogue at the corner of Moray Place and View Street became uncomfortable for the crowds who attended on the High Festivals, the congregation sold the building to the Freemasons, and bought land opposite in Moray Place, where it built an imposing edifice, ornamented with Doric columns in front and with over six hundred comfortable seats in the interior. Built on lofty, traditional lines, it compared favourably with the orthodox synagogues of London and the Continent. Lichtenstein consecrated the edifice on 1 August, 1881, happy that a contract had been effected in which the workmen had agreed not to labour on the Sabbath day. These, when they had completed their task, as a compliment to the congregation, sent a congratulatory message to the Jewish assembly. The solidity of the building and its impressive interior stands today as a monument to their craftsmanship. Though the old synagogue had been sold at a good price, the new building, which had been erected at a cost of about £4500, placed the congregation in debt. It had some good businessmen amongst its members who arranged a Yom Kippur appeal for funds and an Oriental Bazaar with Bendix Hallenstein as its treasurer. The bazaar raised over £1650. An unfounded reputation that the community was rich probably attracted burglars to the synagogue, which was broken into on a number of occasions. The congregation also had its "shool ganav". Whilst Leonard Isaacs recited his prayers, a light-fingered gentleman stole a number of articles from his pocket.

Before Lichtenstein passed away, he had also been pleased to see the formation of a Hevra Kadishah under the jurisdiction of the Chief Rabbi. The inaugural meeting, held at the home of Godfrey Jacobs, decided to charge a small sum to each member of the congregation in order to defray expenses. Abraham Myers, J. Hyman and E. Jacobs actively interested themselves in the Society which claimed to be the first Hevra Kadishah in Australasia.

The highlight of Lichtenstein's successor's career in Dunedin was his formation of the Dunedin Jewish Choral Society in September, 1896. With the synagogue choir as its basis and Samuel Jacobs as its conductor, it gave many concerts which added to the pleasure of the social life of

the community. The minister, the Rev. L. J. Harrison, had been recommended by the Chief Rabbi and a London Committee of three old Dunedin residents-Henry Hayman, Lachman Hayman and Henry Hart. Harrison had served previously in Norwich. He remained over five years in Dunedin, resigning while in England on what was intended to be only a temporary visit. M. Saxton and D. Lichtenstein performed the Shehitah for the community during his absence. Saxton's resignation probably came about because the Treasurer, without ceremony, deducted back seat rent dues from his weekly honorarium of one pound.

Harrison's successor, the Rev. A. T. Chodowski, gave good service, having already been accustomed to a New Zealand congregation. Before he left Brisbane for Dunedin, he had served at Christchurch. He had also had other experience and an excellent education. Born in Posen, he had migrated to Berlin, where he studied in a theological college. Through the influence of Dr Herman Adler and Dr M. Friedlander, the Principal of Jews' College, London, he had been admitted as the first foreign student to Jews' College, where he studied for two and a half years. He first ministered at Belfast, then at Leicester, before accepting the post at Christchurch. He, like other ministers who served in Dunedin, could boast of his unique position. He could claim he served in the most southern Jewish congregation in the world.

CHAPTER XIV
A CANTERBURY TALE

AS SOON AS THE FIRST JEWISH SETTLER IN CHRISTCHURCH, LOUIS EDWARD NATHAN, could muster a sufficient number of Jews, he founded the Canterbury Hebrew Congregation. It did not seem exactly right to include the name Christchurch in the name of a synagogue. One very orthodox Jew in the town could not bring himself to utter the words "Christ" or "church". Whenever he wanted to mention the town he would refer to it as "cher-cher". Before Nathan established the congregation, he held services in his home in St Asaph Street, Mark Marks acting as the officiating minister. Receiving a government grant for a cemetery as well as for a synagogue, the congregation built a wooden edifice for a sum of £300 on a block of land between Worcester and Gloucester streets, on the very site where the present synagogue now stands. Five able readers assisted in its consecration in June, 1864—E. Phillips, A. Phillips, Phillip Phillips, D. Davis and H. Joseph. The congregation sought a Reader, Shohet and Mohel, but the insufficient stipend did not attract a professional man, nor did the abrogation of the law that he had to be a married man over thirty years of age. A regulation in the laws of the congregation then had to be promulgated for the compulsory appointment of an Honorary Reader by the members. A refusal by the elected Reader to act would have been been met by the infliction of a heavy fine. Phillip Phillips received the unasked-for appointment in the first instance, but in order to give the congregation a permanent official to supervise affairs, it engaged a beadle at one pound a week. His duty consisted of "making himself generally useful". One beadle did. He used the Kiddush wine to excess, and had to take the pledge. Like his promise, his position did not last long.

Determined to carry out the affairs of the congregation on traditional lines, the community sought its religious requisites from every part of the world—a Shofar, Ketuboth and Mezuzoth from Melbourne, a Sefer Torah from London, a Lulav and Matzoth from Sydney and an Ethrog from the Holy Land. The congregants may not have observed religious practices as they should, but they expected the institution and the officials to keep the formalities of the faith. They told the beadle he must not work on the Sabbath whilst holding office. They would not call M. Raphael or his sons to the Torah, as the congregation did not recognize Reform Jews. Some of the customs to which they held, other communities had long abandoned. When the Kaddish prayer was recited in the synagogue only one mourner would be allowed to read it. During the recital the other mourners would stand in the aisles close to the Bimah. The President had complete discretion as to which mourner would be given the honour of saying the Kaddish on behalf of all. Barmitzvah boys would be called up to read the sixth portion of the Sedra of the week on the

Sabbath marking their thirteenth birthday. The congregation insisted on marriages being held either on Sunday or Wednesday in accordance with ancient Talmudical tradition. So as to be purely impartial in allotting the Aliyoth for the High Holydays and the appointment of a Hathan Torah and Hathan Bereshith, the committee introduced an old Polish custom of allotting these honours by ballot. The congregation recognized the need of a Succah and only the lack of finances prevented the placing of the order for its erection. Members had to obey the laws of the institution or suffer the penalty of a fine or reprimand. Charles Lezard, who refused a call to the Torah on the Tabernacle Festival, received a severe castigation. Though H. Moss sat on the committee, his colleagues did not hesitate to inflict a heavy fine upon him for creating a disturbance.

Poverty prevailed amongst the Jews of the Christchurch community. The donations given by those called to the Reading of the Law became so low that the committee had to introduce a by-law that such donations should not be less than one shilling. An attempt to revive the original Philanthropic Society failed, but the synagogue did continue to dispense charity through a Charitable Aid Fund. Later, the community formed a Benevolent Association, which received its main source of revenue from Kol Nidre night collections and from money collected at funerals, but remained in existence for only a very short period. In fact, in Christchurch, all communal endeavour emanated from the synagogue. Funeral arrangements were made, not by a Hevra Kadishah, but by a burial committee of the congregation.

Hebrew instruction was not well organized. After services on Saturday morning, lessons would be held in the synagogue under the auspices of the Canterbury Jewish Sabbath School. Weekday classes were held irregularly owing to the many changes in ministers, the scarcity of funds and the lack of enthusiasm of the members. In 1891, the Hebrew school closed altogether, and the minister was ordered to instruct the children privately in their homes. His protest that his health would suffer thereby did not avail. Not all the members were indifferent to education. Hugo Friedlander, an influential farmer in the Ashburton district, arranged that the minister should travel the long distance to his home one day each week so that his children might receive religious instruction.

The early Jewish settlers in Christchurch were not firmly established in their businesses. In 1865, about thirty-five heads of families attended a general meeting of the Canterbury Hebrew Congregation. Soon after, when the Hokitika goldfield opened, only ten of these families ordered Matzah for the Passover. The others had left for the West Coast. Henry Jones, the first paid Reader of the congregation, suffered dire privation by reason of the poverty of his brethren. On the dismissal of the drunken beadle, the committee appointed him to the office. He had met with plenty of equally bitter experience in Hobart Town. There he had faithfully served the congregation as a general menial flunkey for a pittance, and as a reward for his devotion, had been summarily dismissed with a sailing ticket for New Zealand for a fault which was not his. Although he had a large family, the Canterbury Congregation employed him for £1 a week, but discovering him to be a man of ability, appointed him as Reader, Secretary and Collector for the magnificent sum of £1 12s. 6d. a week, Phillip Phillips resigning his honorary office as Reader. Trouble dogged Jones's footsteps. Against his wishes the committee ordered him to wear a gown, white tie and bib during the services. They told him that "if he conducted the service as he did yesterday, he would risk his situation". They also told him that he had no right to add to or diminish from the prayers unless he had the permission of the President and committee. His crippling stipend and the sickness of his wife finally led to the severance of Jones's connections with the congregation, and though no other minister was available at the time, the committee would not re-employ him. D. Davis took his place in an honorary capacity.

By 1870, the gold-rush on the West Coast had ended. Miners and their followers came back in droves to Christchurch, the first town they would touch in the east. Jews of Hokitika returned also, bringing with them their minister, the Rev. Isaac Zachariah. The Canterbury Hebrew Congregation immediately appointed him as its minister and Shohet, although he could not speak English well. A Baghdadi, Sephardi Jew, he had lived and studied in Jerusalem and liked nothing

better than when, in the privacy of his own home, he could eat his oriental food and dress in the comfort of his oriental garb. When he wrote to his parents that he had accepted a post as a minister in Christchurch they ceased corresponding with him. They thought he had "shmud" himself and had converted to the Christian Church. Even on explanation they regarded his appointment with suspicion which he only dispelled when on a visit to the Holy Land. Zachariah had to learn to be subservient to his masters. Every day he had to call on the President for instructions, As a favour, the committee later allowed him to call every other day, but it was compulsory for him to call on Friday and on the eve of a festival. He did not complain, and happily presented an address, goblet and salver to the first President of the congregation, L. E. Nathan, when he left for England in 1873. The standard of orthodoxy in Christchurch did not satisfy Nathan. He kept the Sabbath strictly. With D. Davis and D. Caro he would advertise in the papers that his premises would be closed on Holydays.

On one occasion, the Press announced that in consequence of the New Year, L. E. Nathan could not attend the Chamber of Commerce to wait on the Government with reference to railway rates. The deputation was postponed until the following Monday. As the years passed, Zachariah gathered courage, and finally he openly rebelled and would not submit. He refused to obey orders. An attempt to dismiss him on that account failed. But it did not mean the end of his obeying orders. When he consecrated the new synagogue on 15 November, 1881, he had to submit his sermon to the committee before he delivered it.

The consecration was a grand affair. Eight hundred were admitted by ticket to the opening. The Church of England Cathedral opened the same week, and many of the Protestant clergy who attended the consecration of their own cathedral also attended the consecration of the synagogue. The Very Rev. the Dean of Canterbury, Dean Jacobs, followed the service in Hebrew. Zachariah had taught him to read and translate it. Bishop Sutton, the Bishop of Nelson and Wellington, as a Hebrew scholar, also followed the service from the Hebrew prayer-book. Soon after, Bishop Sutton visited the Holy Land. He deeply appreciated the letters of introduction which Zachariah had given him to the rabbis of Jerusalem. The large crowd at the consecration service enabled the congregation to collect £250 in offerings.

The increasing numbers arriving in Christchurch had rendered the small wooden synagogue uncomfortable for the worshippers, and the community, by self-sacrifice and by placing itself in debt, had erected a new building worthy of the beautiful city on the Avon. Although the exterior is not as imposing as the synagogue in Dunedin, its interior compares favourably with it, and even today the satin, saffron-coloured woodwork of the seats and almemah add to the serenity of the worshippers entering the building.

From the time of the consecration of the new synagogue, the community began to diminish in numbers and prosperity. The synagogue debt lay heavily upon it. A Jewish concert, although a social success, only improved the finances by £100. The committee then essayed to enter the frozen-meat business, intending to send Kosher meat-supplies abroad. Zachariah, a conscientious man, immediately wrote to the Chief Rabbi in England stating his opinion that frozen meat could not be Kosher. The Chief Rabbi agreed and banned the scheme. When the committee received the notification of the ban, its wrath against Zachariah knew no bounds, especially as he had communicated directly with the Chief Rabbi without submitting his letter to the committee before sending it. The relationship between Zachariah and the congregation grew to such a bad state, that each thought it wise to sever connections with the other, and, after satisfactory compensatory arrangements had been made, Zachariah resigned. He did not change his place of abode. For three years the congregation remained without a professional minister, C. J. Levien acting in an honorary capacity until he left for England, followed by S. Phillips. D. Caro occasionally helped in the services, and L. Cohen taught in the Hebrew School.

On the appointment of the Rev. A. T. Chodowski, a number of innovations were introduced. He arranged for the reading of the Haphtorah in English, the omission of the reading of the Bameh

Madlikin on Friday nights, and for the baking of Matzah in Christchurch by Aulsebrook and Company. The absence of a working Shohet had affected the community's observance of the dietary laws. This Chodowski attempted to remedy. Nothing that he could do, however, could remedy the financial position of the congregation, and after two years the congregation told him most reluctantly they could not afford to keep him. He was very popular among all sections of the community. All wanted him to remain. By a supreme effort, the congregation managed to retain Chodowski's services until the end of 1894, by which time its resources had been stretched to their utmost. Giving Chodowski leave, it sorrowfully allowed him to accept a post in Brisbane. Bravely, the congregation carried on for two years under the ministry of the Rev. Joel Falk, and then under L. Cohen, both of whom acted in the office of Reader and teacher. When the Rev. J. Jacobs offered his services, the congregation frankly told him that it could not afford to employ him. Zachariah's offer was not even seconded.

To his request to teach the children, the congregation replied that he could do whatever he liked, but not on the synagogue premises. Later, a sense of shame urged the congregation to accept Zachariah's offer, although he did not possess the vigour of his younger years. The members of the community realized that as they numbered about two hundred souls, poverty alone could not be accepted as a proper excuse for their neglecting to engage a spiritual leader. However, they received Zachariah's services on most generous and extraordinary terms. They engaged him for one year at the stipend of "what is left over at the end of the year's balance".

CHAPTER XV
A GHOST SYNAGOGUE

WHEN THE GOLD-RUSH STARTED IN HOKITIKA IN 1865, the Jews who flowed into the West Coast, to their credit, did not only think of their material position, but also paid attention to their spiritual welfare. In the beginning, the town was like bedlam. Thousands lived in tents. Two hundred public houses stood within a small area not more than a mile long. Some of them had Jewish owners. It was not an uncommon profession for London Jews, who comprised the majority of the Jewish population in Hokitika. Crowds packed into these hotels, where they paid three shillings a night to sleep in a blanket on the floor. Most likely, the Jews went to the hotels kept by their co-religionists such as the Hotel Shamrock and Thistle conducted by S. M. Solomon in the main thoroughfare of Revell Street, or Jacob Wagman's Shamrock Hotel in the same street, or to Mrs Levy's hotel or the Adelphi owned by Raphael and Marks. For amusement they attended the large wooden theatre which opened every night, or met at Levy's Prince Alfred Oyster Saloon or at W. Wulff's restaurant. Those who liked dancing went to Phineas Solomon's Cafe de Paris.

As the buildings went up, the Jews settled into their trades and professions, mostly as shopkeepers in Revell and Weld streets. Selling tobacco seemed a popular trade amongst them. M. Mendelsson, M. Jaffe, Bernard Mendelsson, Marks and Fuerst, M. Nashelski, Alexander Singer, Isaac Benjamin, B. Falk, Shier and Goodman and Michael Pollock were registered as tobacconists. Henry Levy, H. Hyams, Raphael Levy, Hart & Hyams, Hart & Levy, John Isaacs, Levi & Raphael, A. Louison and Company, H. L. Marks and Company, and John Solomon sold groceries and provisions. Watchmakers and jewellers were represented by Solomon Shappere, S. and S. Cohen, M. Hayman and J. P. Klein. Amongst the ironmongers, general storekeepers, dealers and fancy-goods sellers were numbered the Benjamin Brothers, Samuel Myerstein, Behrend Susman and Company, J. Hirsh, Joseph Jacobs, S. Jacobs and Jacob Moses. D. Cashmore, Isaacs and Company, and S. Goldston sold clothes. W. Moss and, later, George Hyman Moss conducted the local stationery, book and newsagent shop. E. N. Marks and Company, and D. Isaacs, the local loan and money agents were never short of business. Cohen Brothers, furniture dealers, upholsterers and cabinetmakers drew many customers who believed their stay in Hokitika would be permanent. M. Rehfisch dealt in leather. H. Marks hawked at Three Mile and Israel

Pollock all over the countryside. For clients who desired to consult a Jewish solicitor, Joel Barnett Lewis was available.

When the gold leads were opened up in the countryside of the West Coast outside Hokitika, some of the migrating Jews set up their businesses or branches in the new settlements. At Stafford Town, H. Marks and Company opened the Beehive Stores, D. and A. Benjamin the Johnny All-sorts Stores, Joseph Samuels the Little Wonder Fancy Goods Repository, and R. Isaacs the Greatest Wonder of the World Outfitting and Clothing Establishment. Levy and Raphael traded as storekeepers without any fancy names. D. Hayman earned his livelihood as a tobacconist, and N. Marks as a hairdresser and barber. At Ross, T. Chaim combined the occupation of tobacconist with that of hairdresser, whilst Marks and Wiener worked as watchmakers and jewellers. The port of Grey, later called Greymouth, appeared to the migrants as a settlement which would become permanent, and attracted the general merchants Ralph De Costa and Company, and Cohen and Company to establish their businesses there. Hyam B. Davis worked there as a carpenter, Alexander Solomon as a fruiterer, and Abraham Levinski as a hairdresser as well as acting as a photographer's artist. W. and G. Isaacs, Morris Levy, R. Marks and Philip Sternberg opened shops as general dealers and fancy-goods merchants. H. E. Nathan plied as an auctioneer and agent.

On High Holydays, the Jews from all parts of the West Coast would gather at the Hokitika Synagogue in Tancred Street, half-way between Stafford and Weld streets and opposite the Methodist Church. The local Jews met there regularly every Sabbath and Festival. Devout, loyal and aware of their responsibilities, the Jews who came to Hokitika took steps to form a congregation immediately they arrived, and in August, 1865, appointed B. Marks as President, J. Moss as Treasurer and M. Harris as Secretary. They asked the Canterbury Hebrew Congregation to intervene on their behalf, and to request from the Superintendent grants of land for a synagogue and cemetery. The Canterbury Congregation also wrote to the Wellington Jews to lend a Sefer Torah to their brethren in Hokitika. Like all other denominations, the Hokitika Hebrew Congregation received a grant of land for the erection of a house of worship, and on Plot 665 the adventurous young Jews built a beautiful, small, wooden synagogue on traditional lines, with the Bimah in the centre and a ladies' gallery. The synagogue seated about one hundred and twenty-five persons. Attractive in its interior, although compact and lofty, it also impressed externally by its tall, wooden, Doric columns which, with its colouring, made it a distinctive building in the township. The Superintendent also did not hesitate either to grant the mining community a section of land as a cemetery on a hill overlooking the sea PAGE 110to the north of the settlement. Fortunately, it did not have to be used for many years. The first Jewish burial in Hokitika took place in 1872. Afraid that the mining community would soon disperse, the Wellington Jews refused to lend a Sefer Torah to Hokitika, which had to purchase its copies from overseas. The congregation was more fortunate in the loan of another synagogue requisite, a Shofar, which the Canterbury Congregation kindly lent it year by year for the High Holyday Festivals.

Besides building a synagogue, the Hokitika Jews lost no time in appointing the Rev. Isaac Zachariah as their minister and Shohet. Many of them knew him in the Victorian mining community of Ballarat where he had married and settled after serving the Sassoon family as a private Shohet in Bombay. Probably his friend, Newman Freidel Spielvogel, a prominent Ballarat identity, induced him to leave India for Australia. The prospect of an easier livelihood in a township of newly-won gold urged him to leave Australia for New Zealand. His happiness must have known no bounds when he dedicated the synagogue on 23 September, 1867, assisted by the lay Reader, Alexander Singer. Zachariah's task involved him in difficulties. His congregation came originally either from England or from the German-Polish area of Europe. He looked foreign even among the foreigners. He came originally from Baghdad, and had lived many years in Jerusalem. Nevertheless, he won popularity, for he was a lovable character. He slowly picked up the English language and idiom, but never mastered it thoroughly, with the result that his innocent errors endeared him to all. In order to satisfy the English element, he endeavoured to

preach to them in English, but not knowing how to write the language, he wrote it down phonetically in Hebrew characters. His knowledge of oriental languages proved useful to himself and to the courts, where he often acted as an interpreter.

Zachariah cared for the spiritual welfare of a well-conducted flock. Although Hokitika looked like a western mining town, and its main thoroughfare, Revell Street, like a typical, narrow, wooden-shop-lined, ramshackle, muddy, winding road, the inhabitants did not behave in the manner of the miners of the wild west coast of America. They were migratory, but orderly and organized. A markedly sobering element amongst them was the Jews. Nurtured in a tradition of sobriety, with emphasis upon the virtues of a peaceful home and communal life, they contributed a leavening influence to the crowds which flocked to the West Coast. They helped to raise the standards of citizenship equal to that found in established cities along the eastern littoral of New Zealand.

The representative for the Goldfields Towns in the House of Representatives was a Jew, Julius (later Sir Julius) Vogel. A. Behrend and P. Susman filled the posts of Treasurer and Secretary of the German Society. A beloved, popular figure in the township, John Lazar, exerted a happy influence in the area. He combined the rare qualities of immaculate dignity and witty joviality. As Town Clerk of Hokitika, he was the man behind the scenes responsible for the welfare and progress of the borough. In 1873 he received promotion to County Treasurer, followed a year later by promotion to Provincial Treasurer, but when the latter position became an elective office within the Provincial Council, he retired. On the West Coast he continued his active interest in Freemasonry. He occupied the position of Past Grand Master of the Provincial Grand Lodge of Westland, and at the time was thought to be the oldest Freemason in New Zealand. The Lazar Lodge, Kumara, was named after him. He installed more Masters in their Chairs than any other Freemason in the country.

Another prominent figure in Hokitika, Charles Louisson, helped in the formation of the Volunteers, the First Westland Rifles and the Westland Light Horse in which he served. Although he had worked as a station-hand and miner in Ballarat, he traded in Hokitika as a merchant. Occasionally, the militia had to be called out, as at the disastrous fire in July, 1869, which started at Levy's Prince Alfred Oyster Saloon. They stood on guard over the goods taken out of the shops built from wood. A number of Jews suffered severe loss in the fire. The Hokitika Volunteer Fire Brigade worked hard to extinguish it and none harder than J. Levy, the foreman of the Hose Company. As a result of the conflagration, the Town Council issued a proclamation signed by John Lazar that every dwelling and building had to have a tank available at all times filled with fifty gallons of water in order to fight fires. Another occasion when the Volunteers were called out occurred at the time Henry James O'Farrell fired a bullet in Sydney at the Duke of Edinburgh. The Fenians in Hokitika turned the occasion into a riot. Responsible citizens led by the Jewish carpenter, David Benjamin, formed a loyalist group and marched with pickhandles and shovels against the irate Irishmen, sympathizers with Irish Home Rule. Probably Benjamin received support from his co-religionist, the popular, kind-hearted Barney Ballin, an enormous, heavyweight prizefighter on the goldfields, who derived his fame from the fact that he was prepared to accept any fight at any time for any amount.

All the bustling excitement around Hokitika lasted no longer than five years. By the year 1870, the miners and tradespeople were marching out in droves. At its peak, the population numbered around 50,000 souls. During the eighteen-seventies the numbers diminished to between 10,000 and 12,000, and at the end of the century less than 2000 persons dwelt in the town. After four years' service the Hebrew Congregation could no longer afford to pay their minister, Zachariah, who left for Christchurch with happy memories of the West Coast and its Jews. He did not entirely sever his connection with them. For any circumcision or any other special religious ceremony at which his services were necessary, he would be called to revisit Hokitika, and on his arrival all the town folk knew that something was happening in the Jewish community.

After Zachariah's departure, Alexander Singer conducted the services, and worshippers would come from afar in order to hear his sweet renditions of the liturgy. He was often assisted by John Lazar, who could not only sing a fine song at a concert, but could chant the Hebrew liturgy as well as any cantor. He could also preach a comprehensive sermon. In synagogue he demanded strict decorum, and woebetide the worshipper who took it upon himself to snatch a whisper with his neighbour. The only Hebrew tuition which the Hokitika children received was that given by John Solomon after synagogue worship on Saturday mornings. On 9 June, 1879, John Lazar passed away at the age of seventy-six years, to the deep sorrow of all Hokitika. The greatest number of persons ever seen in a funeral procession in Hokitika followed his bier to the Jewish cemetery, led by the town band, County Council members and Government representatives. As a mark of esteem, the Freemasons erected over his grave a large memorial which towers above the other tombstones in the Jewish portion of the cemetery.

Missing Lazar's inspiration and the families which had left the town, the members attending the synagogue could be counted upon one person's hands. The days when the small synagogue overflowed with worshippers had ended. Nevertheless, Alexander Singer, who had become a hawker, carried, on bravely, and opened the synagogue on Festival mornings, chanting the service with his sweet Polish melodies to the few who attended. At the end of the century, only five or six Jewish families lived in Hokitika, including those named Singer, Pollock, Solomon and Benjamin. The synagogue was literally falling to pieces. Dry rot and white ants ate into the woodwork, and nothing could be done to remedy it. The curtains and covers were turning to mould and shreds. The Ark and Sifre Torah were better preserved, and a visiting traveller, Isaac Van Staveren, the eldest son of the Wellington Jewish minister, whenever he came to the township would not lose the opportunity of airing the Scrolls of the Law which he, the sole worshipper in the synagogue, would read on the Bimah. Hokitika's house of worship had become almost a ghost building. The sun, the rot and the ants had completely changed the colour to white.

CHAPTER XVI
ZEAL IN THE ANTIPODES

LIKE HOKITIKA, THE SETTLEMENT OF NELSON blossomed into a flourishing township in 1866, when prospectors found gold in the district. The eager miners and their watchful followers bought their provisions and started along the footpaths across the mountains from the seaside resort awakening from its slumber. For the Jews who arrived and wished to form a community, a minister waited eagerly with open arms to serve them. David M. Isaacs had settled in Nelson for reasons of health after long experience in the ministry. He suffered severely from rheumatism, and Nelson's climate suited him. A warm welcome awaited any new Jewish arrival. Isaacs, working as a photographer, longed for Jewish company. His first official duty as a minister in Nelson, however, involved him in a frightful and melancholy experience. He escorted a man to the hangman's rope.

In June, 1866, an alarm arose in Nelson over four men from Canvastown who had set out for Deep Creek, but who did not arrive there. Suspicion fell upon a man who was spending a lot of money in a bar at Deep Creek. When arrested he had £63 on him. Inquiries revealed him to be Philip Levy, an unconvicted, professional receiver of stolen goods who had previously resided in Hokitika. Originally from London, he had migrated to Victoria and then to Otago, where he traded in Dunedin before moving to the West Coast. Levy, a man of about forty years of age, dark and of medium height, had been seen by a fellow Israelite, Joseph Leverstam, and a lady companion, on the track over the Maungatapu mountains on his way to Picton, seventy miles from Nelson. Levy was accompanied by three men. With little delay, the police arrested a known gang of bushrangers, Richard Burgess, the leader, Thomas Kelly and Thomas Sullivan, and charged them with the crime of murder. At the trial held on 16 September, 1866, Sullivan turned Queen's Evidence. All three companions were found guilty. Levy protested his innocence to the

last. Short of money, he had joined the bushrangers with the intention of robbing travellers walking along the mountain footpaths. When the others had revealed their intention of killing the wayfarers, Levy had protested and said he could not do it, "for as a Jew he could not kill". Both Sullivan and Burgess exonerated Levy, but public indignation demanded blood and revenge. It is doubtful whether, in a modern court of justice, Levy would have been found guilty of the major crime. Sullivan, after several years in gaol, received a free pardon and shipped to England. On the voyage passengers recognized him. They led him a dog's life. People followed him in England, and eventually Sullivan returned to Australia where he died. The other three culprits paid the extreme penalty on 6 October, 1866, David M. Isaacs accompanying a bewildered Levy on his last walk. Levy asked Isaacs to convey a message to his mother in London and to tell her of his innocence. Another prisoner, awaiting trial for robbery, acted as the hangman. As a reward, this prisoner received his immediate release. The gruesome gaoler, believing the ghastly crime deserved a sterner punishment than hanging, dug up the bodies, severed the heads, and stuck the skulls upon the prison walls. Thirty years later, when the authorities discarded the gaol and pulled it down, they exhumed the bodies buried in the yard, for re-interment. Three bodies had no heads. It remained a mystery for some time, until a prominent Jewish citizen revealed the grim secret of the headless bodies about which his father had told him.

Happier days awaited Isaacs, for the men who came to the Nelson district gained the respectful esteem of the inhabitants for their absolute integrity and dignified demeanour. They had already won a reputation for good citizenship from the days of the inauguration of the settlement. A Quaker, commenting in his diary concerning the shortage of such staples as flour and sugar in 1842-3, stated that one Jew refused to charge extortionate prices, and helped to bring the cost of food down. The diarist did not think many Gentiles would have done likewise. Some of New Zealand's finest sons originated from the Nelson district. Morris Levy, the hero of Opotiki, came to live there, and lies buried in the Jewish portion of the general cemetery. It had been granted to the community by the authorities, but like other rarely used Jewish cemeteries in New Zealand, has been encroached upon by other denominations.

Hyam Davis, whose son Moss and grandsons Sir Ernest Davis and the Hon.Eliot Rapinski Davis, gained prominence in New Zealand affairs, came to Nelson from Sydney in 1864 and set himself up as a merchant. He became well known amongst the farmers in the "Kent of New Zealand", from whom he bought hops and barley which he sold to the brewers. In 1876, after rearing a large family, he settled in Christchurch, selling his Nelson interests to his son Moss, who succeeded by buying future harvests of the same crops from the farmers. Both parties were satisfied. The farmers gained security, and Moss Davis, on account of good seasons, gained a fortune. Cultured, democratic, prudent and popular, he never hesitated, however, to express his opinion in the cause of justice. In 1885, he sold out his business in Nelson to another well-known local Jewish personality, Robert Levien. Davis settled in Auckland, where he joined Hancocks, the brewers. His hobbies included visiting auction sales at home and abroad, where he bought paintings and antiques of New Zealand interest, most of which he presented to the Auckland Public Library, Art Gallery and the Old Colonists' Association. To the Auckland Public Library he also presented letters written by Robert Burns, as well as many articles of historical interest relating to Nelson.

Probably Robert Levien could claim to be the oldest Jewish resident in Nelson. No doubt he migrated from London to Nelson under the auspices of Sir Isaac Goldsmid, a relative with whom he had many ties, and who, as a director of the New Zealand Company, had interests in Nelson. Robert Levien also had a large family, one of whom, Joseph Henry Levien, achieved prominence in the town when the first mayor, in 1874, found himself unable to manage the finances. The Councillors elected Levien to the mayoral post, considering him to be "a clever man, full of energy and a splendid member of an ancient race". Their confidence was not misplaced. He liquidated all the debts and built up a credit balance. In the middle of his triumph he died.

Others amongst the early pioneers included T. B. Louisson, the painter and glazier, a well-known figure in the town, Hyam and P. Phillips, storekeepers, and M. L. Marks, a merchant. Saul Moss Solomon, outfitter and clothier, and F. P. Josephs came at the time of the gold-rush and remained for many years. All knew Trooper Peter Levy, the policeman. Across the bay at Motueka, the single Jew gained distinction. Simon Bucholz, the storekeeper, traded by barter for the reason that little money circulated in the district. He collected produce from the farmers he visited in exchange for grocery provisions from his store. His brother, William E. Louis Bucholz, who lived in Auckland, acted as the Consul for Germany, Belgium and Italy. A German by birth, he once revisited his native country, where, in order to take possession of certain property belonging to him, he had to prove he was a naturalized New Zealand subject. His papers were not in order, and so that he could complete his transaction, the New Zealand Government passed special legislation, the Bucholz Naturalization Bill, which enabled him to complete his business on the spot. The passing of the Bill was a unique compliment to Bucholz. Simon Bucholz succeeded in his business and later sold out to a Polish Jew, Abraham Manoy, who became one of the most respected men in the district. As he was an orthodox Jew, he was recognized by the Maoris as a particularly upright man. He won their complete confidence because he would never take advantage of their poverty and shortage of money. They knew that if they went to Manoy they would always receive good and fair value for their produce. Another clever, wise, upright and respected Jew, Judah Myers, commenced his commercial career at Motueka as a crockery merchant. He brought up a clever and wise family, one of whom, Michael, attained the highest judicial post in the country, that of Chief Justice of New Zealand. In 1875, Judah Myers moved to Wellington PAGE 116where, with his sons, Solomon, John, and Phillip, all very astute businessmen, he opened a crockery warehouse in Willis Street which developed into the largest of its kind in the city.

As a very pious and devout man, Hyam Davis yearned to build a synagogue as soon as he had arrived in Nelson. He and Isaacs tried to obtain a government grant for the purpose just as they had received a grant for a cemetery. But the number of Jews in Nelson did not warrant a grant. They never exceeded in number the one hundred and thirty souls of 1867. Nevertheless, Hyam Davis's determination urged him on his own account to buy Plot 454 on the town plan at the corner of Nile Street and Trafalgar Square. With monetary assistance received from other congregations in New Zealand, the small community built an imposing wooden synagogue which David M. Isaacs dedicated in 1870. About 80 feet long by 30 feet wide, it looked almost an exact but smaller replica of the synagogue at Hokitika. Four high Doric pillars ornamented the entrance. Lead-light windows gave the lighting for the interior. Those who worshipped therein regarded it as a delightful gem of a synagogue.

Because of the failure of the leads upon the goldfields, Nelson once again began to revert to a slumbering seaside resort and one by one the Jewish families left the settlement. Even the minister, Isaacs, left, and tried his fortune as an auctioneer at Charleston, a mining town upon the northwest coast which many at the time thought would flourish. His co-religionists who were to be found there included Louis Rich, the tobacconist, J. Solomon, a storekeeper, the Rosenberg family, who conducted a furniture depot, Nashelski, the ironmonger, and Reuben Harris, who, with Isaacs, held office in the Masonic Lodge. Charleston did not flourish, and eventually Isaacs left for his native London where, at the end of the century, as a hale and hearty old man of over eighty, he delighted in receiving old friends from New Zealand.

Simon Bucholz carried on as Honorary Reader at the Nelson synagogue after Isaacs departed, but when Bucholz left, services were rarely held in the building. In 1888, the Bank of New Zealand sold the synagogue land by default, but the Davis family redeemed it. Soon after, when the total Jewish population in the province dwindled to less than forty men, women and children, the synagogue, although in a good state of preservation, was never opened except when visited by Isaac Van Staveren, who took it upon himself, whenever he was in Nelson, to pray in the building on the Sabbath, and, as the sole congregant, to read from the only Scroll of the Law in order to preserve it. When Van Staveren ceased to visit the district about 1895, the synagogue

never opened again for Jewish worship. As for the Sefer Torah, Abraham Manoy of Motueka took it into his possession for safe keeping.

The strong tradition and desire of small communities to establish their PAGE 117own houses of worship, impelled the five Jewish families of Timaru, on the east coast of the South Island between Christchurch and Dunedin, to build their own synagogue, employ their own minister and found the South Canterbury Congregation. Led by Moss Jonas, an auctioneer, commission agent and valuer who later became mayor of the town, the small band of Jews acquired a cemetery grant and bought an eighth of an acre of land in Bank Street, opposite the Wesleyan Church, for the purpose of building a synagogue. They appointed the Rev. Jacob Levy, who had then been dismissed from the Dunedin Congregation, as the Reader and Shohet, and he and the elders of the congregation on 21 June, 1875, with due pomp and ceremony and amidst a large number of Christians who had contributed to the building fund, laid the foundation-stone of the synagogue. Papers put under the cornice read: "The foundation-stone of this synagogue was laid by the elders, Chapman Jacobs, Moss Jonas, Morris Salek, Solomon Shappere and the Rev. Jacob Levy on 21 June, 1875—5635. The congregation consists of five families numbering in all twenty-seven people, and may the Almighty God and Holy One of Israel bless and protect them." After corn, wine, oil and salt had been poured upon the foundation, Levy addressed the assembly, expressing the hope that the congregation would be able to reciprocate the generosity and liberality of their Christian brethren, and that the synagogue would be a blessing to all.

Three months later, on the eve of the Jewish New Year, Levy consecrated the synagogue before every Jew in the community. The small, unpretentious, utilitarian edifice, only 30 feet long by 24 feet in width, its bluestone exterior ornamented with cement with a Doric style portal, could not be termed attractive. The interior satisfied the aesthetic taste a little better. From the pointed, low, iron roof hung a large bright chandelier which dominated the lower section of the synagogue and the ladies' gallery, situated by the western wall over the door.

On the High Holydays of 1875, the sound of sweet traditional Jewish melodies issued from the Timaru synagogue. The happy worshippers, besides the minister Levy, and the President, Moss Jonas, included Chapman Jacobs, the watchmaker, Morris Salek, the storekeeper, Solomon Shappere who conducted a fancy-goods store, Jacob Levien, the soda-water, ginger beer and cordial manufacturer, Israel Fonseca, a carpenter, Louis Herman, the tobacconist, and Julius Mendelson, a merchant. The pioneer drapers, H. and D. Solomon, and T. Goldstone, the pound keeper, had already left the township.

Timaru held no prospects for the Rev. Levy, who left for the North Island, and after a few years, regular services ceased in the synagogue. The Rev. Zachariah, after he terminated his ministry with the Canterbury Congregation, would come to conduct prayers on the High Holydays only. A Sefer Torah and a Shofar were tent by the Dunedin Congregation. The community diminished, but A. Levy, a tobacconist who conducted the local baths, and Hugo, Rudolph and Henry Friedlander, also tobacconists, who came from an influential farming family at Ashburton, added to the town's Jewish personnel. When, in the eighteen-nineties, Zachariah returned to his original post in Christchurch, the Timaru synagogue closed its doors, and, like its cemetery, was seldom used. Moss Jonas, who was preparing to leave the town, stated that he left the synagogue intact for future Jewish residents. In a period of over seventy years, sixteen Jewish persons were buried in Timaru. The few Jews who lived in the township would go to Christchurch for the Festivals. As for the synagogue building, being made of bluestone, it stood well preserved as a monument to the praiseworthy zeal of Jews who, although distant from thriving Jewish centres, kept the fires of Judaism alive in the most southern parts of the world.

CHAPTER XVII
TWO SPIRITUAL GIANTS

IN THE NORTH ISLAND, the two Jewish communities in Auckland and Wellington progressed steadily. When the seven years' lease of the Emily Place Synagogue, Auckland, expired in 1862, the congregation bought the land and improved the building as well as the Mikvah on the premises. Fortunately, with the return of David Nathan from Europe, the Keesing faction which had broken away from the main group, settled its dispute with the major section, thus re-uniting the community, although one gentleman, by his antics on the synagogue committee, continued to enjoy the popularity of those with a fondness for communal squabbles. The large Keesing family, nearly all of whom were musical and artistic, gave yeoman service to the congregation. Thomas Ralph Keesing conducted the synagogue choir for many years, besides winning admiration in the city for his organizing ability in running bowling competitions. Harry Keesing, a renowned black-and-white artist, also acted as choirmaster for a time. His brother Samuel, considered the greatest amateur artist in oils in New Zealand, went to Italy to study music and art, but unfortunately he died before completing his studies.

With the numbers in the community steadily growing larger, the appointment of a permanent minister and Shohet became imperative, and in 1864 the congregation elected the Rev. Moses Elkin, a very pious and zealous man who retained his powers of patience and persuasion in spite of the difficulties under which he laboured. After ten years' service in the community, he succeeded in persuading nearly all of the Jewish shopkeepers in Auckland to close their premises on the Sabbath. Philip Aaron Philips, the President of the congregation co-operated with him to achieve this triumph. As mayor of the city he persuaded his fellow councillors to change Auckland's market day from Saturday to Friday. It helped the Jews to attend the synagogue. Handicapped by a shortage of funds, Elkin bravely conducted both the Hebrew School and the Sabbath School. Conditions were almost pathetic. His teachers, all of whom volunteered for the work, had no prayer-books or primers from which to teach the children, and an appeal for gifts of books had to be made to the Australian congregations. No persuasion of his, however, could induce his committee to give him a decent living stipend. Difficult times made him suffer with the rest of his flock. The hardships in making ends meet, and dissatisfaction over the relationship between himself and the committee, impelled Elkin to seek a post elsewhere, but, after his fifteen years of faithful service in Auckland, other congregations considered him too old to start afresh in a new community. In 1879 Elkin returned to England where better opportunities awaited him. Arthur H. Nathan, a nephew of David Nathan, acted as Honorary Reader until a new minister was appointed.

The members of the Auckland community could consider themselves most fortunate in their next choice of a spiritual leader. They selected the Rev.Samuel Aaron Goldstein, who came from a well-known family in London and Melbourne and who, in spite of his mere twenty-five years, had already had considerable experience in congregations at Middlesborough and West Hartlepool in England, Toowoomba in Queensland, and West Maitland in New South Wales. A student of Jews' College, London, he combined dignity with scholarship. Tall, stately and refined, he soon won the hearts and respect of his congregants. He attained in 1930 the distinction of having served his congregation for fifty years. Comparative peace and friendliness reigned in the community during those years because Goldstein strove for harmony. Nevertheless, he had strong opinions and was never complacent. Democratic in thought and a man of the people, he visited rich and poor, encouraging the sick to regain good health and the young to attain their goal. Mostly highly cultured, he founded the Societe Litteraire Francaise, and himself spoke French at home with his family. A literary man and artistic in taste, he also loved music and flowers. He understood botany and was a keen gardener. He played the cello, often taking his instrument with him on the tram to visit the homes of his congregants where he would render musical items. Possessing a pleasant voice, his hearers considered him to be an eloquent preacher and the finest Ba'al Kore in Australasia. Cultured, kindly and sympathetic, his saintly character

fitted him for his activities outside his own congregation, especially in connection with the Society for the Protection of Women and Children in which he took a deep interest and on which he served as acting-chairman.

A man of extraordinary courage and tenderness, he cared with his own hands, without a word of complaint, for his ailing wife who suffered as a bedridden invalid during the greater part of their married life. Nor would he ever complain about his low stipend. In order to be able to educate his two sons, he agreed to sweep the floor and keep the synagogue clean. When a member once discovered him and protested, Goldstein begged him not to say a word. His humility prompted him never to seek the limelight. In 1893, during the depression, he voluntarily reduced his stipend from £400 to £350 a year, and the congregation did not restore the amount for many years. Liberal-minded himself, he did not unduly stress the customs of the Jewish faith, and when his congregants did not attend on the second day of the Festivals, he decided not to observe them officially. In 1894, however, a strictly orthodox member of the congregation insisted on the resumption of services on the second day of Festivals, and from that year onwards they have been officially celebrated.

For many years the Auckland Congregation looked forward to the day when it could build a new synagogue, for the small wooden edifice in Emily Place, even when renovated, proved to be greatly inadequate for the worshippers. As far back as 1871, Elkin collected money to build a new house of worship, but ten years later the amount was still not sufficient to purchase even the necessary land. In 1884, P. A. Philips, the city's first mayor, and later town clerk, with the help of Charles Davis and David Nathan, obtained, after many requests to the Provincial Government, the free grant of a section of land in Alton Street. Using his influence, P. A. Philips induced the civic authorities to change it for one of the finest sites in the city, at the corner of Princes Street and Bowen Crescent, where formerly a guard-house had stood overlooking a large patch of ground where soldiers had grown vegetables with which to supply the English and volunteer troops. Protesting citizens charged Philips and the City Council with using personal influence, but Philips had broad shoulders, for he loved his synagogue which he was to serve as president, treasurer and secretary for over twenty-five years. A little autocracy and vanity helped him overcome difficulties when others would have given way and failed. Only a man like Philips would have dared to have his initials inscribed on the knobs of the railings of the city's Albert Park.

Having obtained the ground, the congregation then sold the building in Emily Place, and held services for the meantime in the Masonic Hall. On the Maccabean Festival on 10 December, 1884, David Nathan laid the foundation-stone of the new synagogue. The building cost over £4000 and seated close on four hundred persons, with provision for classrooms in the basement below. Although of moderate design and externally plain, its interior built on traditional lines, could not be termed homely or beautiful. On 9 November, 1885, the veteran David Nathan did his last public duty when he performed the ceremony of opening the synagogue, an honour worthy of the man who had been the spiritual founder and pillar of the congregation. The following August he passed peacefully away, to the deep sorrow of the Jewish community and the whole city of Auckland, of which he was one of the first citizens and amongst the most respected. A procession over a mile long followed his body to the Jewish cemetery. The unity of the Jewish community and the centralization of all its activities in the synagogue could be attributed to his wisdom and sincerity.

At one time it was believed that the Jewish community in Auckland would be joined by a sister community in the same province. The gold-mining township of Thames had gone ahead, and at its peak over 20,000 inhabitants lived there. Under the lay leadership of the Mayor, Louis Ehrenfried, capable, honorary readers would occasionally conduct services in private homes whenever necessity demanded it. Later, however, Thames gold again proved unpayable, and very few Jews remained by about 1886. When the Provincial Governments were abolished, the authorities made provision for the future, and set aside free grants of land at Gisborne, Whangarei,

Waimate, Onerahi and Avondale which it placed in the care of the Auckland Congregation in case communities should be formed in those places later on. None was formed. Only the land in Gisborne, from which the Auckland Congregation still derives a small revenue, proved to be of any value.

Although the only other community in the North Island, that at Wellington, numbered less than fifty souls, the members, under the leadership of Jacob Joseph and his brother-in-law, Joseph Edward Nathan, thought it necessary to engage a Reader and Shohet. In 1862, they appointed a man of fifty, Benjamin Aaron Selig, originally from Penzance, Cornwall, and who later resided in Melbourne for a number of years. Understandably, in such a small community, he could not employ his full time with his duties, nor could he be paid a proper stipend. He occupied himself mainly with his craft of watchmaker and jeweller. Possibly the clash between his responsibility towards his business and family and his responsibility towards his congregation resulted in the sudden termination of his services, for in April, 1866, the Registrar-General published an unusual public notice to the effect that: "It is hereby notified that the name of Benjamin Aaron Selig is withdrawn from the list of Officiating Ministers in the meaning of the Marriage Act, 1854."

The severance of Selig's connection with the congregation as an official did not leave it without a Reader. Into its midst had come Jacob Frankel from Dunedin. He had trained as a minister in England, and had acted as Reader in an honorary capacity at Greenwich, San Francisco, Hobart Town, Dunedin and Melbourne. In Wellington he received £40 a year, but his low salary did not affect his zeal as a Jew. He considered that the Friday evening and Sabbath morning services held, without a Sefer Torah, in the drawing-room of Jacob Joseph's home on Lambton Quay, were not good enough for a growing community in a city then appointed as the capital of New Zealand. Nothing but a consecrated synagogue would satisfy him. He had been one of those responsible for the building of the synagogue in Hobart Town, the oldest extant consecrated Jewish building in Australia. Together with his wife, he invited contributions towards a building fund to which many Christians donated, encouraged by the inspiring example and messages of Archdeacon Stark, the head of the Anglican Church in Wellington. Frankel also solicited donations from the other Jewish communities in New Zealand and Australia. By 1868, the congregation could afford to buy a section of land 50 feet by 100 feet on the Terrace. The growing congregation also demanded the removal of the temporary synagogue from Joseph's home to the Masonic Hall in Boulcott Street.

The happy day for which the Frankel family and the community had been waiting occurred on 15 January, 1870. Jews and many Christians, representing every denomination, mingled at the consecration service of the wooden building of 32 feet by 52 feet, appropriately conducted by none other than the Rev. David M. Isaacs from Nelson, who, as a young man, had come to Wellington thirty years previously in a "religious capacity". Frankel, who had handed over the synagogue free of debt of its cost of £ 1200, stood on the front porch with his wife and a choir of fourteen singing dedicatory hymns during the inaugural service, to music composed especially for the occasion by Frankel himself. The synagogue, called "Beth El", seated one hundred men and seventy women. Accustomed to collections being made on such occasions, a local newspaper expressed surprise that no call for funds had been made during the ceremony, but tactfully stated "that many Christians had already subscribed".

Another unusual feature of the inaugural ceremony was the "Declaration of Trust" made by the Trustees, Joseph, Nathan, Lipman Levy and Lewis Moss. It included a provisional paragraph stating: "Provided always that no person whatsoever shall at any time hereafter be permitted to preach or expound God's Holy Word or to perform any of the usual acts of religious worship upon the said piece of ground and hereditaments who shall maintain and promulgate or teach any doctrine or preach contrary to what is contained in the Pentateuch as expounded and explained by the Chief Rabbi in London, in England, for the time being, nor shall any of the aforesaid money or securities for money be applied or appropriated for any other purposes than for the

benefit and advantage of persons of the Jewish persuasion who hold and abide by such faith and doctrine."

After the erection of the synagogue, the thoughts of the committee, led by Joseph E. Nathan, the President, Jacob Joseph, the blind Treasurer and his secretary, M. K. Samuels, who also acted as secretary of the congregation, turned to the appointment of an incumbent. Their first choice did not remain long. He seemed to be possessed of the wanderlust. Within a period of less than three years, the Rev. A. S. Levy, a product of London's Jews' Free School, served as a minister in Melbourne, Sydney, Toowoomba, Wellington, San Francisco, San Diego and San Jose. Hardly had an invitation been sent out to Rev. D. M. Isaacs of Nelson to act as Hazzan, Mohel, Shohet and Teacher, when an advertisement appeared in the Australian Jewish Press for a married man. Objection had been raised against Isaacs, who still remained a bachelor.

In March, 1874, the congregation accepted the application of the Rev. Abraham Myers of Hobart Town, but within a month of his arrival doubts arose as to his efficiency as a Mohel. A general meeting confirmed the committee's recommendation to ask him to resign. He, given permission to speak, defended himself with dignity, stating that he had sacrificed his position in Hobart Town and would lose the respect of every community if he had to leave so soon after his arrival. He was prepared to undergo an examination by any doctor regarding his proficiency. He concluded dramatically: "You take a great responsibility upon yourselves." Once a synagogue committee forms a resolution confirmed by the congregation itself, nothing but an eruption could change the result. No eruption occurred in the case of Myers, and sadly he left the colony for Australia. An impression in the community remained, however, that the cause of the harshness in dismissing Myers was not only a question of his proficiency but also a problem of finance. The congregation had no funds in its coffers. After three years as President, Nathan could not persuade anyone to take his place. After much negotiation, Benjamin Levy, no relation of the pioneer of the same name, reluctantly accepted. He should have been able to control the congregation-he had sixteen children. In order to engage a minister, a special fund had to be created into which members paid whatever they could afford. That arrangement remained for many years.

Not until Nathan went to London in 1876 did the congregation contemplate appointing another incumbent to the post of minister. He selected a married man of twenty-seven years of age who had been ordained at nineteen —the Rev. Herman Van Staveren. The congregation never regretted Nathan's choice, nor did New Zealand, for Van Staveren, like Goldstein in Auckland, achieved the distinction of serving his flock for over fifty years, during which time he earned the deep love and affection of all who knew him, and a reputation throughout the country for kindly benevolence. Born at Boloward in Friesland, he received his education in Antwerp, Belgium, and at Jews' College, London, where the Chief Rabbi, Dr Nathan Marcus Adler, ordained him. When he came to Wellington, he arrived with one child. Over the years his wife presented him with four sons and nine daughters, and as their family increased, the house behind the synagogue where he lived had to be enlarged. Although they had such a large family, Mrs Van Staveren assisted him religiously in all his work, especially in the visitation of the poor and sick, and in the teaching of the young. Tall, dark and handsome with a long, black, flowing beard, Herman Van Staveren became a picturesque figure in Wellington and a legendary personality throughout the country. His very presence and loud, deep, stentorian voice commanded obedience.

He used it to effect whenever he had to help the poor and afflicted. Sometimes he would look stern—only, however, when he wanted to gain an advantage for the needy. His sternness was only a pose, for he was a jovial and merry man with a constant twinkle in his eye and a heart as soft and tender as a woman's.

Jewish life in the colonies centred around the synagogue, and life in the Wellington synagogue centred around Van Staveren. He dominated the scene. For distant transport he had a horse,

Yankel, which grazed in a paddock at the corner of Clifton and Everton Terraces. One of the sights of Wellington was to see Van Staveren return from the Jewish abattoirs at Petone in his "bell topper" and with his black frock-coat tails flying, urging Yankel along Lambton Quay in strange and inexplicable Hebrew. Another happy scene which pleased the townspeople was the sight of Van Staveren taking his family for a walk. In those days places of amusement would provide family tickets. Proprietors gasped when they had to provide seating accommodation for fifteen Van Staverens. For the summer season, Van Staveren purchased a house at Rona Bay across the harbour, to which travellers crossed by ferry. He bought an annual family season ticket on the first occasion, but in the following year found that the shipping company which ran the ferry had altered its rules in regard to family concessions.

Not long after he arrived, Van Staveren began to interest himself in the charitable and educational institutions of the general community. In 1878, he helped to establish the Benevolent Home, whose committee elected him as chairman for twenty-one consecutive years. The Government also selected him as the first chairman of the Wellington Hospital Board and the Wellington and Wairarapa Charitable Aid Board. When the Government introduced public elections for posts on the Hospital Board, he topped the poll annually except for one year. Occasionally, he would notice a lone hearse without followers leaving the hospital or the home for the cemetery. He made it his invariable rule on those occasions to walk behind the hearse, and would not leave the cemetery until the poor soul had been buried. Before Van Staveren came to Wellington, the committee of the synagogue dispensed charity to needy Jews. The President had power to give £2 to any needy person, or up to £5 if he consulted two other members of the committee. Van Staveren helped to found a Jewish Philanthropic Society. He also encouraged Joseph Zachariah to establish a Hevra Kadishah after he, as minister, had consecrated the new Jewish cemetery at Karori in 1892. At the time, the Board of Management expressed the hope "that with the Almighty's blessing the day may be far distant when the cemetery would be brought into requisition".

Although appointed as Chairman of the Terrace School Committee, he did not neglect the education of the Jewish children whilst labouring in PAGE 126public endeavour. When Myers had been appointed minister, the congregation had sent for five pounds worth of books, and had intended opening Hebrew classes. They never operated. Horrified to see the children deprived of their educational heritage, Van Staveren, immediately on his arrival, established a Hebrew School with himself as the teaching headmaster. He also established a Sabbath School, but the committee insisted that both institutions should be under the entire supervision of the Board of Management so that pupils not conducting themselves to the satisfaction of the headmaster would have to report to them. Van Staveren agreed to the arrangement because of its obvious futility. He had no trouble in regard to discipline. His commanding voice, eagle eyes and an occasional cuff were sufficient to check the noise or rebellion of any high-spirited pupil. Instruction was given three times a week, with a total of six hours' tuition. Boys and girls were taught separately. The students' roll reached its peak in 1894 with sixty enrolments, but by then the students neglected the mid-week classes and attended only at the week-ends. Year after year in the annual reports, Van Staveren would complain about the apathy of parents towards their children's Hebrew education. His complaints went unheeded. It became a matter of form for him to complain and for the congregants to ignore him. Thus, as the price of peace, Israel's heritage waned. A highlight of the children's school life occurred at the half-yearly examinations. It was considered a great day in the community. Parents, officials and prominent citizens would attend the public oral examinations, at the end of which the successful pupils would receive valuable and cherished prizes. For one prize-giving, F. M. Moeller had a silver medal struck for the dux of each of the boys' and girls' sections of the school.

In both the Hebrew and the Sabbath schools, Van Staveren received teaching assistance from volunteers amongst the members of the congregation. Trained teachers were not available. Those who taught with the Education Department could not, by regulation, teach elsewhere. Van Staveren arranged that they should be allowed vacation on the first day of Jewish Holydays. He

also arranged that Jewish university students should not sit for examinations on Sabbaths or Festivals.

Van Staveren also received assistance in the synagogue for the High Holyday services. Jacob Frankel took the place of the Rev. David M. Isaacs, who had come over from Nelson before Van Staveren's arrival. Joseph E. Nathan, the leader of the community before he finally settled in London in 1900, often assisted Van Staveren. Isaac Phillips, Benjamin Cohen and the Rev. I. Zachariah also helped on occasions. However, from 1899 onwards, a grand partnership commenced between Van Staveren and his eldest son Isaac, and worshippers were often touched and moved by the harmony of voices and spirit which could be seen and heard in the small wooden synagogue on the Terrace in Wellington.

Jewish ministers of religion have found it far easier to win recognition outside the community than within it. It is almost a tradition in Anglo-Jewish communities, even where the ministers are loved, to harden their lot and to reduce their stipends to a minimum. Van Staveren won his laurels the hard way. When he came to Wellington he received £6 a week, for which he had also to act as collector. Fifty years later he was not receiving a penny more. Nor would he accept any perquisites. Any member or friend who sent him a monetary gift would have the envelope returned to him. His committee told him to preach on Festivals only, or at a graveside as directed by the Board of Management. They expected him to advise them on religious matters only. But Van Staveren was a very independent man. When they told him how to carry out his task, he wrote: "Dear Mr Hyams (Secretary), In answer of yours of even date, I beg to inform you I shall not live up to the resolution of the Board. I shall, however, continue to do as hitherto and if the same does not fall in with their views, they can only obtain someone else in my place. Kindly lay this before them and oblige." So ashamed did the committee become of the reprimands Van Staveren wrote to them, that they had to seek the approval of the members to expunge them from the minutes.

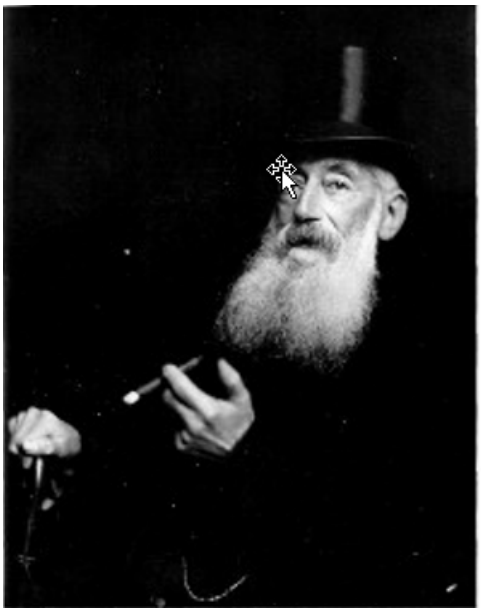
A law of the congregation forbade the minister to engage in any mercantile pursuits, under pain of dismissal. The congregation tried to prevent his children seeking his business advice. He regarded this intrusion as impertinence, and finally succeeded in having a clause inserted in his six-yearly agreements giving him permission to advise and counsel his children in their trades. A great portion of his children's mercantile success could be attributed to him. He had a good business head. He was the first to introduce Kosher preserved meat on the market. Like a Talmudical patriarch, he wisely carried out the Mishnaic injunction to teach children to win their daily bread, and to fear and love the One God. By the end of the nineteenth century, the members of the congregation realized that Van Staveren was master. In Anglo-Jewry, annual synagogue meetings are often times when the minister is a common target for the members of the congregation. At the end of the century in Wellington, general meetings lapsed time and time again for want of a quorum. They could not make sport of Van Staveren. He was their leader and led them well. He was a man amongst men.

CHAPTER XVIII
THE PROBLEMS OF INTERMARRIAGE

THE BONDS WHICH BOUND THE SEVEN ESTABLISHED JEWISH CONGREGATIONS which flourished in New Zealand in the latter half of the nineteenth century were not only those of a common faith and history. Ties of a common social background and country also drew them into a unity which allowed each section to co-operate in harmony and brotherhood with the other. The major stream of the members of each community had migrated from London, and even most of the small minority who had emanated from Posen and the German-Polish border had resided for a length of time in either England or Australia. All the communities conducted their institutions upon strict democratic British lines, governed by almost identical constitutions and by-laws which commanded obedience on the penalty of small fines or cessation of privileges. When a bridegroom in Dunedin did not attend the synagogue on the Sabbath before his marriage as demanded by the Laws, the committee informed him that it had withdrawn permission for the wedding ceremony to take place although all arrangements had been completed. His excuse that he did not belong to Dunedin, and the proximity of his wedding-date, did not move the autocratic, by-law abiding committee. Only a fervent apology and the solemn promise to obey another law to attend the synagogue on the Sabbath following his marriage, induced the strict committeemen to change their minds at the very last moment.

Modelled on the laws of the Great Synagogue in Duke's Place, London, the congregational legislation of each of the synagogues provided in the first instance that it came under the guidance of the Chief Rabbi of England, and that services would be conducted according to the liturgy known as Minhag Polen. The Wellington Congregation went so far as to issue a Declaration of Trust to that effect so that no reforms or disputes could be introduced then or in the future. Usually, members, on joining, would be handed a copy of the rules which they would have to sign as a form of acceptance to abide by them. The communities regarded membership of a synagogue seriously. Membership almost gave a person the stamp of respectability. Before acceptance, an applicant would have to pass a period of probation during which his credentials would be examined and behaviour scrutinized. Sometimes the probation would extend for two years. When passed, the privileged member would receive the right to vote and to stand as Sgan at the Barmitzvah or marriage of his children. Privileged membership would be forfeited by any Jew who married out of his faith, or who violated the Covenant of Abraham or did not have his daughter agreeably named within the synagogue. In order to prevent any Jewish resident of a town from failing to share in the burden of maintaining communal institutions, a regulation on the books permitted a charge to be made to residents who had lived over a year in the area and who had not applied for membership. If the services of the congregation or its ministers were called upon, they would not be given until all arrears had been paid.

Occasionally, members who desired to be called to the Reading of the Law for some special reason encountered difficulty, because the Sedra of the week could not be divided into sufficient portions to satisfy all who desired an Aliyah. For those occasions, a by-law stated the order of those to whom the privilege should be accorded. The right had to be given first to a Barmitzvah, then a bridegroom, followed by a father of a newly-born child, a Sandek, a father of a child being circumcised, a Yahrzeit and the father of a Barmitzvah. Other regulations of interest in congregational by-laws concerned the minister, honorary officers and cemetery rules. A minister had to be in the synagogue ten minutes before the commencement of a service and arrayed in his clerical costume. The Treasurer, on retiring from office, had to hand over to his successor all books, bonds, money and accounts of the congregation in his possession, or subject himself to be dealt with as the committee deemed fit. Father and son or brothers could not hold office at the same time. Anyone digging a grave without the permission of the President "shall be prosecuted according to the Law". In one congregation, the committee passed a strange rule that



Rabbi H Van Staveren (1849-1930). Truly loved and respected by all who knew him, his record of social service was unique. As a senior Rabbi of the Jewish community in New Zealand, his spiritual leadership was of the highest order

An historic picture taken in 1929 on the occasion of the consecration of the new Synagogue in Wellington. Left to right: W. Phillips, S. Triester, J. I. Goldsmith, M. M. Heinemann, Rev. A. Astor, Rev. Ch. Pitkowsky, Rev. H. Van Staveren, Rev. S. A. Goldstein, P. Meyers.

no burial should take place within forty-eight hours of death except by permission of the committee. Jewish custom requires burial as soon as possible after death.

Complete co-operation existed between the congregations in regard to the conduct of funerals. Ministers travelled hundreds of miles to other communities which had no Reader, or where the regular minister could not attend, in order to carry out the burial rites in traditional fashion and upon consecrated ground. The Rev. Lichtenstein once travelled specially to Queenstown to consecrate a piece of ground as a Jewish cemetery. Only three or four families lived in the township, yet they had made provision for Jewish burial rites. Bendix Hallenstein, an important personage in the district, and one of the most enterprising men in the colony, acquired the site. Born in Germany, he had spent five years in Manchester and a year in Melbourne before he landed at Invercargill. After a short time, he moved to Queenstown where he built the Brunswick Flour Mill at Kawarau, the first in the district erected for the benefit of small farmers. Several times mayor of the township, he was also elected as Member for Lakes in the Otago Provincial Council, and for Wakatipu in the House of Representatives. He later went to live in Dunedin where he acted as Consul for Germany and was director of several large companies. Hallenstein Street in Queenstown is named after him. He sold out to Louis de Beer, who, with the Wenkheim and Van de Walde families, comprised the permanent Jewish community in the town.

Because of the smallness of the Jewish population in the towns, and in some cases the almost total disappearance of its members from various districts, other denominations would encroach upon or somehow acquire unused, consecrated Jewish burial-ground. This is obvious in Hokitika and Nelson. In 1884, the Dunedin City Council requisitioned a portion of the Dunedin Jewish Cemetery. Three years later the Council wanted to acquire another portion, a course from which it desisted after protest. In this cemetery, the children of the Hebrew School would plant trees on Tu B'Shvat, Jewish Arbor Day. When the cemeteries were consecrated, they were divided into two portions, one of these being set aside for suicides and -others considered unfit for burial amongst the regular members of the community. In time, ministers and committees dispensed with this division.

Communities also gave close attention to the matter of circumcision and co-operated with each other in order that the Abrahamic Covenant should be conducted in accordance with Jewish law and custom. Ministers went to no end of trouble, and travelled to all parts of New Zealand to perform the ceremony of Brith. The de Beer family frequently requested the Mohel to come to Queenstown. So did the Invercargill Jewish families of L. Myers, M. Berrick and M. Moeller. During the Otago gold-rush, Arrow-town for a brief period became a haven for miners, and the temporary Jewish settlers occasionally had need to call for the Mohel. The more permanent Jewish residents of Arrowtown included George Arndt, the teacher, Herman Arndt, Samuel Gordon, the storekeeper, and Thomas Leister. It sometimes happened that a Mohel could not attend one of the smaller towns for many months, and then a number of circumcisions would be held at the same time. Because of this, parents became lax concerning the performance of the Brith on the eighth day after birth. Conscientious committees took rigorous steps to stamp out the practice. Children of parents living in outlying settlements would sometimes not be circumcised until they were grown boys.

A case occurred in Christchurch concerning such a lad, and doubts arose if he should be called to the Torah on his Barmitzvah. The committee decided to allow him to recite his portion of the Law on condition that his father named a day within the month when the Brith would be performed. Van Staveren of Wellington experienced the rare honour of celebrating a circumcision on the Day of Atonement. In accordance with ancient custom he performed the Brith in the synagogue before the crowded and respectful congregation. Van Staveren's reputation as a Mohel travelled beyond the borders of the Jewish community. In his lifetime, in a non-religious capacity, he circumcised over four thousand Gentile boysr. Parents came from all classes in order to have the distinction of Van Staveren circumcising their children.

Although the congregations co-operated with each other willingly and harmoniously, all attempts to unite the communities into a single unit or to create a united ecclesiastical body, failed. The Victorian branch of the Anglo-Jewish Association suggested a conference of all Australasian congregations to be held in February, 1881, during the Melbourne International Exhibition. The conference intended discussing:

1. The promotion of the interest of the Anglo-Jewish Association in the colonies.
2. The improvement of the status of Judaism in Australasia, comprising the discussion of (a) Jewish schools, (b) Sabbath observance, (c) synagogue services and (d) charities.
3. Establishment of a Union of Australasian Hebrew Congregations.

Five congregations, including those of Wellington and Dunedin, refused to participate. Probably they suspected, and perhaps not without reason, that by submitting to a union they would lose their individuality and freedom of power to act as they themselves desired. Dunedin had reason to fear. It had defied the Chief Rabbi's advice in spite of the first rule on its Laws and Regulations to adhere to the Chief Rabbi's guidance.

In the spirit of the Australian Federal Movement then prevailing, the Adelaide Hebrew Congregation proposed, in 1888, an All-Australasian Jewish Synod. It suggested that each synagogue send its minister, president and treasurer to a conference with power to act, with the object of considering the desirability or otherwise of reform and the revision of the prayers and form of service. It also proposed to have all matters affecting individual congregations referred to the Synod for decision. The proposed ideas seemed too drastic for some of the congregations, and the scheme lapsed. At the time, Dunedin supported reform and favoured the Synod. If the conference would have taken place it was prepared to send delegates.

All attempts, too, to create a united body of Jewish ministers through the establishment of an ecclesiastical court did not succeed. It was not from want of trying, nor from want of support of the lay members of the congregations. Both the clergy and the communities desired to establish a New Zealand Beth Din. The opposition emanated from the Chief Rabbi himself. No minister in New Zealand possessed the necessary rabbinical qualifications to act as an Ab Beth Din. As far back as 1872, the Chief Rabbi informed the New Zealand communities that the Beth Din in Melbourne under the chairmanship of Rabbi Samuel Herman and his assistants, the Rev. Moses Rintel and the Rev. A. F. Ornstien, constituted the only authorized Beth Din for Australia and New Zealand. It was the only Beth Din outside London that had been authorized by the Chief Rabbi. An application made to him in 1877 to form a New Zealand ecclesiastical body failed, as did a further application in 1879, when strong representations were made by the communities, pointing out that Australia and New Zealand were so distant, separate and different from each other. The applicants also stressed that at the time, New Zealand had six congregations and four ordained ministers. Further representations on the same grounds made to the Chief Rabbi in 1880 and in 1883 did not move him from his stand. However, in 1880, the ecclesiastical authorities in Melbourne granted special permission to the Rev. Lichtenstein and the Rev. Zachariah to meet in Christchurch as a Beth Din for one particular purpose only, and with the specific understanding that it must not assume permanency. The Chief Rabbi gave similar permission for temporary courts in December, 1883, and in April, 1884, when Lichtenstein, Zachariah and Van Staveren met in Christchurch. In March, 1900, the Rev. Elias Blaubaum, on behalf of the Melbourne Beth Din, came over from Australia to Dunedin for a similar purpose.

Temporary ecclesiastical courts in New Zealand were permitted for the sole and specific purpose of performing the rites and ceremonies of proselytization of Gentile men and women to Judaism, a function which necessitated the presence of an authorized Beth Din. A vexed problem had arisen in New Zealand communities. Not enough Jewish women had migrated to the country. In the early years, Jewish men outnumbered women in a proportion of nearly two to one. The young men who had migrated to New Zealand had been brought up in surroundings where the

communities regarded marrying out of the Jewish faith with dismay. Nearly all of the men had also been nurtured in homes where deep reverence was paid to the marriage institution, and the adoption of the artificiality of living with a Gentile woman in a de facto state would have aroused disgust and dissatisfaction. Marrying out of the faith automatically resulted in the loss of prestige and status. In the synagogue it led to loss of privileges. An offender would lose the right to vote and the honour of being called up to the dais during the reading from the Scroll of the Law. He would also have to face the prospect of ignominy in case of burial, of being interred in the portion set aside for suicides and others considered unfit to be buried amongst privileged members. Socially, he would lose prestige. He would be "looked down upon" by the other members of the community, some of whom regarded intermarriage as almost equal to that of the abandonment of the Jewish faith. Some parents whose children "married out" would mourn for them as for the dead.

For Jews who lived on the goldfields or in small townships, the problem of marriage was even more difficult than for those who resided in one of the larger cities. A young man living in Queenstown illustrated the hardship when he brought a suit for breach of promise before the Supreme Court in Dunedin against a young Jewish lady, whom he alleged had promised to marry him, and against the husband who had won her hand. The first suitor claimed that the husband had poisoned his wife's mind against him. The hearing took place on the last two days of the Passover, and witnesses, including the minister, were brought direct from the synagogue into court to give evidence. The judge would not listen to the plea of the claimant's counsel to postpone the hearing. Plaintiff's counsel then stated that the facts he would relate were as sensational as a three-volume novel. The judge begged him to compress it into one volume. Counsel then suggested he would reduce it to one chapter. Legally an involved case, the claimant received one farthing damages, but it did demonstrate the heartbreaking dilemma of Jewish men who wished to marry within the fold, and it was doubly emphasized by the fact that it led a Jewish man to bring a rare type of breach of promise case against a woman co-religionist.

The solution regarding marriages came of itself. The inevitable happened. It would have been extraordinary for young men to have remained bachelors, especially in the smaller townships which had no synagogue and no community to involve a person in social prejudices. In synagogue towns many risked calumny and the loss of privileges. In spite of this, most of those who married out of their faith did their utmost to retain their ties with their religion and with their people. They often received setbacks. One gentleman asked if he could join the synagogue. The committee told him he could not do so, but that the synagogue was always open to the public. When Jewish men married Gentile women it did not only affect their personal status. It also affected the status of their children. In Jewish law the children receive the religious status of the mother. A Jewish father who had married a Gentile women sent his children to the Hebrew School. The minister taught them amongst the others, but the synagogue committee told the father to remove the children as the school could accept only Jewish pupils.

Problems also arose concerning circumcision and burial. The Jewish father of a child of a Gentile mother desired a minister to circumcise his son. By a majority vote of the committee and against an entered protest by one of the minority, it was decided to perform the Brith. The minister refused, and wrote to the Chief Rabbi about it. The Chief Rabbi agreed with the minister although a colleague had previously circumcised two other brothers of the child. The incident contributed to that minister's dismissal. Synagogue committees did not like their ministers corresponding directly with their spiritual superior in England without permission. On another occasion, a child born of a Gentile mother had died and the father wished the child to be buried in the Jewish cemetery. On asking a visiting emissary Rabbi from Jerusalem for advice, he was told that the child should be interred in the non-privileged portion of the burial-ground. Nevertheless, the authorities decided to ask the Chief Rabbi his opinion on the matter. He replied that the child should not have been buried in the Jewish cemetery at all but that it was unnecessary to exhume the body. In spite of the Chief Rabbi's decision, when a similar case occurred a little later, the

committee disobeyed the ruling, and by five votes to two took it upon themselves to bury the child in the Jewish section of the cemetery.

Some synagogue committees regarded themselves as inviolate. Frequently, there sat in their midst young, inexperienced men who, because of their election, believed that they had the power to violate Jewish law and dishonour the spiritual head of their organization whom they had promised to obey in the first rule of the organization on which they sat as governors. In their arrogance and ignorance they committed dreadful errors. Their autocratic behaviour induced them to meddle in matters about which they knew nothing. One such body arrogated the right to inform an applicant for conversion whose great grandfather had been a Jew from Posen, that they would select three lay members of the congregation to act as an ecclesiastical court who would proselytize him. A suggestion that the application should be sent to the Chief Rabbi received scant attention. When the minister heard about it, he did not ask the committee but sent the application to the Chief Rabbi himself. In the congregations where the minister showed weakness, the committee treated him as a paid servant and a mere tool. Their attitude towards their minister was, "obey or be dismissed".

In some congregations which had no incumbent, the committee would sometimes act as if the mantle of the rabbinate had fallen upon it. In one case a Gentile woman appeared before a Board of Management. She had not seen her husband for fourteen years, and she wished to marry a certain member of the congregation. On being questioned, she stated that she was sure her husband was dead. The President then placed his hat upon his head and said to her, "I solemnly swear my husband is dead." She replied, "I swear." Upon such evidence and upon such a ceremony the committee decided she could be married, arranged for three lay men to act as a Beth Din, converted her, and the President, as acting minister of the congregation, celebrated the marriage. They were unaware, besides being ignorant of the civil law, that only three well-trained members of a Beth Din can act in a matter of conversion.

Whether a congregation had a minister or not and whether its executive was responsible or not, committees regarded it as their right to arrive at rabbinical decisions. Sometimes the minister, in order to absolve himself from responsibility, would make the members of the committee believe it was their prerogative to arrive at a decision. One minister, when asked to circumcise a child of a Gentile mother, stated that he would do so if the committee agreed. The Board of Management happened to be responsible and would not allow it. Instead of the minister sending a report to the Chief Rabbi regarding an applicant, the committee made the recommendation, and it often depended upon the friendliness of the committee towards the applicant whether or not the recommendation would be favourable. An absurd situation would arise when the Chief Rabbi sent a reply agreeing to an application for conversion. It would not be the minister but the committee who would examine the applicant regarding religious knowledge of the laws and precepts of Israel.

As time went on, intermarriage became so frequent and so many families became involved, that it gradually lost a great deal of the distaste with which members of the community had regarded it previously. Some congregations allowed those who had married Gentile women to become seat holders in the synagogue but not voting members. They were buried no longer in the non-privileged section of the cemetery. In some of the smaller communities, those who had "married out" acted in an executive position within the congregation, as presidents, treasurers and committeemen. Some communities became disturbed at the situation. One passed a resolution: "That it is with regret that the Congregation views with alarm the continued marriages between Christians and the Jewish nation and particularly those of influence showing a bad example to others." It also resolved: "That a copy of this resolution be forwarded to the Chief Rabbi, Dr Adler, in London."

Intermarriage increased to such an extent that it threatened to undermine the structure of one or two of the communities. Many individuals claimed they could not help themselves, as there were

not sufficient Jewish women living in the vicinity from whom they could choose their wives. Nearly all who had "married out" wished to retain their Jewish connections. Finally, one congregation decided to "ameliorate the position of Jews and Jewesses who had married out of their faith", and wrote to the Chief Rabbi about the situation. In principle, he opposed conversions. Jewish law specifically states that proselytes should not be made when their motive is marriage. Converts to Judaism should be "Gere Zedek", righteous proselytes who convert because of belief and the desire to seek holiness and purity. However, the Chief Rabbi had deep sympathy for the pioneers who had no other choice but to marry Gentile women. He therefore established the temporary authoritative ecclesiastical courts, and insisted that all applications for conversion must first be sent to him for approval after recommendation by a congregation. The Chief Rabbi usually relied upon these statements. With time, abuses crept in because of the distance between London and New Zealand and of the time it took for communications to be received and answered. Occasionally, the New Zealand congregations relied upon the Melbourne Beth Din for assistance. About the end of the nineteenth century conversions were carried out with the minimum of formality. All applications except those of persons of known bad character were automatically recommended, and almost automatically approved. When a number had passed, arrangements would proceed for the formation of a temporary Beth Din. Applicants would then be told to prepare for the examinations which the committee of the congregation would conduct. Not infrequently, the candidates would know more of Jewish practice than some of the ignorant examiners, and certainly be prepared to observe more of the laws and customs of Israel than those who cross-questioned them.

Naturally, intermarriage took its toll of Jewish adherents. If thoughtlessness and indifference prevailed in the Jewish partner, no steps would be taken to have the children proselytized. A rebuff would often have the same effect. Generally unbeknown, Jewish blood runs in the veins of many New Zealanders. When marriage took place with a Maori, the children were not usually brought up as Jews, although cases did occur when Jewish fathers told their children they were Hebrews and taught them a smattering of Hebrew prayers, but did not convert them to Judaism. An isolated instance of Maori conversion to the Jewish faith occurred in the First World War, when a Glasgow Beth Din proselytized a New Zealand soldier. He worshipped in synagogue regularly. Childless and of comfortable means, he benevolently cared for Maori orphans, and when he died he was buried in the Jewish cemetery. Maoris with the name of Nathan, Keesing, Asher, Flegeltaub, Black or Yates may trace their descent from Jews, but in many cases Maoris with Jewish names adopted them from the person or firm for whom they worked.

Samuel Yates came to New Zealand in 1853 at the age of twenty-four. His sister, Mrs Charles Davis of Auckland, had preceded him. Born in London, the son of P. Yates, a well-known solicitor, Samuel was sent for his education to Liverpool where his grandfather, Benjamin Eliakim Yates, had been first Jewish minister and founder of the Liverpool Congregation. His original name had been Goetz. Samuel completed his education in Paris, where he became acquainted with Emperor Louis Napoleon. Sent out to his family in New Zealand, he remained in and around Auckland for ten years. He then opened a store at Mangonui. After deciding to open at Parengarenga for a trial period of six months, he remained in the district all his life. He met and married a Maori princess, and through her acquired vast tracts of land around Parengarenga, the most northerly settlement in New Zealand. When he arrived, nearly all the country around the settlement consisted of scrub and tea-tree. No grass could be found in the area. He cleared the land, enlarging his estate to a cattle and sheep run of over 150,000 acres on which he produced beef and lamb, various fruits and kauri gum. He owned and controlled nearly all the country north of Tekao, and gave the land on which the Van Diemen's Lighthouse now stands, to the Government. As a local Justice of the Peace, he gained the respect of the countryside through his culture and learning. He spoke French perfectly. They called him "King of the North". When he died on 14 September, 1900, his relations buried him in the Jewish cemetery in Auckland.

Another man named Asher, with Maori-Jewish connections, attained prominence in the Waikato district for his cleverness and wisdom. He, too, received honorary "kingship". They called him

"King of the King country". It was said of him that he had the cunning of his mother and the shrewdness of his father. By the end of the nineteenth century, Jews had visited every part of the land. It is not surprising to come across their traces in strange nooks and crannies. Once a traveller, staying overnight at a remote village, having nothing better to do, visited the local dance-hall. During the evening, a regal Maori princess entered wrapped with a blue and white silken Talith around her shoulders, draped as a stole. She had married a Jew from White-chapel. He had no more use for the Talith. She had.

CHAPTER XIX
PARLIAMENT AND THE RUSSIAN JEWS

WHEN JOSEPH BARROW MONTEFIORE CALLED NEW ZEALAND "A Britain of the South", he could not have given it a more apt designation as far as the Jews were concerned. They regarded England as their home country. Strong ties and loyalties bound them to her institutions and customs. Voluntarily, they placed their congregations under the jurisdiction of the Chief Rabbi of the British Empire. He could not accept a suggestion to visit Australia and New Zealand because of the urgency of business in England, but he did send his son, A. S. Adler, in an unofficial capacity. He addressed the congregation in the Wellington synagogue. The New Zealand Jews conducted their religious services and institutions on similar lines to those of London. Their ministers were trained and came from "home". It has been stated that New Zealand is more British than any other colony. The New Zealand Jews contributed their share to the shaping of the truth of this statement. They welcomed any move to strengthen the bonds between New Zealand and Britain. When Queen Victoria celebrated her Diamond Jubilee, the congregations conducted special services to commemorate the event, and the Jewish communities of Victoria, South Australia, Queensland, West Australia, Fiji and New Zealand signed a combined address of loyalty to Her Majesty. Sir Moses Montefiore symbolized for them, as well as for other Jews in the Empire, the combination of the noble qualities of the English gentleman with the truth and freedom-loving benevolence of the dignified Jew. A loyal Englishman of a patrician family, this orthodox Jew had been honoured by the Queen with a baronetcy for his unceasing help to his suffering brethren in all parts of the world, interviewing kings and heads of states in order to persuade them to alleviate the lot of his persecuted people. When he celebrated his one hundredth birthday in 1884, the New Zealand communities held special services to mark the occasion, sending him, besides congratulatory messages, an illuminated address enclosed in a casket of New Zealand timbers. Representatives from all denominations attended many of the Montefiore celebrations as a token of respect for Sir Moses and as a mark of esteem for their Jewish friends. New Zealand Jewry rejoiced with the rest of the Jews of the Empire when the Queen raised Baron Rothschild to the dignity of a seat in the House of Lords. They looked upon his elevation as a further step in the emancipation of the Jews and in the struggle for freedom and democracy for which the Empire had become renowned.

In England, the Jews had established an institution, the Anglo-Jewish Association, to further the movement for greater democracy, to strengthen ties at home and abroad between Jewish communities and the Empire, and to win for Jews outside the British Commonwealth the enlightened treatment and freedom which Jews enjoyed in England. It is significant that in New Zealand, the Rev. Zachariah, when minister in Christchurch, opened the first branch of the Association. Only he of the ministers serving in New Zealand did not come from England. He had suffered under foreign rule, and appreciated the freedom that he enjoyed in the country of his adoption. Later, branches were established in Dunedin, Wellington and Auckland, and the question arose as to whether each branch should attach itself to the headquarters in England or to a newly created colonial headquarters. New Zealand chose the latter course, and Zachariah was appointed President, with M. Joel, B. Isaacs, Edward Shrimski, M. K. Samuels and G. Jacobs forming the committee. The main work of the branches developed into the collecting of the annual dues forwarded to headquarters and to the raising of money for any special appeal as

directed by the Association in England for causes overseas. Usually the cause in question concerned alleviation of the poverty and distress of Jewish communities abroad brought about by oppression and persecution.

New Zealand Jewry, small in numbers as it was, distinguished itself by its generosity and benevolence. No worthy cause, either Jewish or Gentile, at home or abroad, ever lacked some response. Most of the oversea appeals for assistance in the latter half of the nineteenth century came on behalf of the Jews in Russia, where the oppressive anti-semitic government instigated uneducated, boorish mobs to commit horrible excesses against the Jewish communities. In addition, the Tsarist government introduced its own cruel economic measures against them. Subscription lists were opened for Russian Jews in July, 1869, and for those on the Russo-Turkish border in January, 1878, in conjunction with the Anglo-Jewish Association. Further pogroms against the Jews under the Tsar aroused a storm in the democratic world. In London, the Lord Mayor called a public meeting in May, 1882, at which prominent Members of Parliament and leading citizens expressed strong protests condemning the Russian government. A call for help went out to all Jewry. New Zealand answered promptly and admirably. As was usual in New Zealand when Jews made a public appeal, many Christians voluntarily subscribed towards the cause.

Another call for assistance came in 1891, when further excesses against Jews in Russia aroused the ire of decent men and women throughout the world. It also evoked horror in the minds of all New Zealanders, and evoked an unprecedented protest by a unanimous vote of a responsible Parliament. Sir George Grey, who had returned to the country after acting as Governor for two separate terms and had entered politics, stood up in the House of Representatives on 30 July, 1891, and said that New Zealand would for the first time be taking her place amongst the nations of the world in presenting a petition to the Emperor of Russia to have mercy upon his five million Jewish subjects. He had the kindliest feelings towards the Jews. Any move to help them must be of beneficial effect. He believed the Emperor was a good and merciful man. Although New Zealand had nothing to do with the matter, it must strive to help its fellow men. Whilst asking on behalf of others New Zealand would be doing good for herself. It would be recorded in history that, at the beginning of its life as a nation, New Zealand strove to do good to her fellow men in other parts of the world. "We," he continued, "by this act I propose, formally recognize that it is the duty of the New Zealand nation, however small or however great it may be, to do all the good it possibly can for people in all parts of the world." He then proposed: "That a memorial be addressed to His Imperial Majesty, the Emperor of All the Russias, respectfully praying that all exceptional and restrictive laws which afflict his Jewish subjects may be repealed, and that equal rights with those enjoyed by the rest of His Majesty's subjects may be conferred upon them. That the said Memorial be signed by the Speaker, and be by him transmitted to His Majesty." Joseph Ward seconded the motion. He reiterated Sir George Grey's sentiments, and emphasized that five million people were involved. The House agreed unanimously to the motion. For nearly a year nothing more was heard about the Memorial, though questions were asked about it in various sessions. Eventually, on 23 June, 1892, the Speaker reported that he had sent the resolutions regarding Russian Jews, as well as copies of Hansard, to His Excellency Lieutenant-General De Richter, Aide-de-camp to His Majesty the Emperor for the Reception of Petitions. De Richter had replied in diplomatic French:

> **Sir,**
>
> By virtue of the formal instructions of His Majesty the Emperor, my august master, I am not authorized to receive petitions or addresses from representatives of foreign countries concerning questions which relate to the internal policy of Russia.
>
> I find myself consequently obliged to return to you forthwith the address of the House of Representatives of New Zealand without submitting it to His Majesty the Emperor.

Accept, Sir, the assurance of my highest esteem,

P. De Richter

Parliament came to the opinion that it could do nothing more, and it ordered the reply to be entered in the Journals of the House.

Sir George Grey's resolution won approval and applause in many parts of the world. It raised the prestige of the New Zealand Government and placed it on the political map. Congratulations poured in from Jewish communities abroad. Grey's proposal did indeed make history. It had established New Zealand as a courageous, democratic and humanitarian nation. That the Tsar's Aide-de-camp did not pass on New Zealand's representations to his master and Government added another black line to Russia's dreadful record in its persecution of the Jews.

The public is fickle and its memory short. The same may be said of parliamentarians. The very same men who had raised New Zealand's name to the skies soon brought its prestige down low to the dust. Less than two" years after Parliament had passed its memorable resolutions in favour of Russian Jews it adopted an extraordinary stand when news arrived that 500 destitute Russian Jews were about to leave England for New Zealand under the auspices of the London Jewish authorities. Protests arrived from all over the country expressing fear of racial difficulties and of competition. Trade and labour councils passed strong resolutions protesting against the admittance of foreign Jews, laying stress upon their destitution and poverty and poorness of quality. A rumour that the Russian Jews would land in New Zealand without permission prompted the Premier, urged by a continuous clamour from diverse sources, to cable the Agent-General in London, instructing him to take all possible means to prevent the Russian Jews from being sent to New Zealand.

The amazing change of heart of the New Zealand Government aroused the indignation of many Jews, and a fierce, angry and acrimonious correspondence passed between the Premier and a prominent Jewish resident. The Jews in New Zealand had enjoyed a freedom unequalled anywhere else in the world. Before the immigration protests, no anti-Semitism had ever appeared upon the surface. On the contrary, it could be stated that New Zealanders were pro-Semitic. Harmony and goodwill existed between Jews and Gentiles. At every important event in the Jewish community, representatives of all Christian denominations would attend. They contributed liberally towards Jewish appeals and towards the building of synagogues, just as Jews subscribed generously to Christian charities and churches. The Jews of New Zealand possessed an outstanding and incomparable record as pioneers and in the development of the commercial and civic life of the country. Wherever they settled, they had been elected by the Gentiles to prominent positions in city and borough councils and in the principal legislative bodies of the land because of their merit and integrity.

The unfounded prejudices against the Russian Jews may have arisen from a number of causes. Economic conditions had taken a sudden turn for the worse in 1893, and John Ballance and his successor as Premier in the Liberal-Labour Government, Richard John Seddon, could not afford to lose the support of the workers, who were afraid that large-scale migration would affect their working conditions and living standards. The working movement at the time would have opposed any source of assisted migration whether the newcomers came from Russia or England or whether they were Jews or Gentiles. Moreover, the country had been misinformed about the number of Jews who wished to migrate to New Zealand. Rumours varied from half a million to half a thousand. Probably, if migration had been allowed, not more than a hundred settlers would have come.

Another reason for prejudice may have been that the average New Zealander had not come in personal contact with Jews. Although the Jews achieved prominence in the country, they comprised only a mere 0.25 per cent of the total population. Most of the citizens, when they read

about the achievements of well-known Jews, were totally unaware of then faith. No mention would be made of it except on rare occasions. Unfortunately, in spite of the official friendly and sincere attitude of the churches and then-heads, many of their adherents and clergymen were deeply prejudiced against Jewish followers because of the method with which the New Testament was taught in churches and Sunday-schools. The cry from the pulpit and the schoolmaster's desk that "the Jews killed Christ", could have no other effect.

Prejudices also arose because the New Zealanders did not know and did not understand the Russian Jews. Even some of the Jewish faith, whose ancestors had been born and bred in England for generations, believed the rumours that the Russians were the dregs of Europe. The phrase, "but you are different from the foreign Jew", was frequently accepted as a truth. When the first Russian Jewish refugee arrived in Australia, surprise was expressed in the Press that "the man was cleanly dressed". It would have taken the New Zealand Jews generations to have attained the standard of learning, culture and dignity of the Russian Jews. These latter were far more advanced in every direction, in spite of the sufferings which they had undergone. Spiritually and intellectually they were head and shoulders above their New Zealand brethren. If the English Jews did not altogether understand them, the New Zealand Gentile certainly did not. The Russian Jews constituted an enigma and puzzle to them. Ignorance made them believe whatever they were told, and ignorance, with its scandalously prejudicial results, did not prevail only amongst the labouring classes. It reared its ugly head in Parliament as well. "The new House," wrote Alfred Saunders, "contained an unusually small proportion of highly educated or experienced men."

If the politicians had made inquiries, they would have discovered that the Jews made good migrants, even if they did come from Russia. By his introduction of the Aliens Bill in 1870, Julius Vogel had made New Zealand more attractive to the foreign migrant. The legislation allowed aliens to own land in the colony. Before the introduction of the Bill they could not do so. Jews, however, did not take advantage of the law because of the distance of New Zealand from Jewish centres. When persecutions in Russia became acute, about 1882, a sprinkling of twelve Jews migrated to Wellington, where Van Staveren, although burdened with a large family, welcomed and fed them. They soon integrated themselves into the community and strengthened it. In 1889, the London Emigration Society wrote to the Dunedin Congregation inquiring if it could absorb Jewish immigrants. Because of the economic situation and the persistent persecution of the Russian Jews, the authorities in London who voluntarily accepted this labour of mercy, explored every avenue to relieve the pressure upon its resources. Dunedin replied that it would accept five migrants on trial, but advised that they should be artisans and not ultra-orthodox. "Ultra-orthodox is objectionable as Sabbath is not kept," wrote the correspondent. Dunedin had followed the Christchurch example, whereby three men and two women had been sent out by the Mansion House Fund under the auspices of the Lord Mayor of London, and had succeeded in settling down comfortably.

Although the Anglo-Jewish Association announced that it would pay the fares of immigrants, and that no burden would be placed upon the Government or its people, the clamour from trade councils and uninformed organizations continued, inspired by anti-immigration propaganda from England. Not until the Chief Rabbi, Dr Herman Adler, assured the New Zealand Government that no large-scale migration had ever been contemplated, did the provoked propaganda die down and calm reign again. Because of its sad experiences with the Australasian colonies, the headquarters of the Anglo-Jewish Association resolved not to send out one refugee under its auspices. The Association regarded its resolution as a loss and blow to New Zealand. Wherever the Russian Jews had fled, they had brought blessing and had contributed to the prosperity of the country receiving them. In England, a feeling that the Anglo-Jewish Association had not handled the situation with sufficient vigour, led to the community's strengthening the Jewish Board of Deputies, which was more representative of the Jewish institutions in the country and attracted men specifically dedicated to alleviate the position of the Jews abroad. Only financial difficulties prevented some of the New Zealand communities from joining the Board of Deputies.

The venom of the attack against Jewish immigration, however, made the New Zealand communities wary about recommending any organization to send newcomers to the country. When the London Colonization Society wanted, in 1900, to settle Romanian Jews in the colony, the New Zealand communities informed the Society of their experiences seven years previously. The proposition lapsed.

New Zealand Jewry wisely did not adopt the parochial views of its neighbours. They readily responded to any estimable appeal from overseas. When the Rev. Dr A. J. Messing came to New Zealand seeking assistance for his synagogue, "Beth El", in San Francisco, and for the orphanage of the city, all the congregations donated liberally to his cause. No emissary who came for a cause in the Holy Land ever went away empty-handed. The land of Israel stirred the spiritual feelings of colonial Jews. In a desolate and waste land, the few Jews in Eretz Israel symbolized the continuity of the Jewish people and its eternal durability. Such a high reputation for generosity did New Zealand attain in Jerusalem, that the emissaries arrived for help in a constant stream. All the congregations, and Julius Meyer and David Nathan at Wanganui, organized an appeal through the daily Press when news arrived, in December, 1865, of the terrible cholera epidemic in Jerusalem and of the drought throughout the country. The small Wellington community alone, with the aid of Gentile sympathizers, subscribed over £.200, which it sent to Jerusalem for the starving and the sick. No sooner had the substantial sums been dispatched than personal emissaries arrived in New Zealand to inform the communities of the horrors and crisis in the Holy Land. First came Rabbi Kassan, followed a few months later by Rabbi Yechiel Bechor Cohen, a beturbaned, picturesque figure in flowing, silken Arabian dress. Rabbi L. Mendelsohn came a few years later on behalf of the Jews in Hebron, and after him trailed Rabbi Judah Levy of Jerusalem, Rabbi Joseph Horowitz, from the same city, on behalf of a soup kitchen, and Rabbi Judah Assuri, who came for the poor of Jerusalem, Safed, Hebron and Tiberias.

When lesser lights also arrived, the communities protested at the disorganization, stating that visits from persons collecting funds for the Holy Land and other places in the East now became "more frequent than pleasant". They sent a communication to the Board of Deputies in London expressing the wish that all emissaries who came to New Zealand should first receive the Board's approval and credentials. They complained that messengers who were really Polish Jews came in oriental garb. These obtained lists of donors from previous collectors and retained a goodly percentage of the takings. If a man donated less than he had done previously, they wanted to know the reason. They stated that they gladly gave to genuine causes but deplored the monotony of impostors. The Board of Deputies recommended the appeal of Rabbi Moses Rivlin, and the communities responded handsomely. New Zealand Jewry had well earned its reputation for open heartedness and generosity both at home and abroad. It held a proud record.
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Mrs. David L. Nathan, a descendant of the Arbabanel family and a leading worker in New Zealand for the Zionist movement. With her husband she visited Palestine several times and they donated the New Zealand Infant Welfare Centre building in Tel-Aviv.

Phineas Selig. General manager and editor-in-chief of the Christchurch Press Company, he was a leading figure in the New Zealand newspaper world. He was president both of the Newspaper Proprietors' Association and the Master Printers' Federation.

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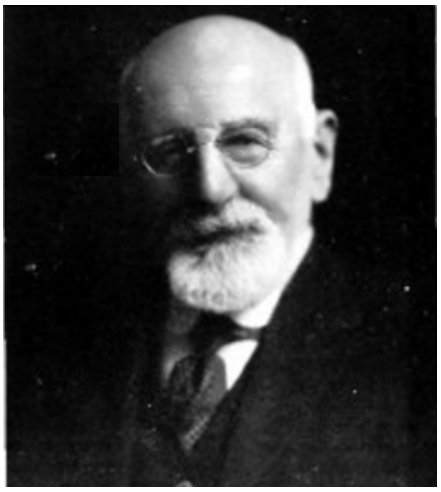

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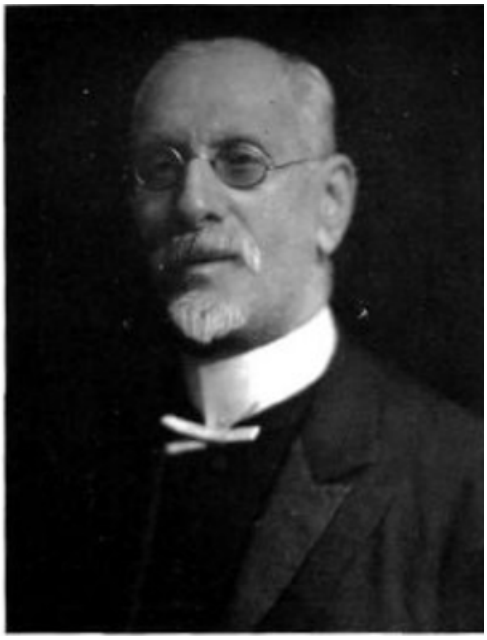


Rabbi S. A. Goldstein was for over 50 years the Minister of the Auckland Hebrew Congregation. A man of profound knowledge, he ministered with joyous enthusiasm and unsparing devotion.

Rabbi Solomon Katz. Wide experience, scholarship and brilliance in oratory and debate made him a public figure of note. On his death in 1944, American servicemen erected a memorial to him in the foyer of the Wellington Synagogue.

CHAPTER XX
JEWS IN INDUSTRY AND COMMERCE

APART FROM THE REGRETTABLE INCIDENT IN 1893 concerning the Russian migrants, the relationship between Jews and Gentiles continued in a most cordial and harmonious fashion. Besides reciprocal donations towards each others' charities and houses of worship, they prayed at the same hour for mutual national causes. From time to time, Jewish ministers conducted special services for Christian benevolent homes. When Te Kooti escaped from the Chatham Islands and committed outrages against the colonists at Poverty Bay, the Jews, with other denominations, dedicated a Day for Humiliation and Prayer. Jews made provision for public institutions in their wills. When Hyman Marks of Christchurch died, his executors built a ward in his name in the Canterbury Hospital, a ward which is still maintained by the trust. Jews took a particularly keen interest in Freemasonry, not only because of its Jewish background and its Hebraic ritual connections, but also because it presented the Jews with the opportunity of expressing in a concrete form the brotherhood and goodwill which the Jew always wishes to extend towards his Christian neighbour. In Freemasonry, the Jew and Gentile could meet on a common spiritual ground, in harmony and in the interest of promoting the welfare of the community. Wherever Jews resided they enrolled in Masonic Lodges, and their names appear prominently on published lists of members and office bearers.

The goodwill and sincerity of the Jews of New Zealand reflected itself in those spheres where such qualities count, and nowhere more than in the sphere of commerce. Businessmen value and are quick to recognize honesty, promptitude and fair dealing. A number of Jewish merchants and traders well-known in business circles throughout New Zealand won their way to popularity and renown because of the trust and confidence which they gained from the inhabitants, not so much through sheer enterprise as through maintaining their word as their bond, giving value for money, and holding to their undeviatingly high principles of rectitude and justice.

Their fellow merchants, recognizing then probity, resourcefulness and qualities of leadership, elected them to important positions on various Chambers of Commerce throughout the country. John Israel Montefiore, David Nathan, Laurence D. Nathan and Arthur H. Nathan actively participated in the work of the Auckland Chamber of Commerce. AbrahamPAGE 146Hort, Nathaniel Levin, Joseph E. Nathan, Jacob Joseph and Lipman Levy all chaired the Wellington Chamber of Commerce at various times, as did D. E. Theomin in Dunedin. At the time of the shortage of copper currency in New Zealand, Lipman Levy, a boot and shoe manufacturer, coined his own pennies and half-pennies. Morris Marks issued similar coinage in Auckland.

In Auckland, David Nathan, as he grew older, added to his incomparable reputation. He extended his premises to Shortland Street and to warehouses in Custom and Commerce streets. In 1867 he retired in favour of his sons, Laurence D. and N. Alfred, changing the name of the firm to L. D. Nathan and Company. The firm developed into one of the biggest wholesale and shipping businesses in New Zealand. It also handled one half of the country's production of kauri gum. Max Lichtenstein and Louis Arnoldson, cousins who came from Russia and traded as Lichtenstein and Arnoldson, produced most of the rest in the largest kauri gum concession in the country. The firm later traded as E. Lichtenstein & Company. To the regret of the whole city of Auckland and many others in the country, David Nathan passed away on 23 August, 1886. Before he died, he started to sell pianos, which sold at such a pace that he made another fortune from this alone. On that account, this branch of the business moved to Queen Street under the title of the London and Berlin Piano Company.

Laurence D. Nathan followed in the traditions of his father, and enterprisingly added an ostrich farm to the varied business of the firm. He also added another link to the chain of Jews who helped in the development of the islands of Fiji. The King of the islands appointed him Consul for Fiji in the Auckland Province. A keen sportsman, he bought Sylvia Park, which became noted

for its thoroughbreds and as the birthplace of the famous horse Carbine, which, among other notable successes, won the Melbourne Cup. He renounced racing suddenly. A horse of his won one day and lost the next. On entering His Majesty's Theatre at night, the audience booed him. Shocked at the inference, he sold all his racing interests. Under his guidance, L. D. Nathan and Company expanded into marine insurance and general produce brokerage, and besides the trade in wine and spirits, helped to develop the brewing industry in New Zealand.

A pioneer in the expansion of the hotel and brewery industry, Moss Davis, originally of Nelson, displayed fearless foresight in gaining control of Hancock and Company on the death of his partner Samuel Jagger. He paid the Government £100 to install the first telephone-line from Auckland to his hotel at St Helier's Bay. He wired his home for electricity long before power was available. His brother Mark built up a brewing business at Timaru which he later sold to his co-religionists Barney and Louis Ballin, who extended their premises and opened in Christchurch under the name of Ballin Brothers. Jacob Levien of Timaru also brewed beer and built the first cordial factory in South Canterbury. Another prominent brewer in Christchurch, Charles Louisson, together with his brother, built up the Crown Brewery Company Limited. They also built up a drapery and outfitting business with branches in various New Zealand towns. One member of the family did business in a novel way. His banker asked him to clear his overdraft. He displayed the letter in the window of his shop with an appeal in red ink to his friends to buy from him so that he could obey the bank's order. His friends responded. In Dunedin, Maurice Joel bought the Red Lion Brewery. A staunch worker for the Jewish community, he sat on the Otago Harbour Board and on the committee of the New Zealand and South Seas Exhibition.

One of the most picturesque figures amongst the Jewish brewers, and one who conducted the largest business of the kind, was Louis Ehrenfried. With his brother Bernard, he came to New Zealand during the Otago gold-rush, earning his living by packing stores for the miners. He acquired a valuable property at Mataura, but lost it when he guaranteed a friend who failed to pay. His ventures on the West Coast did not succeed, and he left the area owing thousands of pounds. He later paid back every penny. Establishing a brewery at Thames, he succeeded in business and in local politics, his townspeople electing him as councillor and then as mayor of the borough. He extended his business to Auckland, where he eventually amalgamated with Messrs Brown, Campbell and Company which arrangement changed the firm's name to Campbell and Ehrenfried. Moss Davis bought into the part of the concern known as the Captain Cook's Brewery, and later on became its sole proprietor. Ehrenfried won esteem as a happy philanthropist and as a liberal supporter of Jewish institutions. When he died, thousands attended his funeral.
In the maritime sphere, the Isaacs family, as well as L. D. Nathan and Company, helped to establish New Zealand's shipping industry. A Londoner by birth, Edward Isaacs migrated, in about 1840, to Tasmania, where he worked with a whaling and sandalwood firm trading in the South Sea Islands. Later, he opened his own business in Melbourne and Auckland, to which city he sent his brothers Henry and George, he eventually joining them. Edward Isaacs participated in the formation of the Auckland Shipping Company, which later merged with the New Zealand Shipping Company. He sat on the Auckland City Council from 1875 to 1879. His brother Henry also served on the Council from 1871 to 1874, and in 1875 had the honour of being elected as Auckland's second mayor.

Another firm of Jewish origin, Levin and Company, also contributed to New Zealand's advance in the maritime and commercial world. Apart from accepting the agency of the Shaw Savill Line, Nathaniel Levin, the head of the firm, ordered a ship, the Wellington, to be built at Glasgow for the Company. In 1868, Nathaniel Levin retired in favour of his son William Hort Levin who became the most popular man in Wellington. When he married Miss Fitzgerald at St Peter's Church, the ships by Lambton Quay flew pennants in honour of the wedding. His father did not attend. He had left Wellington permanently five years previously for London, where he became a partner in Redfern, Alexander and Company. Besides serving as a city councillor, William Hort Levin also acted as President of the Chamber of Commerce, and gave £1000, to which his father added £100, in order to start a free library for Wellington. William Hort Levin declined

to stand for mayor. A director of many companies and president of many sporting clubs, he was also considered by the city to be one of its most philanthropic sons. Popularly known to all as Willie Levin, he had a town in New Zealand named after him. The Wellington and Manawatu Railway Company Limited had received a franchise to build a railway line, along which it had to place stations every three miles. The Company surveyed sites and settlements for its own business. As a director of the Company, Levin received the honour of having his name given to one of the settlements. He died in 1893 at the age of forty-eight. At the news, the City Council and Parliament adjourned, a dinner at Government House was postponed, and an operatic performance abandoned. Schools closed, picnics and an exhibition of fine arts were put off for another day, bells tolled and flags flew at half-mast. His relatives cremated him as a Christian, and his friends, besides erecting a plaque for him at St Paul's Church, also founded a memorial for him by establishing a cottage home for orphans called the Levin Home for Friendless Children. People named him "Wellington's greatest benefactor".His father, Nathaniel Levin, outlived him by ten years. His relatives buried him in the Jewish Cemetery at Willesden, London.

Another large Wellington firm, pioneered by the blind Jacob Joseph, and with wide mercantile and maritime connections, prospered romantically until its name became known throughout the world. The business which Jacob Joseph had built on Lambton Quay succeeded to such an extent that he held freehold property in nearly every street of the city, besides large estates in the country. He owned the ships Stormbride and Huia. Promoter of the Colonial Assurance Company, he later merged it with the Commercial Union Assurance Company. His brother-in-law, Joseph E. Nathan, bought a partner's interest in the firm, and later changed the name of the business to Joseph Nathan and Company, which often became confused with the firm of L. D. Nathan of Auckland, with which it had no connection whatsoever. A man of extraordinary vision, Joseph Nathan proposed the formation of the Wellington Harbour Board, and promoted the Wellington and Manawatu Railway Company Limited, the chief privately owned and managed railway in the country, and which the Government ultimately purchased. A director of many companies, he helped to pioneer the co-operative movement in New Zealand, and purchased many large parcels of land around Palmerston North where one company pastured herds, and eventually built part of its laboratories. Its products include the world-renowned "Glaxo" food, and chemical antibiotics.

Bendix Hallenstein, who started out in business in a small way in Invercargill and Queenstown, also flourished, after he had removed to Dunedin, to become known throughout the length and breadth of New Zealand. He founded the New Zealand Clothing Factory, and the branches of his firm, Hallenstein Brothers, are situated in every town of note throughout the country. Another firm which he founded and on which he acted as Chairman of Directors, the Drapery and General Importing Company, became widely-known as the D.I.C. His name also became associated with the leather trade through Michaelis, Hallenstein and Farquhar and Company. Serving as Consul for Germany, he returned to his birthplace in order to resign his post, but the German Government begged him to retain his position. A man of discernment and keen acumen, he foresaw the rise of the Japanese and their threat to trade and to the western world.

In Dunedin, two early pioneers, Adolph Bing and Wolf Harris, entered into a partnership to found the well-known New Zealand firm of Bing, Harris and Company, leading softgoods importers. Other businesses of good and wide repute which contributed to the country's commercial advance included P. Hayman and Company, merchants, with branches in the four main cities, and J. Myers and Company, importers, founded by Judah Myers of West-port, Hokitika, Motueka and, finally, Wellington, whose brilliant children climbed the ladder of fame. His son Michael became Chief Justice of New Zealand. David Edward Theomin, a son of the Jewish minister of Bristol, traded as a jewellery and general importer under the name of D. Benjamin and Company, a name his father had adopted. He was President of the Dunedin Chamber of Commerce, and his co-religionists regarded him as the pillar of the community. Gabriel and Louis Lewis established one of the leading soft goods firms in Auckland, Lewis Brothers. They also promoted mining

companies in London, whilst their friend Lewis Moses established the New Zealand Mortgage, Loan and Discount Bank.

The good name for which the Jews strove in business did not apply only to the merchants in the city. Wherever they settled in country towns they contributed to the prosperity of the district and the welfare of the townspeople. No better examples can be cited than that of the Caselberg family at Masterton and the Friedlander family at Ashburton. A good measure of the development of the areas of these towns can be attributed to them. Myer Caselberg, a Polish Jew, commenced business in New Zealand at Bluff, where he remained for two years. He then moved to the Wairarapa, and opened branches of his firm at Featherston, Greytown and Masterton, which he made his headquarters. With J. Nathan and Company he founded the Wairarapa Farmers' Co-operative Association, which opened its branches in many parts and proved of valuable assistance to the man on the land. Caselberg served on the Masterton Council for many years, being elected mayor from 1885 to 1887, during which term he introduced many facilities for the improvement of the town.

At Ashburton, Hugo Friedlander, the brains behind the firm Friedlander Brothers, displayed amazing courage and fortitude, besides initiative and enterprise, in conducting the stock and station business. Almost a helpless cripple, he carried on the firm's affairs from a wheel-chair or from his sickbed. He was widely known in the district for his liberality to struggling farmers, and many a station-owner around Ashburton owed his success to his benevolent thoughtfulness and to that of the other members of the Friedlander family. When Mayor of Ashburton, he gave £1000 towards the establishment of the Ashburton High School, and, when he moved to Christchurch, acted as the Chairman of the Lyttelton Harbour Board and started a Coal and Blanket Fund for the poor. On his death he left a huge sum for charity.

An amazing number of Jewish men who came out and lived in New Zealand in the latter half of the nineteenth century possessed the pioneer spirit which made New Zealand the country it is today. Strong in character and men of personality, they used their faculties and outstanding ability for the benefit of New Zealand. In 1884, David Ziman offered to pay half the cost of building a battleship to be presented by New Zealand to Britain. He proposed the Government pay the other half. Coming from South Australia, Ziman had made a fortune by amalgamating all the small gold-mining concerns into the Consolidated Goldfields Company. The new company also succeeded.

Another amazing man, Michael Fliirscheim, tried to alter New Zealand's monetary system. As a young man he had entered his uncle's banking business in his birthplace, Frankfurt-on-Main. He moved to Paris and then to America, and on his return to his home town published the American News,a paper in English for foreigners in Germany. With his profits he bought the Gaggenau Iron Works, a firm employing forty hands, which he developed into a company employing 1000 men, one of the biggest in the country. After selling out, he travelled in Switzerland, England and, finally, New Zealand, where he advocated schemes for money, currency and exchange reforms. He wrote many books in English and German including Rent, Interest and Wages, Money Island and Clue to the Economic Labyrinth.

The contribution made by the soldier-sailor settler of the Maori Wars,Coleman Phillips, towards the progress and development of New Zealand is perhaps not recognized. In 1872, he made a trip to Fiji and arranged a loan by Auckland merchants, principally by L. D. Nathan and Company, to King Thakambau, a measure which consolidated Britain's prestige in the islands, and finally led to their annexation to the Crown. He proposed the foundation of the Auckland and Fiji Banking Company and secured a steamship service with the islands, he himself sailing as captain on the first steamer on the run, the Star of the South. His outstanding ability enabled him, amidst all his negotiations, to pass the examinations for admission as a barrister. His scheme to annex Samoa for Britain attracted attention in New Zealand, but no enthusiasm, and his disappointment at the cumbersome and almost hostile attitude of the Colonial Office led to his refusal of the

offer made to him, when in England, to act as Consul for Britain at Samoa. In theTransactions of the Royal Colonial Institute, his paper on "Colonization of the Pacific" aroused interest amongst those concerned with the expansion of the Empire.

On his return to New Zealand, Coleman Phillips retired from practice as a barrister, and bought a share in the Dry River Estate in the Wairarapa. Besides establishing small farmers on the land, he formed at Greytown the first co-operative dairy-farm in Australasia. A man of ideas, he took a prominent part in the movement to annihilate the rabbit pest; imported Ayrshire and Dutch Friesian cattle; proposed the establishment of the New Zealand Flock Book and the Wellington Agricultural Show; and advocated the abolition of toll-gates. Some of the useful dairy and agricultural appliances first introduced by him included evaporators, swing churners and drainage ploughs. The first consignment of frozen mutton from the North Island, sent on the Lady locelyn to England in 1883, came from the Dry River Estate. A brilliant man in many ways, and one whose talents were perhaps somewhat wasted, he also turned his hand to literature, publishing many articles in the Transactions of the New Zealand Institute and other journals, in addition to an amended prayer-book for use in schools. In 1894, owing to trouble with the Lands Department, he gave up his run, resuming his profession as a barrister and serving as a councillor on the Carterton Council.

The brilliance, energy and ability of Coleman Phillips, which he so often placed at the disposal of the country, was not exceptional amongst Jews. The Jews of New Zealand took it as axiomatic that they should share their mental and spiritual gifts with their fellow countrymen.

CHAPTER XXI
JEWS AND JOURNALISM

WHEN THE MINERS POURED INTO THE SOUTH ISLAND DURING THE GOLD-RUSH, they demanded all types of commodities. One item which they regarded as indispensable to their comfort and needs was news. They thirsted for messages from home and knowledge of the intricacies of the political situation in New Zealand and the storm centres of the wide world. They wanted to know where work could be found, the price of gold and the opinions of the leader writers, and they expected learned articles on every conceivable subject. Keen competition fired the editors to express themselves forcibly. Miners did not enjoy platitudes. In any case, editors at that time usually took up journalism as a profession in order to make their opinions known to the public. The days when shareholders directed an editor's theme had not yet arrived. Alert, wily, witty, informed, sanguine, principled men conducted the miners' newspapers, and raised the standard of the New Zealand Press from that of parochial gazettes to make it a potent force of opinion both within the country and abroad. Two fearless, clever, experienced Jewish journalists began the metamorphosis—Benjamin Leopold Farjeon and Julius Vogel, both of whom became famed throughout the world, the former as a novelist and the latter as a politician.

Farjeon came from Whitechapel, the heart of the East End of London. His father, a strict Sephardi, insisted with severity upon his children's compliance with Jewish custom. Conformity irked Farjeon, who worked as a printer's devil by day and studied hard at night. At the age of thirteen he wrote verse. Three years later, with the help of an uncle, he left his unhappy home for Australia, and on board ship published fourteen issues of a handwritten news sheet, the Ocean Record. On arrival in Melbourne, he joined a group of Sephardi Jews under the leadership of Henry Cohen Pirani, which contemplated forming its own congregation with the assistance of the Bevis Marks Synagogue in London. On moving to Bendigo, then called Sandhurst, he took an active part in the assembly of the first congregation in the mining city. He started various newspapers, each of which contained his feature "Salmagundi on the Goldfields", in which he recounted the experiences which later became material for his novels. Finally, he received a more permanent

post on the Bendigo Advertiser. Whilst there, he took a keen interest in amateur theatricals. He wrote, produced and acted for the Bendigo Histrionic Club and the Sandhurst Garrick Club, societies which he himself helped to form. It is believed that either he or Julius Vogel, or both in conjunction, wanted to print a Jewish newspaper, the Australian Jewish Chronicle. Farjeon and Vogel met again in Dunedin, drawn thence by the discovery of gold. They themselves did not, however, seek the precious metal. They had a greater passion—printer's ink. They knew the miners and how to write about them and for them. Farjeon came as a correspondent for the Melbourne Argus, Vogel as a freelance journalist.

Like Farjeon, Vogel had been born in the Dutch Jewish quarter of the East End of London. According to his own account, he had been a delicate lad until thirteen years of age, and had been taught at home by his parents, Albert Leopold and Phoebe Vogel. They died a year later, from which time onwards his maternal grandfather, Alexander Isaac, a West Indian merchant, cared for him. He studied at the University College School, made a voyage to South America under the auspices of his grandfather, and worked in a stockbroker's office. When the news of Australian gold fired his imagination, he took a course in metallurgy and chemistry at the Royal School of Mines in order to fit himself for a new life. He arrived alone in Melbourne when only seventeen years of age. There is good reason to doubt the story of Vogel's education and the suggestion of his grandfather's wealth. The account of Vogel's early life appeared in the Otago Witness in an article probably deriving from Vogel himself. He had by that time reached the top rung of the political ladder, and it would not have suited him to suggest that he had no education at all. But his friends who knew him in Australia and on his arrival in New Zealand remembered the boast, which he had often expressed, that he was a "self-educated man". They laughed and scoffed at the tale of his studies. He could not have had much schooling even on his own admission, for between his thirteenth and seventeenth years he worked in his grandfather's office and as a stockbroker's clerk. The true facts probably were that he had never sailed for South America and that his parents could not afford to educate him. When they died he had to work as an office boy to eke out a living. It really made the saga of his career more romantic and extraordinary.

So many migrants were pouring into Melbourne when Vogel arrived in 1852, that he had to sleep in one of the seven thousand tents, the city's Canvas Town, beside the River Yarra. With A. S. Grant as a partner, he opened an assaying office in Flinders Lane, succeeding because of the support given to him by Montefiore and Kuhl and the Bank of Australasia. One week he cleared £57. He smelted tin into bricks and stamped on them, "From the first ton of colonial tin". These sold as souvenirs at a guinea each. A shortage of flour on the goldfields led him into a speculation in which he lost all his money. By the time his consignment arrived on the goldfields, the price had dropped considerably below the sum he had paid for it. He decided to go to the gold-mining town of Maryborough, where he partnered Dr Gagen in a drug-store and a Mr White in a wine and spirit business. A man with a fertile brain, he spent many of the long evenings writing for the Maryborough Advertiser, discovering a talent for journalism which led to an offer to conduct the Maryborough and Dunolly Times when the editor fell sick. He advocated the building of a Mechanics' Institute, energetic police action when two Jewish jewellery pedlars were cruelly murdered, and the improvement of conditions favouring the miners. His advocacy and righteous assertiveness won him popularity amongst the diggers, who knew him as a man always ready for a speculation and as a keen card-player. Independent by nature, he resolved to print his own newspaper. He bought a store at Inglewood, and published the Inglewood Advertiser, which became so popular that after eight numbers it appeared with advertisements only and without a word of news. His passion for lively company consolidated his gambling habits. He could not keep money. He transferred to Talbot where he edited the Talbot Leader, but during the slump he moved over to Avoca. When only twenty-six years old, he stood as a candidate for the Victorian Legislative Assembly as a freetrader independent. Badly defeated and sadly disappointed, he accepted the suggestion of Wolf Harris of Bing and Harris to go to Dunedin to start a newspaper for the miners.

In order to gain a perspective of conditions, he first wrote for the Colonist, and later acquired an interest in the Otago Witness. Persuading his partner, W. H. Cutten, to start a daily newspaper, a venture never before attempted in New Zealand, Vogel became part-owner and editor of the Otago Daily Times, with Benjamin L. Farjeon as manager and sub-leader writer. The first number appeared on Friday, 15 November, 1861, and consisted of five small pages. Twelve days later the premises were burnt down. Undaunted, the partners erected another building, and from that time the Otago Daily Times became one of the leading newspapers in the country. Farjeon did not act only as sub-editor. He also worked as a compositor, receiving with his co-workers 50 per cent more when transcribing Vogel's almost illegible handwriting. Maintaining his interest in the stage, Farjeon took part in the formation of the Dunedin Garrick Club and boosted it through his writings. Whilst working on the newspaper, his thoughts turned to authorship, and because of his possessing a remarkable quality, which, by an extraordinary coincidence, Vogel also shared, he fulfilled his ambition. He could think clearly about two separate ideas at the same time. Vogel's capacity for dual thought was paralleled by his capacity for food. He ate twice as much as the ordinary man. Through his gargantuan appetite he suffered from "poor man's gout". Farjeon's ability to carry two trains of thought simultaneously enabled him to complete his first novel Shadows on the Snow whilst performing his work as a compositor.

Favourably received by the local population, Farjeon sent the novel to Charles Dickens who saw merit in it and advised him to continue. Believing he had more opportunity in England, Farjeon prepared to return to the country of his birth, and in December, 1867, Vogel, in the office of the Otago Daily Times, presented his bosom friend with a gold case as a farewell token of esteem. A close bond had grown between them. Farjeon had bought a half share in the firm, and frequently he wrote Vogel's leading articles. So that copy would be ready in time, search parties would often have to be sent out for Vogel, who would be indulging his passion for cards. When he could not be found, Farjeon completed the task, but when the searchers did find him, Vogel would sit down and write an involved article in clear, lucid style in a matter of minutes.

When Farjeon returned to England he took with him the manuscript of another novel entitled Grif, which he published in London and which sold over 300,000 copies. He led a Bohemian life, meeting all types of artists and writers including Charles Dickens and Joseph L. Jefferson, whose daughter, Margaret, he married. He wrote many books and plays, drawing from his Australian and New Zealand experiences as well as depicting characters of his co-religionists whom he treated sympathetically. Apart from his successful writings, he also founded a literary family which included his daughter Eleanor and his grandson J. Jefferson Farjeon.

Before Farjeon left for London, the Otago Daily Times had been transformed into a public company which retained Vogel's services as editor. The arrangement did not last long. The day had arrived when directors and shareholders took a hand in laying down the political policy of the paper. Vogel differed with his principals. He advocated the separation of the South Island from the North Island. The Maori Wars in the north cost the taxpayers and the Government enormous sums of money which the authorities raised by heavy levies upon the rising wealth gained from gold and sheep in the peaceful south. Vogel persisted in his advocacy. Indispensable Vogel discovered that the directors of the newspaper he had founded did not regard him as absolutely essential. They dismissed him. He started another newspaper of his own, the New Zealand Sun, but it did not pay, and it folded up after a short life. Never discouraged, he then left Dunedin to reside in Auckland, where he bought the Southern Cross, the most famous of the early New Zealand newspapers. Accumulating political responsibilities impelled him to re-sell soon after he had acquired the newspaper. His name, however, had grown in the political sphere, and the directors retained his services at a very large salary, which enabled him to concentrate on politics and to write whenever he or the owners thought it necessary because of the political situation. By 1876, the urgency of his political career absorbed nearly all of his time. He severed his connection with the Southern Cross. His passion for printer's ink had been overwhelmed by his pleasure in power.

When Vogel and Farjeon laboured in partnership on the Otago Daily Times they engaged a clever young Jewish lad of sixteen as an office boy and student reporter. Mark Cohen worked for his co-religionists for about a year. Disgruntled about the low wages which he and his fellow printer's devils were receiving, he organized a strike of office boys. He next worked for the Evening Star. His private study of law, and his experience as a boy in London and at school in Ballarat and Melbourne, helped him as a reporter. Apart from a short time on the Independent and the Sun, he spent the rest of his life in association with the Star, progressing step by step until, in 1893, the newspaper offered him the post of editor. He won his way by long and devoted service, by efficiency and capable journalism, and as a forceful, convincing writer. A knack of choosing brilliant men to serve and write for the Star stamped him as a skilled and observant leader.

Civic minded, he served on the Dunedin City Council, contesting in 1888 the mayoral elections, in which he suffered defeat. Apart from journalism, education remained his strongest interest. After helping to organize the Dunedin and Suburban Schools' Association, he acted as its Chairman, as he did also of the Otago Education Board. He was a founder of the Dunedin Technical Classes and the Dunedin Free Kindergarten Association, the latter organization electing him a life member in recognition of his services. He believed in free public libraries and served as Honorary Secretary for the Dunedin branch, helping to organize the New Zealand Library Association. At the end of the nineteenth century, Mark Cohen was regarded as a man of considerable influence in the city of Dunedin and in the Province of Otago.

Another passionate educationalist, Frederick Pirani, also earned his living by journalism. His father, Henry Cohen Pirani, had come over from Victoria to follow the miners to Hokitika, where he was connected with a local newspaper. H. C. Pirani had been an imposing and an important figure in the early Jewish life in Melbourne, taking part in the establishment of its Jewish school, and leading the small group of Sephardi Jews. At one stage he favoured the establishment of a separate Sephardi congregation in Victoria, hoping for aid and support from the sister community at Bevis Marks, London. He conducted Sephardi services on the High Holydays, firstly in the hall of the synagogue of the Melbourne Hebrew Congregation and later at his own home. Financial difficulties may have brought him to the west coast of New Zealand where Frederick Pirani received his education. Both he and his brother David received an apprenticeship in the printing trade. Whilst David engaged in journalism in Hawkes Bay, Poverty Bay and Palmerston North, Frederick served as a tyro on the Wanganui Herald. The two brothers travelled a great deal, David returning to Victoria where he started the Woodend Star and then the Eaglehawk Standard, and Frederick going to Blenheim where he served on the school committee. Finally, the two brothers joined forces in 1891, when they took over the Wanganui Standard, and later again when they moved to Palmerston North to conduct the Manawatu Daily Standard.

Extremely able and confident, Frederick Pirani possessed a vital, trenchant pen, expressing his opinions forthrightly and fearlessly. Besides his entry into politics, he had many other interests which were indicated by the different types of organization on which he served. He acted as Chairman of the Palmerston North School Board, Chairman of the Wanganui Education Board, President of the Manawatu and West Coast Agricultural and Pastoral Association, as a member of the Wellington Land Board and the Middle District University Council and as a member of the Borough Council. He was the only member returned to the Licensing Council on a Temperance ticket. His energy, vitality and effervescent brilliance mirrored an earlier Vogel, and as a young man it seemed as if he would follow in Vogel's footsteps and reach the heights of success.

Among other Jews connected with the Press, two young stars shone brightly in the firmament of journalism, maintaining the high standards set by Vogel and Farjeon. Frederick Ehrenfried Baume attracted attention at the University of Otago by his brilliant versatility, winning medals for science and political economy besides completing the courses in commerce and journalism. When he had completed his studies he accepted a post as editor of the Timaru Herald, but later

he changed his profession, practising in Auckland as a lawyer and entering local politics by serving as a member of the Auckland City Council and the Auckland Harbour Board.

Phineas Selig, the son of the Rev. B. A. Selig, first received his taste for journalism as a reader in the Government Printing Office, and later worked in the same capacity on the Lyttelton Times. Transferring to Sydney for experience, he acted as a correspondent for The Times, London. On his return, he started the Referee with A. E. Bird. It became the official calendar for all the New Zealand Jockey Clubs. When he amalgamated with the Canterbury Press Company in 1891, he became the editor of the Referee portion of the Weekly Press and Referee, later being appointed manager of the whole concern. As a great sporting administrator, he was appointed President of the New Zealand Trotting Association and later of the Trotting Conference. He loved athletics. As one of the oldest councillors of the New Zealand Amateur Athletic Association, he managed many touring teams which competed in Australia. He also founded the Public Schools' Amateur Athletic Association of North Canterbury. With the passing of the years, the Press recognized him as the doyen of sporting journalists.

Small as their numbers may have been, the Jews made a substantial contribution to the New Zealand Press, influencing it for the welfare of the public, and raising it to a standard equal to any in other parts of the world.

CHAPTER XXII
THE JEWS IN ARTS AND CIVICS

AS COULD BE EXPECTED IN A YOUNG COUNTRY LIKE NEW ZEALAND, it took time before the community developed its own resources in art, literature and scholarship. Few of the pioneers who migrated to the country had sufficient leisure to devote to the aesthetic aspects of life, or the time to attain heights of renown. Their days were occupied in earning their daily bread or in seeking security. It may have been expected that the Jews, who had a long tradition in the love of learning and music, would soon have produced men and women of prominence in those spheres. However, besides the Jewish population's being comparatively few in number, most of the migrants came to the country when young, and did not have the opportunity to develop any talents they may have possessed. Moreover, the London Jews, after their families had. lived in England for two centuries, had lost some of the enthusiasm for study for its own sake implanted in their forefathers of Spain and Holland. Nevertheless, they did share with the Scots a recognition of a need for education, and when the Presbyterians created the University of Otago at Dunedin and the Church of England later founded the Canterbury University College at Christchurch, quite a number of Jewish parents hastened to take advantage of the facilities to give their children a higher education. It produced results. Some showed promise of their future. F. E. Baume received honours in a number of faculties at the University of Otago. At the same university, Saul Solomon, after a brilliant course, became Otago's second graduate. He took up law, and after admission to the Bar, acted in many celebrated cases. With F. E. Baume he took silk amongst the first King's Counsel appointed in New Zealand in 1907. Besides law, Solomon loved horses. Successful on the turf, he served as Vice-President of the Dunedin Jockey Club for a number of years. The courts knew him as an eminent barrister, and the public as a sportsman who drove a crack team in double harness.

Otago University also produced Phineas Levi, another successful lawyer of note, and Ethel R. Benjamin, the first woman solicitor in New Zealand, who published papers on "Women and Workers" and "Women and the Study and Practice of Law". When she received her degree in 1897, she replied on behalf of the undergraduates, the first occasion a lady did so. Septimus Myers served on the Board of Examiners of the Dental Faculty. He took a prominent part in public affairs and sporting organizations. Besides being elected Mayor of the Borough of North

East Valley, he presided at the North East Boating Club, Tahuna Park Trotting Club, the National County Club of New Zealand, the Otago Cycling Club and the Dunedin Dog and Poultry Society. His interests did not lack variety.

Only one or two New Zealand women have won international fame in music. Madame Asher, the daughter of David Davis of Christchurch, sang at the Metropolitan Opera House, New York, as a lyric soprano. Nevertheless, a number of Jews did make a contribution towards the appreciation of music in the country. One of the rare London Sephardi families which retained the Jewish love for learning, the Keesing family, had many of its members associated with musical societies. Maurice Ralph Keesing, recognized as a good amateur musician, worked as a barrister and solicitor. He gave up his profession for the purpose of teaching languages and a memory system of his own, "The Imperial Memory System", which he had devised after intense study in philology and metaphysics. George Cashmore Israel, an Otago educationalist, helped to found the Dunedin Competitions Society and Dunedin Choral Society. If she had not died when young, Martha Myers, a daughter of Judah Myers of Motueka, may have added to her early successes as a mezzo-soprano and as a pianist. At Palmerston North, Maurice Cohen, the branch manager of J. Nathan and Company, and later mayor of the town, besides being interested in polo and cricket, conducted the orchestra for the Orchestral Society of Palmerston North for over twenty years. One of Canterbury University College's most brilliant students on record, Alfred Charles Sandstein, took a prominent part in musical and dramatic public performances in Christchurch. Whilst studying medicine in England he had associated with the Strolling Players Amateur Orchestral Society.

That which the Jews lacked in numbers, they made up for in their remarkable record of voluntary public and civic service, unequalled perhaps in any other part of the world. Wherever they resided they served on city, town and borough councils with devotion and sacrifice and with no thought of personal gain or profit. It silently expressed the blessings of freedom and equality. For Jews it translated in a realistic and effective fashion the teachings of Judaism of loving one's neighbour be he Jew or Gentile, and of working for the common weal. Their election to senior positions in communal endeavour was not merely coincidental. Before education became compulsory in New Zealand, the average Jew had an advantage over the average Gentile. Whilst the majority of Gentile migrants came from homes of the labouring classes who had not been taught to read or write, the Jewish migrant, with very rare exceptions, no matter if he came from the poorest surroundings, would at least have a knowledge of Hebrew and the Bible besides an acquaintance with secular subjects. The religious background and upbringing of the Jews gave them a dignity and honesty of purpose which may have been lacking in others. Poverty and town life had made them alert and quick witted. The Englishman who had resided in London usually possessed a cockney sense of humour which, together with his friendliness, won him popularity wherever he went. The Polish-German Jews, because of their intensive training and education, easily won respect and confidence.

In spite of difficulties of language, Bendix Hallenstein became Mayor of Queenstown and Louis Ehrenfried Mayor of Thames. They both came from Germany. Myer Caselberg, Mayor of Masterton, and Samuel Edward Shrimski, Mayor of Oamaru, originated in Poland. Born in Posen, Shrimski joined Joseph Moss in business at Oamaru, and together they built the first stone building in the district. They both served on the Town Council, and Moss, a keen sportsman, accepted a unique honour for a Jew—a directorship on the Caledonian Society. Treasurer of the Hospital Trustees and founder of the Athenaeum, Shrimski originated and acted as first chairman of the Waitaki High School Board. He influenced the school to choose a Biblical motto, "The Lord is the source of wisdom", which appears in Hebrew letters on the crest on the wall of the school and on all school stationery.

The names of English Jews appear more frequently than those of Polish or German Jews as members of councils in the smaller towns of New Zealand. Amongst the more prominent Jews, Solomon Abrahams served as Mayor of Palmerston North, Henry Nathan as Mayor of Wanganui,

Moss Jonas as Mayor of Timaru and J. H. Levien as Mayor of Nelson. Hyman Phineas Cohen served on the Napier Borough Council and as Chairman of the Hawkes Bay Hospital and Charitable Aids Board, and Abraham Goldwater on the Borough Council of New Plymouth. A relative, D. L. Goldwater, was appointed to the executive of the New Zealand and Australian Natives' Association.

In the four largest cities of New Zealand, Auckland, Wellington, Dunedin and Christchurch, the contribution of Jews towards their city's advancement has been impressive. In Auckland a council had been formed about 1852, but the English Government disallowed the Act upon which its finances were based, and the Council disbanded. A Board of Commissioners conducted Auckland's affairs from 1869 to 1871 with Philip Aaron Philips and Asher Asher, the Chief of the Auckland Fire Brigade, amongst its members. Philips, one of Auckland's leading citizens, introduced the Municipal Corporations Act, and the Council, which met in a bookseller's shop in Queen Street, elected him as its first mayor. The city also elected him as its representative on the Provincial Council until its abolition in 1876. A good leader, Philips introduced many innovations into municipal life such as the establishment of the Free Public Library, the foundation of the Mechanics' Institute, of which he was President, the building of a city market and the acquisition of an adequate water-supply. His business suffered because of the depression after the Waikato War, and after his retirement as mayor, the city appointed him as town clerk, a position which he filled with success for twenty-seven years. He was on the Harbour Board and Education Board, and took a deep interest in Freemasonry and the Auckland Hebrew Congregation, of which he was President for twenty-five years. Besides contributing to the Auckland newspapers, he acted as a regular correspondent for the Press in London and Australia. The Jewish community considered itself honoured when Philips retired as mayor and the city fathers elected a coreligionist, Henry H. Isaacs, to succeed him. Another prominent Auckland citizen, Laurence D. Nathan, also served as a councillor, whilst A. H. Nathan was elected Chairman of the Auckland Harbour Board.

Although no Jew was elected Mayor of Wellington, W. H. Levin, the first Chairman of the Harbour Board, had been offered the post but refused to accept it. Another Jew, Lionel Lewis Harris, contested an election for the mayoral position but lost. He had been one of the first Jewish men in the Hokitika gold-rush and the first man to cross the Okarita Bar. He saw the riots at Okarita and at Bruce Bay, where the infuriated miners sacked every shop in the area. In Wellington he started business as a private banker, which fact almost automatically elected him to the Finance Committee of the Council. He also organized the city's Fire Brigade. Lewis Moss, who had been elected to the first Wellington City Council in 1870, acted as the captain of the brigade. Harris's uncle, Lipman Levy, who assisted in the establishment of the Tram Board, had two Wellington streets named after him, Levy Street and Lipman Street. He shared that honour with Samuel Salek who named two streets he constructed Salek Street and Te Whiti, the latter because he had been sent as one of the Oamaru Guards to Taranaki to assist in the arrest of Te Whiti.

One of the youngest men to be elected to the Wellington City Council, Joseph Myers, a son of Judah Myers of Motueka, was a brilliant debater, and won a gold medal for his ability in this field. A keen sportsman, he earned election as president of a number of football clubs. Other Wellington councillors of the Jewish faith included Ralph Levoi and Frank Moeller.

At Christchurch, Charles Louisson, a pillar of the local synagogue, was four times elected mayor. An important figure in the district, he served on a number of charitable boards and on the committee of various racing clubs. In 1888, the Government appointed him one of the country's representatives as a commissioner at the Melbourne International Exhibition. Another pillar of the synagogue who occasionally conducted the services, David Davis, served as a member of the Canterbury Provincial Council.

Councillor Alfred Isaac Raphael handed down a sporting tradition to his two sons Henry Joseph Raphael, President of the Canterbury Bowling Club and Fred Raphael, Secretary to the Cricket Council of New Zealand. He entertained all overseas cricket teams which came to Christchurch. Marcus Sandstein, another city councillor, raised two distinguished sons, Alfred Charles and Ernest Max, who won honours in medicine and optics.

At Dunedin, besides Mark Cohen, the acknowledged leader of the progressive party on the City Council, Abraham Solomon and Bernard Isaac also served with sincerity on the same municipal body. Isaac was responsible for the opening on Sundays of the Athenaeum in Dunedin. He said that if a Gentile would not work on Sunday he would be prepared to enter for three years into an arrangement to attend as a Jew.

In civics as well as in commerce and the Press, the Jews in New Zealand could reflect with pride and satisfaction upon their record. For their numbers, they compared more than favourably with any other denomination. They represented an influence for good. They were men of responsibility who accepted their duty as a privilege. New Zealand could be gratified that she had such men in her midst.

CHAPTER XXIII
JEWS IN THE LEGISLATURE

THE SPLENDID RECORD WHICH THE JEWS IN NEW ZEALAND had achieved in the civic life of the community was equalled by their record as representatives of the people in the New Zealand Legislature. From the time that Julius Vogel was elected as a member of the House of Representatives in 1863, at least one Jew occupied a seat in the Legislature for a continuous period of over ninety years. The break in the chain occurred with the abolition of the Legislative Council on 1 January, 1951, and the death of the Hon. Elliot R. Davis in 1954.

New Zealand's Upper House differed from England's House of Lords and the Legislative Councils in Australia. A seat in the House of Lords was gained by appointment to the nobility or through hereditary descent. In Australia, although at first a seat on the various councils was by nomination of the Governor of each colony, by 1860 all but one of the colonies had resorted to responsible government of the people by the introduction of elections for both the Upper and Lower Houses. In New Zealand, however, throughout the existence of the Legislative Council, which was established in 1853, until its abolition, membership was entirely by nomination of the Governor. Until 1892, the Governor regarded appointments as his sole prerogative, but after a dispute with the Government of the time, the Governor was informed by the Colonial Office that he had to take the advice of his responsible ministers. All appointments to the Council carried with them the title of "The Honourable".

In the nineteenth century three Jews were appointed to New Zealand's Upper House—Nathaniel Levin, Samuel Edward Shrimski and Charles Louisson. Nathaniel Levin of Wellington was called to the Council in 1869, and retired in 1871 before leaving New Zealand permanently to reside in England. He did not make one speech. He had been offered a seat in 1862, but did not accept it as he intended travelling abroad at the time. Charles Louisson of Christchurch received his call in December, 1900. Rare honours came to S. E. Shrimski. He had the unique experience of sitting as a member of both the Lower and Upper Houses of Parliament, and when called to the Council was appointed for life. Elected to the House of Representatives in May, 1885, as a member for Waitaki, he later changed his constituency to become member for Oamaru, finally resigning from the Lower Chamber to PAGE 165 be called to the Upper House as the Legislative Councillor for Otago. He seldom spoke in debate, but on and off for years, in both chambers, whenever the matter of compulsory religious teaching in schools arose in discussions on the

Education Bill, he would let his voice be heard. As the Chairman of the North Otago Education Board and Vice-President of the Otago branch of the Anglo-Jewish Association, he had a personal interest in the subject.

In 1877 a public controversy broke out about the matter. Previously, in Christchurch, L. E. Nathan had solved the problem by arranging with the Board of Education that Jewish children whose parents objected to their being examined in the New Testament, could have them examined only in the Old Testament. When Parliament threatened to introduce compulsory religious instruction in schools, the Wellington Hebrew Congregation, on behalf of the other communities, prepared a petition opposing the scheme and declared itself in favour of free, compulsory, secular education. In Parliament, Shrimski attacked the Church of England and the Presbyterian clergymen of Dunedin who overwhelmingly turned down a proposal that nothing should be done until the Roman Catholic and Jewish authorities had been consulted. He claimed that Jews supported the State and that they should not have to go to extra expense in order to teach their children or listen to religious instruction repugnant to them. He did not favour Jewish children absenting themselves during scripture lessons as it would make them the "targets for ridicule and sneers of other children". Supposing the Protestants were in the minority, he continued, would they like Jews or Catholics to make laws to which they objected? Although members in the Legislative Council protested against the non-recognition of the Christian religion in the Education Bill, all amendments to eliminate compulsory religious instruction were passed.

Five years later, attempts to introduce amendments into the Education Bill in order to permit Bible readings in schools were strenuously opposed by Shrimski amongst others. He advocated that the introduction of Bible readings would destroy the educational system. All children, he said, should be educated under one roof. The House, he continued, "sympathized greatly with the torture to which a certain portion of God's creatures have been subjected. And what is the cause of all this? To a large extent denominational education." He hoped that the education system would not be interfered with. The House translated his hopes into reality by voting against the amendment by sixty-three votes to fourteen.

Shrimski rose again a year later as the champion of democracy when he protested in Parliament against the Auckland Education Board's demanding that teachers should register with the religious denomination to which they belonged. When the Minister gave evasive answers to his questions, he indignantly declared that it was an invidious thing to ask a man to declare what his religion was.

When Shrimski transferred to the Legislative Council, a further attempt by the diehards to introduce Bible readings prompted a splendid reply by him reviewing most of the arguments against its introduction. His speech influenced the Council to reject the amendments by seventeen votes to sixteen. In the Lower Chamber, Vogel made a pertinent observation when he stated that he favoured a religious upbringing, but that religion should not be taught in schools. The State could not be a teacher of religion.

The diehards never gave up, and again and again they brought in amendments to alter the Education Bill. The Council was almost equally divided and the matter was finally shelved for a number of years when the Council voted equally and the Speaker gave his casting vote against any alteration of the status quo.

Shrimski's participation in the debates concerning education seemed to give him courage, for he began to speak more frequently on various subjects. He particularly championed the cause of the Chinese, admiring their industry and honesty, and loathing the tyranny which some unenlightened people would have enjoyed inflicting upon them. Horror and persecution in his own country of birth inspired him to fight fearlessly for the underdog, especially for a people long misunderstood by Westerners, and of whose many virtues they remained either ignorant or apathetic.

Besides the problem of compulsory religious education in schools, another question which concerned all the New Zealand Jewish communities came before Parliament in 1894. The Government introduced a Bill which had as its purpose the improvement of conditions in the matter of the slaughter of animals. Fearful that the Bill would affect the Jewish method of Shehitah, the committee of the Dunedin Synagogue, its minister and the mayor of the city, telegraphed the mover of the motion, D. Pinkerton, to insert a clause allowing Jews to continue with their method of Kosher slaughtering. To their relief, Parliament agreed.

Popular William Hort Levin was elected member of the House of Representatives for the City of Wellington in 1879, and in 1881 as member for Thorndon, but during his term of office he hardly ever took part in debates. Nevertheless, he probably would have been elected to Parliament for as long as he would have desired on account of his popularity, but ill-health compelled him to resign to the regret of many in the capital city and in Parliament itself. Bendix Hallenstein's term in the Lower House as member for Wakatipu lasted only for a year, during which he spoke three times, asking two questions and reading a maiden speech from paper owing to his difficulty with the language. Yet he had specific ideas concerning Vogel's spending on public works. Although he looked upon himself as a progressive man, he regarded Vogel's programme as too daring. He spoke feelingly about his adopted country which he wished to make a home for his children. Knowing his limitations in speech, and preferring commerce, he did not stand for Parliament again after his initial experience, but gave his mind to business in which he was eminently successful.

In contrast to Levin and Hallenstein, Frederick Pirani, when elected to the House of Representatives for Palmerston North in 1893, spoke frequently and brilliantly on every conceivable subject which came before the House for discussion. Many believed he would eventually outshine Julius Vogel. Independent, a trenchant critic and forthright in expression, with an appreciation of a piquant turn of phrase learnt during his experience as a journalist, he was one of the Young New Zealand Party which offered troubled opposition to the Seddon Government, and became a thorn in its side. But he never reached Vogel's heights. Pirani did not learn to compromise. Vogel did, though not at the cost of principle. Vogel also had the knack of political timing, knowing when to change his tune and tempo, and thus became one of New Zealand's outstanding politicians and one who, in the period of his parliamentary life, achieved for the advancement of the country more than any other man in his generation and after.

CHAPTER XXIV
SIR JULIUS VOGEL

VOGEL STARTED HIS POLITICAL CAREER IN NEW ZEALAND IN 1862, when he unsuccessfully contested an election for a seat in the Otago Provincial Council. Undeterred, he stood for the Waikouaiti seat in the following year and succeeded. Flushed with triumph, he sought further honours in the House of Representatives as member for Dunedin South. The electors rejected him. However, he won a seat in the General Assembly in circumstances which might be considered the most extraordinary by which a member gained election to a major parliamentary body. In 1863, the representative for Dunedin and Suburbs North resigned. As a journalist, Vogel covered the scene for the new nominations. On his arrival, only the Returning Officer and he were present. Quickly summing up the situation, Vogel sent out for two or three people, and in a few minutes he was proposed, seconded and declared elected.

At the time, few people cared about the Legislative Council and less still about the Lower House. The Provincial Councils reigned supreme. Local politics took preference over national problems. Each province stood like an island in a sea of forest and undeveloped land. Lack of roads and railways and regular communications in general hampered the large-scale development of the country, and the Council and Assembly in Auckland were looked upon as being more a symbol

of national unity than bodies legislating for the country as a whole. It sometimes took weeks to reach Auckland from the South Island. Long delays had to be expected in correspondence. The provinces could not afford to be ruled and dictated to by a body hundreds of miles away which knew little about local conditions and sometimes cared less. From the South Island, only persons of little occupation desired to sit in the Legislature in Auckland almost in political isolation.

Vogel, however, at the early age of twenty-eight, did choose to go to Auckland. He had already developed into an extraordinary man of foresight, of ideas and ambition. He believed in himself as a man of destiny who could bring progress to New Zealand and who could transform it into a great land. Confident in the extreme, he knew the day would surely come when national interests would have to take precedence over the parochial. Others supposed it would take generations to achieve; he conjectured he would see its realization in his own lifetime. Many thought him "unstable as water" because of PAGE 169 his schemes and his private passion for playing cards, but actually he was a man of remarkable vision and yet, at the same time, realistic. Inquisitive, far-seeing, with a grasping intellect, he was a brilliant financier; when others would speak in terms of pence, he would declaim in terms of pounds. Others would plan for public works in thousands; he planned in millions.

Short, stocky, unprepossessing in looks, squarish in face and adorned with a large black beard, Vogel did not attract friends by his appearance. Yet he won friendship easily in spite of his dogmatic views. A good mixer amongst all classes, he spoke each man's language. Fond of jovial company and a pleasant and true companion himself, he attracted comrades to him by his suavity and good humour and by his magnetic eyes and voice. He was imperturbably polite and good-tempered. Not an orator but a forceful speaker, he gained a reputation as a debater without rival because of his self-command and coolness when others would have become heated and confused. Outwardly calm, inwardly he would be full of fight and fire. He could cloud an issue in a mist of words, soothe and placate a tempestuous crowd or an adversary, but with the stroke of a few pithy phrases could strike down an unruly enemy. Suffering from a slight defect in hearing, he would be conveniently deaf when occasion demanded it. Democratic in outlook yet progressive in his views, his honesty of purpose and desire to work for the common weal gained him respect even amongst many who disliked him. An insatiable capacity for work and a quiet spirit of determination sustained him in moments of crisis.

Although Vogel won many friends, he also acquired many foes. They distrusted him because they did not understand him. As he was a Jew, they suspected his motives. His enemies called him "Jew-lius Rex". One described him as a "startling figure of a little Jew from Otago". Many considered his financial schemes fantastic. The old school looked upon him as an upstart, too sanguine and too assertive. His plans bewildered them. They did not want to accept the fact that he was the only statesman with ideas or with sufficient experience to push them. Even Gisbome, the historian, who knew him well, described him as "sensational, autocratic, endowed with great force and strong will, persistent, fertile in resources, ambitious, adventurous and remarkable for general ability". He mistook Vogel when he stated that he was over fond of personal power, popular adulation and apt to be a dictator. Nor did he love money for the sake of display as Gisborne alleged. All public men accept the honey of the appreciation of their admirers. Vogel had strong opinions and expressed them forcibly, but he did not dictate. When he sought money it was not for display but for his own security and that of his family. He died a very poor man.

Rusden, the historian, disliked Vogel intensely, but he showed prejudice against all Jews. Vogel first came into national prominence when, in 1865, he proposed a great lottery for disposing of the native lands which had been acquired by confiscation in the Maori Wars. He suggested that the prizes in the lottery of two million £1 tickets should include free passages from Britain for the winners, of whom 175 were to be cabin passengers and 18,870 in steerage. The land would be divided into 6121 lots, varying from one section of 100,000 acres to 4200 sections of 50 acres. The immigrants, who would have to show only £1 on landing would be sent to model, well-provided settlements, protected against attack by natives. Rusden sarcastically observed:

"Though the plan reeked of an atmosphere to be found between Shoreditch and Whitechapel, the immigrants were to be moral, the settlement model and no differences were anticipated with Maoris." Rusden, however, was blind to Vogel's ability. He described Vogel thus: "Having kept a small shop at a rural township in Australia, he had migrated to Otago. Having talent for intrigue and sufficient literary ability for the local press, he obtained a position in the Provincial Government and was elected to the Assembly for Dunedin and suburbs north." When, later, Vogel initiated a plan to borrow £6,000,000 for defence, immigration, public works and other purposes, Rusden bitterly remarked of the Members of Parliament that, "caught with the glitter of the thirty pieces of silver, a majority accepted the bait. It placed the future in the hands of a pawnbroker ... a prophet whose god was money." He suggested that the Government was "like a young spendthrift in the hands of a Jew on a wild career, it trampled on maxims of prudence and ungrateful compunctions of conscience". In spite of Rusden's spiteful criticism, Vogel received authorization to borrow £4,000,000 for immigration and public works, and £1,000,000 for the purpose of defence and sundry needs.

When Vogel, in 1870, made his financial proposals to borrow money in order to build roads and railways, and for the purpose of immigration so as to open up the country, he made them as Colonial Treasurer in the Fox Government. He had gone a long way since the day he had first entered the House of Representatives. He had made his presence felt immediately. On the first day he took his seat he made a maiden speech opposing the punishment of the Maoris by the confiscation of their lands. Within two years he had brought about the resignation of the Government on the issue of provincialism versus centralization. An ardent provincialist, he realistically opposed the centralization of power into the hands of the Government at Auckland. As long as the country lacked efficient communications, the federation of the provinces would hinder progress. The transfer of the capital from Auckland to Wellington made little difference to his contentions.

The costly Maori Wars in the North Island urged Vogel to propose separation of the South Island from it. His proposals received a mixed reception in Dunedin. It cost him his post as editor of the Otago Daily Times. He also decided to change his constituency from Dunedin to the Goldfields, Otago, where his popularity was greatest. His prolific and forceful speeches and arguments gained for him the post of Provincial Treasurer and made him leader of Otago, which he ruled for the next three years. Control over the goldfields became an issue and a test of strength between him and the Government at Wellington. He persuaded his Provincial Council to guarantee twelve months' salary to all officials on the goldfields, and at one place took possession of all buildings, put padlocks on the doors and posted police outside. When the centralists brought axes to force their way into the buildings, the police intervened. A subsequent plebiscite taken on the goldfields confirmed Vogel's policy, for he had turned a strong opposition into an overwhelming following. The miners and the traders voted in favour of the provincialists by 8304 votes to 178.

Soon after Vogel's newspaper, the New Zealand Sun, failed in Dunedin, he removed to Auckland, once again changing his constituency and resigning his leadership of the Province of Otago. From virtual Leader of the Opposition in the General Assembly, Vogel, when William Fox became Prime Minister, was raised to Colonial Treasurer, adding the portfolios of Postmaster-General and Commissioner of Customs to his office. Through his control of finances, Vogel saw his opportunity of putting into practice his scheme for the expansion of New Zealand. If he could build railways, roads and bridges, he could unify the country. Then indeed would there be no need for provincialism.

The low intake of immigrants due to the low price of wool urged Vogel to launch his plan. He increased the sum he wanted to borrow from £6,000,000 to £10,000,000. Repayment of capital and interest would be achieved by the sale and lease of lands. Immigrants would be given free or cheap passages and good conditions of labour. Once determined upon the fulfilment of his dream, he changed his course accordingly. From an ardent provincialist he became an

uncompromising centralist. More than any other politician, he destroyed the provincial system which he now believed hindered the progress of the country. Some of his colleagues looked upon him as a traitor. One of his best friends, Sir George Maurice O'Rourke, said in Parliament that he would never have accepted a seat in the Ministry if he had known that his honourable colleague had in his capacious armoury this treacherous dagger to stab the provinces which they were both sworn to maintain. If he remained in the Government he would do violence to his conscience and would deserve to be branded as a base, political traitor. O'Rourke, at the dramatic moment when he had finished his speech, walked across the House to the opposition benches.

Vogel had no traitorous instincts. His whole nature revolted against political chicanery. O'Rourke did not possess Vogel's vision. Vogel saw that New Zealand could become a great country only through union by means of its communications followed by a political union. Vogel accepted the herculean task, and the call of traitor and the loss of friends did not move him. He was a man of indomitable courage. When he appeared at a political meeting at the Princess Theatre, Dunedin, the crowd would not allow Vogel to speak. He stuck to his guns and spoke, though hardly anybody heard him. Three years later, on 6 January, 1874, in the same theatre, a banquet was tendered to him as Premier Julius Vogel. He was unable to speak for several minutes this time because of the cheers and applause. Again Vogel had been justified. By 1876 the provinces were abolished.

As soon as Vogel was re-elected as member for Auckland City East in 1871, the year of the first secret ballot, he sailed for England via the United States of America. His aim included a postal service between England and New Zealand via San Francisco. Immediately after he had arranged temporary contracts, his mind turned to the running of the mail ships by the untapped New Zealand coal deposits. He hoped to obtain 30,000 tons of coal a year. In addition, he wanted to make New Zealand the chief coaling station in the Pacific. His eyes also turned to Fiji as a port of call between the United States of America and New Zealand.

It was not the first time that Vogel had directed the attention of New Zealand and Britain towards the Polynesian islands. A confirmed imperialist and believer in the consolidation and expansion of the Empire, he had been dubbed "The Disraeli of New Zealand". As far back as 1865 he had written a pamphlet, Great Britain and Her Colonies, in which he suggested the expenditure over a century of £700,000,000 to consolidate the Empire. He wanted Samoa, Tonga, Fiji and the New Hebrides as component parts with New Zealand of a Pacific Confederation. He advocated the annexation of New Guinea and Hawaii, afraid that Germany and the United States would annex them, which they eventually did.

When Vogel returned to New Zealand, Coleman Phillips came to him with a plan to establish a Polynesian Trading Company for the purpose of acquiring cheap labour for New Zealand and Australia, and in order to utilize native production and eventually acquire sovereignty over the islands. Vogel disliked slave labour and the idea of acquisition by military adventure, and he advised Phillips not to go to London to form a company as he, being an unknown person in England, would not be able to raise the necessary funds. In the absence of Phillips, Vogel formed his own New Zealand and Polynesian Trading Company, prepared an armed ship to be ready in-Auckland Harbour, and cabled the British Government for permission to annex the island of Samoa. All his plans were doomed to disappointment. The British Government opposed the scheme and would not permit him to proceed. When Coleman Phillips returned from England he petitioned Parliament for £2000 compensation for promoting the idea and for out-of-pocket expenses. At first, Parliament ridiculed the request, but with the support of Vogel, who recognized the claim, the House debated it and allowed him a sum of £300. In April, 1874, Vogel wrote to the Colonial Office stating his reasons for a proposition for New Zealand to annex the islands of Fiji. Six months later Britain annexed Fiji for herself. It made little impression upon New Zealanders. Vogel, disappointed in one way, could not but be glad that his proposition had impelled the British Government to take the step to acquire what proved later to be an invaluable

asset. As for New Zealand, after fourteen years of campaigning by Vogel, it finally annexed the Kermadec Islands.

When Vogel arrived in England from the United States on his first "royal tour", he did not lack schemes to benefit New Zealand. He failed in his proposal to bring in penny postage. He unsuccessfully tried to introduce New Zealand flax for manufacture into gun-cotton. A plan to persuade the Imperial Parliament to pass an Act permitting trust funds to be invested in colonial securities did not succeed at first, but later its approval added strength to colonial bonds and gave the public the confidence to invest in them. Other colonies followed New Zealand's example and made similar requests. Britain's initial refusal arose because of doubts as to the permanence of the ties between New Zealand and Britain. No man laboured more than Vogel to make those bonds permanent and unbreakable. He impressed upon New Zealand that it could not prosper without Britain. He proposed a "Confederation of the Empire", suggesting a federal parliament of self-governing states with no right of secession but with supreme protection through a federal army and navy.

Having achieved the first step towards the main goal of his English visit by borrowing £1,200,000 he then made contracts with Brogden and Sons to build railways, one condition being that they bring out 10,000 migrants. In the next ten years he borrowed £22,000,000, a great percentage of which came from the House of Rothschild; the population rose from a quarter to half a million souls; land under cultivation rose from one million to four million acres; the value of exports increased from £500,000 per annum to £1,500,000; 100,000 immigrants were introduced, some of whom came from Scandinavia and from Denmark; and 1200 miles of railway were built, mainly under contracts with Brogden and Sons, whom Vogel seemed to favour. One scheme gave the contractors three-quarters of an acre of land for every pound expended by them in building railways and plant. Only a man of ideas, of force and determination could have achieved so much.

Parliament did not altogether agree with the extravagance of the postal and railway contracts which Vogel had made in America and England. He resigned. Called upon soon after to form a government, he created a sensation by his amazing restraint in not appointing himself as Premier. He chose George Waterhouse as Premier to lead in the Legislative Council, whilst he led in the House of Representatives as Treasurer and Postmaster-General. Stafford, the Leader of the Opposition, moved in the House: "That the Colonial Treasurer, having stated that the Ministry was formed by him, and not by the Prime Minister, the House desires to be informed whether, in the case of death or resignation of the Prime Minister, the Ministry would, according to constitutional usage, be ipso facto dissolved." Stafford said he would prefer Vogel to be Premier in name as well as in fact. He was entitled to the position. Vogel replied that Waterhouse was Premier in every respect. Nominally this was true, for actually Vogel preferred to be a power than in power. Waterhouse could accept blame for any failure, he, Vogel, would enjoy and glory in the creation of a new kingdom.

Approaching every new venture with terrific verve, he studied each subject in minute detail, becoming more expert in his subject than any of his opponents. As all insurance in New Zealand was effected by agents for British firms, he introduced the Government Life Insurance Act, whereby insurances could be taken out in the country and the principal remain in New Zealand. The Public Trust Office Act was an idea of his fertile brain. A keen student of afforestation, and appalled at the foolish destruction of millions of acres of forest land, he pleaded feelingly before the House for their preservation. Under his spell Parliament passed the first reading of the Bill, but by the second reading, most of the members, probably not understanding the importance of the term "erosion", grew cold to the scheme and defeated the motion. New Zealand would have saved herself millions of pounds in the long run if she had listened to him. Vogel was a prophet in his own country—a man ahead of his time.

Waterhouse, unsuited for his task, and entirely opposed in temperament to Vogel, resigned his office during the absence of Vogel in Australia negotiating an oceanic submarine cable service between Australia and New Zealand. Taking over the premiership at the close of 1873, Vogel also retained the portfolios of Colonial Treasurer, Postmaster-General and Telegraph Commissioner. At the zenith of his power, and pursuing his migration and borrowing policy with intensity, he also fearlessly took charge of the portfolio for immigration. Dissatisfied with the slowness of the Agent-General in London, he thought he could do better himself. He did, and in the process partially suppressed a monopoly created by the three steamship companies carrying out migrants to New Zealand.

When the General Assembly passed, in 1874, a Bill for borrowing a further £4,000,000, Vogel, in the face of strong opposition, sailed for England to negotiate it. He probably thought he could obtain it at easier terms than the loan agents and the Agent-General. They quarrelled, the PAGE 175 agents stating that they did not want to be associated with Vogel, but he had his way, and negotiated the whole of the loan through the Rothschilds. Rusden suggested that his friendship with the bankers and with the magnate Lord Kimberley gained him the coveted honour of a knighthood. It may be true that they did use their influence, but recommendation is of necessity always present in the matter of honours. In any case, no man in New Zealand deserved the K.C.M.G. more than Sir Julius Vogel.

Ill from overwork on his migration and borrowing schemes, and suffering terribly from poor man's gout, Vogel decided to resign his premiership and portfolios in the Ministry, and sought leave of absence as a Member of Parliament, which was granted. In his absence, the Government appointed him as Postmaster-General and allowed him to use the title of Honourable for life. Vogel may have had secret reasons for resigning the highest political post in New Zealand. It did not carry a large salary nor, indeed, sufficient to cover his lavish spending, his open-handed generosity and hospitality. As a responsible man, he realized that he would have to provide for his future. He had not made money in spite of the contracts with Brogden and Sons having been regarded with suspicion. Most scrupulous where public funds were concerned, he accounted for every penny of his travelling expenditure. It may have been heavy, and he may have been severely criticized for making such large requests, but he claimed that he had to travel as a Premier representing the State, and not as a pauper. In spite of Vogel's position in New Zealand, he secretly preferred to live in England. The gaiety and company he loved could not be found in the country of his adoption. Moreover, he probably had a secret ambition. He hoped perhaps to reach the heights in the British Parliament that he had attained in that of New Zealand. He could play on a larger stage to a larger audience. Years previously, a Nelson newspaper had reported that Jewish friends of Vogel in England wanted him to enter the House of Commons.

Apparently the prospects in England did not satisfy Vogel. He returned to New Zealand early in 1876 amidst loud acclaim. Three constituencies vied for the honour of his representation. He chose Wanganui. Auckland City fell foul of Vogel. It had strongly favoured the provincial system which Vogel had smashed. The serving Premier resigned, and once again Vogel led the Government, adding the burden of Colonial Treasurer and Postmaster-General to his heavy responsibilities. Within a few months, he was back in England. The opportunity for which he had been waiting had arrived. The Agent-General had died in London. Vogel could not have found a better post for himself. Position, a splendid salary, London, his merry circle of friends and the chance of entering British politics—all were his. He did not deny himself.

Criticism fell upon Vogel's head from all quarters. The propriety of a Premier accepting a position for himself as Agent-General was questioned. He said he was ill, yet he undertook the busy London post. He retired from his position as Premier at the very moment New Zealand needed him most. The national debt had risen from £8,000,000 to £20,000,000. Contractors for railway construction could no longer be paid with land, and the railway system itself did not come up to expectations. Anti-Semitic murmurings were heard. Vogel, however, left with a clear conscience. Prosperity could not be gained without a national debt. Two thousand miles of road had been

built. The peculiar courses taken by the railway lines resulted from the greed of local politicians who took advantage of Vogel's plans. New industries had been created. Large tracts of land had been bought from the Maoris, which had helped to bring a subsequent peace.

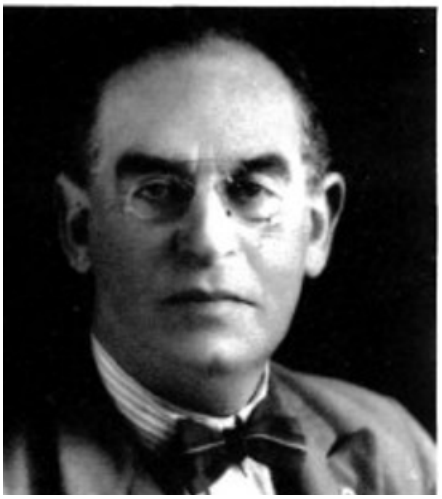
Not having sufficient business in London to occupy his boundless energy, there awakened his old passion for journalism. He became a tireless correspondent to the newspapers and journals. A letter of his to the Standard, he claimed, started the Empire cult in England. Lack of scope for his vivid imagination and startling schemes, together with the pin-pricks from petty permanent officials in New Zealand, urged him, though still Agent-General, to seek without permission of the country he represented, a seat in the British Parliament for the constituency of Penryn and Falmouth. His failure is said to have cost him £5000. Trying to recoup some of his losses, he accepted a directorship of a firm, but this time the New Zealand Government informed him that business and his post as Agent-General were not compatible. Vogel, then negotiating a loan for £5,000,000, offered to resign his post in order to become an accredited loan agent at a percentage. Genuinely mistaking a vaguely worded telegram as an acceptance of his offer, he, together with two other agents, negotiated the loan, he remaining as Agent-General until his successor arrived. Whilst the other two agents received £5250 as fees, the Government would not pay Vogel. It claimed that as Agent-General he had no entitlement, and that the telegram did not constitute an acceptance. For years, Vogel and his family tried unsuccessfully to win recognition of his claim for the agent's percentage. Vogel lost both the percentage and his post. A bad poker player at all times, he had overplayed his hand. Vogel's connection with New Zealand had officially ended, but, typical of the generosity of the man, before he left his post he paid out of his own pocket to all the civil servants working at the Agent-General's office, the 10 per cent which the Government had deducted from their salary. The Premier reprimanded him, and this resulted in an acrimonious correspondence that Parliament attempted to suppress.

With few prospects in England, Vogel came out to New Zealand in December, 1882, as a representative of the Electric Light Company and the Australian Electric Light and Power Company, but obviously he had also come to spy out the land. For four years New Zealand had suffered from a bad slump for which Vogel had been blamed. All the country's misfortunes had their roots in Vogel's schemes, said popular opinion. At Christchurch, a resolution had been passed that Vogel should be hung up by his heels. Such was his fascination, however, that the welcome at Christchurch exceeded all expectations. At Dunedin, an old opponent said the world would have stood still or moved very slowly without men like Vogel.

Pleased with his reception, Vogel returned to New Zealand, although almost crippled with gout, and stood for Christchurch North in July, 1884. Looking for a saviour, the fickle public forgot all the blame it had put on Vogel concerning the slump. The country sought a man to extricate it from its predicament. It believed in Vogel. He gave it confidence. As the representative with the largest number of followers, Vogel was called upon to form a government, which he did, with Robert Stout as Premier and himself as Colonial Treasurer. Although just under fifty years of age, Vogel looked old and was almost completely crippled. He had to be wheeled in a chair. Increasing deafness and chronic drowsiness also affected him. The premiership would have been too onerous for him. Nevertheless, possessing the heart of a lion and the courage of an ancient Maccabee, he accepted the office of Treasurer and Postmaster-General, speaking prolifically on all kinds of subjects and introducing many new schemes and ideas for the benefit of the country. He dominated the Ministry.

Coming into office on 16 August, 1884, the Stout-Vogel Ministry continued in power for three years, except for a short break of five days soon after it had taken over the reins. Most of the time Parliament seemed to be occupied with thwarting Vogel's proposals. It seemed to be afraid both of itself and of the boldness of Vogel's suggestions. It gave women the right to own their own property, but would not accept Vogel's Suffrage Bill granting women the right to vote. After passing its second reading, the Bill came to grief in the committee stages only because Parliament feared the amazement at its own broad-mindedness if it allowed the legislation to go through.

Sir Michael Myers, P.C., G.C.M.G., K.C. (1873-1950). One of the most illustrious of New Zealand's sons. On a number of occasions during the absence of a Governor-General, he acted as Administrator of New Zealand.



Marcus Marks. Government Printer from 1916 to 1922, his name became widely known. His administrative ability and his cheerful disposition made him a popular figure and his book Memories (Mainly Merry) was enjoyed by thousands of his countrymen.

J. I. Goldsmith, J.P., has given life-long service to patriotic, welfare, educational and cultural organizations and is still an active worker in many fields.

Her Majesty Queen Elizabeth the Queen Mother presents a cup to **Sir Ernest Davis** at Trentham. One of New Zealand's leading bloodstock owners, Sir Ernest has wide commercial interests and a long record of civic service.

Sir Louis Edward Barnett, whose great reputation in the medical world has made him an international figure.

Sir Louis Edward Barnett, whose great reputation in the medical world has made him an international figure.

Once again Vogel tried to awaken interest in the importance of Samoa. Believing it could be captured by trade, he proposed the establishment of the South Sea Trading Company with a capital of £ 1,000,000 and headquarters in Auckland. Parliament would not accept the Bill. The Samoans pleaded with New Zealand to annex it as they feared German aggression, but Vogel's further representations to the British Government went unheeded.

Parliament opposed his proposal to cultivate sugar-beet. He wanted to grow tobacco and silk. He advocated the utilization of pumice land by the use of scientific fertilizers. Nothing came of his suggestion to establish fishing villages on the long coastline, especially around Stewart Island. To increase exports, he proposed the sending of butter and frozen meat to India and woollen fabrics to Brazil. He promoted the manufacture of wrought and cast iron.

With the defeat of the Ministry, Vogel became the Leader of the Opposition, but realizing that further dissipation of his physical powers could but harm him, he decided, early in 1888, to return to England, seemingly for a holiday, but actually to prepare for his retirement from public life.

He resigned his parliamentary office and settled down at East Mosely, Surrey, where he hoped to make a living as an author. The thought that he had forsaken New Zealand never entered his mind. To him England and New Zealand were one, Britain the mother, New Zealand the daughter. His first novel, Anno Domini 2,000 or Woman's Destiny, propounded his dreams and amazing prophetic theories. It could have almost been accepted as a prophetic almanac for the year 2000. He prophesied that an air cruiser travelling at one hundred miles an hour would leave Melbourne in the morning and would arrive at Dunedin at night. He foretold the creation of the Molyneux water scheme. Elaborations on the franchise of women and the abolition of poverty were evolved in a heavy philosophical style. Whilst Premier, in 1875, in spite of his preoccupation in affairs of State, his passion for journalism had induced him to write, edit and publish the Official Handbook of New Zealand.

Mentally alert in his hours of wakefulness, his last years were spent in anguish. So crippled that he could not use his pen, he could only play upon memory and dreams. Dire poverty crippled his pride. The brilliant financier who had dabbled in millions on behalf of others could not provide for himself. Hearing of his situation the New Zealand Government appointed him as its nominal financial adviser at a salary of £350 a year. On 12 March, 1899, he received everlasting relief from his worldly suffering.

His place in New Zealand's history has not yet been equalled. The country's position today amongst the nations of the world can be traced to the economic genius and contribution made by Sir Julius Vogel. He has no memorial upon a high mount or lofty promontory. Only Vogeltown and Vogel Street in Wellington are reminders of his connection with the country. His memorial is the success of New Zealand itself as a progressive democratic nation amongst the peoples of the world.

His family buried him in the Jewish Cemetery at Willesden. Vogel always remained a Jew; he never abjured his faith. It has been stated that neither race nor creed had any great hold upon him. His marriage out of his religion may have been the reason. Because of it he could not come close to his brethren. When Sir Julius Vogel was sick during his last year as Premier, the minister of the Christchurch synagogue recited prayers for his recovery. His committee told him "to desist from such proceedings in the future, as calculated to bring our religion into contempt". Yet Vogel understood the value of faith. He stated quite openly in the House that he favoured a religious upbringing. When in Auckland, he gave two prizes to the synagogue school for the best pupils in Hebrew.

Vogel's death almost coincided with the end of the century. In New Zealand it had produced men whose Jewish faith and training inspired them to be of service to their community and country. They created a unique record. Small in numbers but potent in influence, they disseminated a spirit of goodwill and justice which distinguished them amongst their neighbours. Fierce in their love of liberty, they enjoyed their freedom the more in the service they gladly rendered. Humble in outlook yet dignified in demeanour, they added prestige to the good name of New Zealand and to the high reputation New Zealanders had universally won.

CHAPTER XXV
THE SYNAGOGUES

IN THE FIRST FIFTY YEARS OF THE TWENTIETH CENTURY, the Jewish population in New Zealand just more than doubled itself. In 1901 the total number of Jews in the country was 1611; in 1951, the number had reached 3611, showing an average increase of about 40 souls a year. The following table indicates the increase and movement of the New Zealand Jewish population according to provinces.

	1901	1906	1911	1921	1936	1951
Auckland	438	554	704	880	969	1563
Taranaki	37	29	38	39	23	12
Hawkes Bay	28	18	35	73	79	76
Wellington	506	662	763	938	1119	1577
Marlborough	1	4	2	3	2	...
Nelson	41	46	39	34	17	16
Westland	55	49	44	4	8	4
Canterbury	194	206	228	180	222	271
Otago	311	299	263	221	190	135
Southland	...	...	12	28	24	7
Total	1611	1867	2128	2380	2653	3661

Jewish communal life in New Zealand continued merrily in the four major cities of Wellington, Auckland, Christchurch and Dunedin. Westland's small Jewish community at Hokitika met but once a year, on the High Holy-days, under the leadership of Alexander Singer, who carried on

until his death. Jacob Webber, the local tailor, accepted the task of Reader, but when he left the district before the First World War, no more public services were held in the synagogue building which was bleached from the sun and riddled with ants. As trustee, Arthur E. Benjamin, the local coroner, who had played in the first North Island versus South Island rugby match, looked after the Scrolls of the Law and synagogue property in the best way he could. In December, 1924, a fire broke out in the building and Benjamin, at the risk of his life, rescued the Sifre Torah, which he sent to the Canterbury Hebrew Congregation for safe keeping. Three years later, during a flood, Benjamin, who as manager of the Hokitika Guardian, understood the value of records, managed to save the old minute books of the congregation, PAGE 181 but when the author opened the deed box in 1955, the books had turned irrecoverably into mould. A Trust Board created by the Canterbury Congregation now controls the principal and interest of the proceeds of the sale of the land of the Hokitika synagogue.

The Canterbury Congregation also holds a Canterbury-Timaru Synagogue Trust, the proceeds of the sale of the Timaru synagogue building disposed of by the last of the late trustees, Moss Jonas, Jacob Levien and Ernest Nordon. According to the deed of trust, the interest and principal may be used only for any future congregation established in Timaru.

As no one in Nelson attended its synagogue, the trustee allowed the building to be used, firstly, as a masonic meeting-place and later, as a band practice hall. Increasing lack of repairs forced the Nelson City Council to order its demolition after the First World War because of its dangerous condition. For many years, rates on the land have not been paid, and it is the intention of the Nelson City Council to sell the land for the recovery of payments.

In contrast to Hokitika, Timaru and Nelson, the community in Wellington gradually grew until the small wooden synagogue on the Terrace could not comfortably accommodate all the worshippers. Amidst pomp and ceremony, Van Staveren, with the assistance of his colleagues from all over New Zealand, consecrated the new brick building in September, 1929, on the same site as the old synagogue. It departed from the traditional custom in that the Almemah, usually in the centre of the synagogue, stood close to the Ark. The consecration crowned Van Staveren's long, magnificent, loyal service of over fifty years to the community. In his honour, the Chief Rabbi conferred the title of Morenu upon him. He had grown into a patriarchal figure, both in stature and demeanour. Loved by all of Wellington's citizens, he commanded in benevolent tones, leading the Jewish community in a happy brotherhood.

Owing to Van Staveren's illness in 1905, the congregation engaged the Rev. Chananiah Pitkowsky as his assistant and Shohet. He had come to New Zealand on a mission for funds for institutions in Jerusalem where he had studied and lived. The congregation could not have made a better choice. Tall, and rivalling his colleague in dignity, he earned popularity as well by his learning and gentleness.

Two cruel blows struck the community early in 1930 when both Van Staveren and Pitkowsky passed away within a fortnight of each other. According to an old Jewish tradition, many pious Biblical characters died on the anniversary of their birth. Van Staveren also died on his birthday. His sons, who conducted the business of Van Staveren Brothers, and probably under his influence, passed a resolution placed on the minutes of the firm in 1915, not to import German goods. They have never done so since. Seeking men equal in calibre to serve them, the members of the Wellington Congregation fortunately engaged Rabbi Solomon Katz as their minister. Mr Isaac Van Staveren and Mr Barend Van Staveren voluntarily conducted the services until his appointment. Katz had already had experience in a New Zealand community. He had served for nine years as assistant to Goldstein in Auckland. Deciding to add to his studies gained at a Yeshivah in his birthplace, Kishineff, and to widen his experience begun in London and Coventry, he went to the United States of America where he received a rabbinical diploma. He then served at Birmingham (Alabama), New Rochelle and New York. A clever, erudite and attractive speaker, he drew an audience whenever he spoke in public. In the tradition of the rabbis, he established

adult study circles. During the Second World War when the American Forces served in New Zealand, he paid particular attention to the welfare of the Jewish troops. When Katz suddenly passed away in February, 1944, the American soldiers erected a memorial to him in the foyer of the synagogue which reads: "In grateful tribute to the memory of Rabbi Solomon Katz, Wellington Hebrew Congregation, by the Jewish men of the Second Marine Division, United States Marine Corps, whom he served with kindly devotion." His splendid range of Hebrew books and general literature now forms the Rabbi Katz Memorial Library, a section in the Central Public Library at Wellington.

Conscientious Rev. Samuel Kantor assisted Katz as Shohet, but resigned about the same time as the Rev. Joseph Wolman, Katz's successor, who resigned in 1951. They both entered private business. The next two ministers in charge of the congregation, one of whom was Rev. Benjamin Skolnik, did not remain longer than three years. Fortunately, when they left, the community did not remain without a Shohet. A learned, Yeshivah-trained, new resident, Rev. Hillel Kustanowicz, undertook the task, and his piety and sincerity give him the courage to carry out the minister's duties besides his own until the appointment of a minister is made.

In spite of the many changes in spiritual leadership after the death of Van Staveren, the Wellington community remained united although several minyanim had been formed on different occasions. They served the small group of orthodox Jews who did not ride on the Sabbath or who desired to pray according to their own liturgy. I. Josman held a minyan at Kilbirnie in the middle twenties. About 1930, Israel Ketko formed a minyan at Newtown followed by David Boock's minyan at Aro Street. Solomon Triester conducted a minyan on Saturday afternoons only. A few who had escaped the German persecutions formed a small minyan before the Second World War under the leadership of S. Holcer. After the war, N. Rosemann for two or three years conducted a minyan for the High Holydays only. An increasing number of Jewish residents in Lower Hutt stimulated the proposal to build in the area a synagogue, for which the Government gave a grant of land, but dwindling enthusiasm finally led to the abandonment of the scheme.

Auckland's community also retained its unity under the wise, scholarly and cultured direction of Goldstein. Beloved by his flock, he celebrated, in his seventy-fifth year, the fiftieth year of service with his congregation, on which occasion the Chief Rabbi honoured him with the title of Morenu. An eventful year in the congregation, 1930 also marked the eightieth birthday of N. Alfred Nathan, the younger son of David Nathan, the founder of the community. As the acknowledged leader of New Zealand Jewry, he was presented by the Auckland Congregation with a silver model of the synagogue of which he had been President for over thirty years. He had wide interests. Director of many companies, including the chairmanship of L. D. Nathan and Company, which he had assumed on the death of his brother in 1905, he also served as President of the Chamber of Commerce and as a trustee of the Auckland Savings Bank and the Auckland Racing Club. Besides his association with many charities, he also served as Honorary President of the Auckland Zionist Society of which Goldstein was President for eighteen years. In order to welcome the inauguration of the Sabbath, N. Alfred Nathan would serve wine and cakes at home to all members of his staff on Friday mornings.

The year 1930 also marked the arrival of the Rev. Joir Adler to assist Goldstein. Previously Goldstein had had Katz to assist him, followed by the Rev. Samuel Nathan Salas of Jerusalem, who, after a few years' service, went to lead the Canterbury Hebrew Congregation. When Auckland enlarged its synagogue and built classrooms before the First World War, it had removed the Bimah from the centre of the synagogue to a place next to the Ark. Adler disapproved of this break with tradition and desired that the community build a Mikvah as well. He considered many of the practices in the congregation tended towards reform. When Adler danced around the synagogue on Simhas Torah night with the Scroll of the Law in his arms, the older members of the congregation looked on with incredulity. They had never seen such behaviour. In Gateshead, England, whence Adler came, such behaviour was normal. The congregation and Adler parted company, the latter forming a congregation of his own, the "Knesseth Israel", but when the

community was left without a Shohet, his former employers came to a satisfactory arrangement with him whereby he remained in Auckland as Shohet until the appointment of a new minister.

The congregation selected the Rev. Alexander Astor, a former Jews' College student who had served a number of years in Dunedin. Efficient, capable and musical, he soon gained the confidence of his congregation, and when Goldstein died, deeply lamented by his community, Astor took on the leadership of the congregation. A new communal hall and classrooms commemorate Goldstein's name and service. To assist Astor, the congregation appointed the Rev. Marks Salas, a brother of the Rev. S. N. Salas, as assistant minister and Shohet. When Rev. Marks Salas retired in 1955, the congregation brought out the Rev. Gerald Rockman from London, but, dissatisfied with conditions, he returned to England after only four months' service. Shehitah arrangements remain not altogether satisfactory in Auckland. Although the community had continued as a united body for over a hundred years, the first serious attempt at creating a division occurred at the end of 1955 when a few families, mostly originating in England, invited Rabbi Ferdinand M. Isserman of St Louis, Missouri, whilst on sabbatical leave, to address them on Reform Judaism with the object of establishing a Reform congregation in Auckland.

The lot of the ministers in Christchurch was not always a happy one. Before Zachariah died in 1906, waning interest in the congregation allowed him to receive only a small honorarium instead of a regular stipend. However, the Hon. Charles Louisson, and later Phineas Selig, in spite of decreasing members and increasing apathy, zealously maintained the communal institutions and helped to engage the Rev. Isaac Amber Bernstein, born in Ballarat, as its minister and Shohet. The committee impressed upon him that he had to call twice a week upon the President, that he must not take gifts from members, and that he had to attend regularly in synagogue. The climax of strained relationships came when the committee instructed Bernstein not to preach on Rosh Hashanah and to blow the Shofar on Yom Kippur at six in the evening. Bernstein preached, published his sermon in the press, and received the admonition he expected. The congregation also objected when he accepted public positions without its permission. Eventually Bernstein resigned, and the congregation brought out the Rev. David Schloss from England, but in so doing departed from regular custom. Schloss was no Shohet, which meant that the community had no Kosher meat-supply. The Chief Rabbi protested, but it did not seem to worry the community unduly. Pangs of conscience ultimately struck the hearts of the committee, who decided to send Schloss to England for six months to learn Shehitah and Milah, but it was six years after the time of his appointment that he eventually sailed in 1922. After his return, Schloss remained but another three years, and as the terms of his appointment allowed him to engage in business in his spare time, he probably left the ministry for commerce.

For four years, E. Friedlander, a layman, conducted services in the synagogue until the appointment of the Rev. S. N. Salas of Auckland as a full-time minister and Shohet. After twenty-five years' service with the congregation he still leads it faithfully and ably, doing his utmost to enable the small community to retain its affiliations with Judaism.

Dunedin, the most southern Jewish congregation in the world, changed its minister many times. Adolph Treitel Chodowski left in 1909 to be followed by a Shohet, A. Spiro and a lay Reader, J. Rittenberg. Three years after Chodowski had departed, the congregation appointed a qualified minister, the Rev. Morris Diamond, who had served in Newcastle, England, after acting as conductor of the choir at the Great Synagogue, London. He remained for eleven years, resigning on account of ill health, and once again J. Rittenberg filled the breach, assisted by E. Friedlander. A happy relationship existed between the next minister, the Rev. A. Astor, and the members of the congregation, and after serving for five years he left in 1930 to fill the vacancy in Auckland. The next incumbent, the Rev. Abraham Hyman Karwan, did not feel so happy. A very orthodox Jew, he could not accustom himself to the concessions made to environment in regard to Jewish life in the colonies. His departure just prior to the Second World War marked the end of Kosher meat for Dunedin. The difficulty in obtaining a qualified Shohet in war-time and a dwindling congregation, led to the abandonment of this need. Fortunately, the congregation engaged a

victim of the Nazi terror, the Rev. Caesar Steinhof (Stanton), to teach the children and to conduct the services. He remained from 1940 to 1944, and from the time he left, the congregation has not employed another qualified minister. From 1948 onwards, Mr E. Hirsh, a layman, has bravely conducted services and fulfilled other religious tasks for the community, paying particular attention to providing hospitality and arranging meetings for the Jewish students from all over New Zealand attending the University of Otago at Dunedin.

Outside New Zealand's four major cities, little Jewish activity took place. From 1934 onwards, Mr Karpel Cohen conducted services and voluntarily taught the children at Hastings. In November, 1953, the community held its first annual general meeting. It then hired a hall for Sabbath and Festival services led by either Mr Ivan Zelcer, Mr Louis Zelcer or Mr Morris Goldman. Occasionally, a minister from Wellington would attend in order to encourage the small community. At the beginning of the century, Nathan Phillips held occasional services at his home at Waihi when gold-mining flourished in the area. From 1914 onwards, High Holyday services have been held at Palmerston North which also has its Zionist associations. Hamilton also has its Zionist societies, and occasionally services have been held in private homes, but being within easy travelling distance of Auckland, the Jews who live in Hamilton usually go to the larger city for any religious services they require. Van Staveren did consecrate a Jewish cemetery at Gisbome in 1904. It was thought at the time that many Jews would settle in the town. Few did. Amongst them Herbert H. De Costa achieved prominence, serving on most of the important institutions in the area including over thirty years on the Borough Council, often as deputy mayor.

There are no signs that any synagogues other than those at present standing in Wellington, Auckland, Christchurch and Dunedin will be built within the foreseeable future. They stand, as memorials of Jewish_religious zeal and piety of the past. Modern New Zealand Jewry does not emphasize its Jewish affiliations through public worship and prayer or through its adherence to orthodox Jewish practices, although hardly any Jew misses attendance at synagogue on the first day of the New Year and on the Day of Atonement. Most Jews are formal members of the synagogue. It represents Judaism with which they are more or less in accord. However, many do neglect its ceremonial precepts although they may realize that they are not altogether unnecessary. For the majority of members of modern New Zealand Jewry, the synagogue is a symbol.

CHAPTER XXVI
A SURVEY OF JEWISH RELIGIOUS PRACTICES IN NEW ZEALAND

THE GRADUAL ABANDONMENT OF JEWISH RELIGIOUS PRACTICES did not occur only in the houses of individual families. The very institution—the synagogue—dedicated to promote religious observances, sometimes fell short of the maxims it should have taught. Very often members of synagogue committees served, not to further religion, but because of the social prestige that it brought them. In the early part of the century, candidates for office would send cabs to the members to bring them to the polling booths. Social class would not permit a pawnbroker to be a member of a Board of Management, whilst doubt would arise as far as a money-lender was concerned. Not infrequently, committees forced their irreligious views upon the minister with the thought that they commanded and that the minister was their servant. The minister, seeking peace within the community, and believing that by making concessions unity would be preserved, allowed his conscience to be persuaded. When one committee ordered a minister to blow the Shofar at 6 p.m., before the Day of Atonement had ended, he obeyed.

The practice of conducting daily services in the synagogue, morning, noon and night had long been almost totally abolished. Judaism is not a religion for Sabbaths and Festivals only. Yet in some synagogues, even the Friday evening service has been abandoned. In both Dunedin and

Auckland, when Rabbi Alexander Astor came on to the scene, he restored the services for the inauguration of the Sabbath. Some synagogues have eliminated the Sabbath morning service altogether, even omitting the mandatory Shema prayer, whilst others commenced the Sabbath morning service in peculiar places. At one time in Dunedin, the committee introduced the triennial system of reading the Law, whereby the Pentateuch was read once every three years instead of every year. Some members suggested that since only one-third of the Sedra was read every week, only one-third of the Haphtorah should be recited. Dunedin favoured the shortening of prayers. Under no circumstances was the Sabbath morning service allowed to be prolonged beyond one hour.

A clamour for the modernization and improvement of the services did result in some synagogues in the recitation of prayers in English and in the reading of the Haphtorah in English. The introduction of consecration services for girls did not altogether meet with success. Some congregants objected to the inclusion of ceremonies taken directly from Christian rites which have no Jewish roots whatsoever. All communities, however, do now allow women to vote at synagogue elections, which, according to the Chief Rabbi, is not opposed to the Din. A resolution to allow women to hold honorary offices as committeemen, presidents and treasurers did not succeed. Nor did an attempt to introduce the organ into Sabbath and Festival services. To encourage the observance of the Passover, ministers hold communal Seder services. They have been particularly successful in Christchurch, where the Rev. S. N. Salas also conducts a Kiddush after every Sabbath morning service, and occasionally holds youth services in which the youngsters read the liturgy from beginning to end. Apparently, Succoth is not a popular festival in Canterbury. When Bernhard Ballin left £.200 for an annual Succoth entertainment, it was decided to use the money for some other useful synagogical purpose. In spite of attempts at modernization and innovation, synagogue attendances are as small today as they were at the beginning of the century. In Christchurch and Dunedin it is only on rare occasions that a minyan attends on a Saturday morning.

With the introduction of the five-day working week in New Zealand, it was thought that worshippers in the synagogue would increase. However, it had the opposite effect, for members now go out of town for the week-end. If the Passover coincides with Easter, the celebration of the Jewish Festival suffers. Many Jews who observe Kashruth in their own homes do not hesitate to eat trefah when away from it, even if it is the Passover. Very few observe the Sabbath and the Festivals in accordance with Jewish precept. It is estimated that in all New Zealand and apart from synagogue officials, only one Jew observes the Sabbath in Auckland and a handful in Wellington. Most of the Jewish children are now sent to school on Jewish Festivals. It may have been this knowledge which prompted Prime Minister Savage to reply in response to a question as to whether Jews in the Public Service were granted leave on Holydays without reduction from annual leave, that Jews were not granted that privilege. When the Wellington Congregation asked Chief Rabbi J. H. Hertz if men who did not keep the Sabbath could act as presidents or treasurers of congregations or as president of a Chevra Kadishah, he did not reply. As usual, he left ticklish questions unanswered.

Kashruth, one of the fundamentals of Jewish home life for which leaders of communities have to accept responsibility, has never been in an entirely satisfactory state in the country. It is estimated that, in a large city like Auckland, only 25 per cent of the Jewish population take Kosher meat. They are not encouraged when they have to obtain their Kosher meat-supplies from a butcher shop where trefah meat is also sold. One of the difficulties is to make satisfactory arrangements with a non-Jewish butcher to sell Kosher meat. A Jewish purveyor would not have enough customers to make a living. Without constant supervision, non-Jewish butchers could not be expected to observe Kashruth laws in their shops as strictly as Jews. Consequently, the state of Kosher meat-supplies has often been atrocious. In Wellington, where a more orthodox element have lived than in Auckland, the situation has been better, and it is estimated that between 60 per cent and 75 per cent of the Jews buy Kosher meat. Until the arrival of the Rev. S. N. Salas in Christchurch, the community, for a number of years, could not obtain Kosher supplies. To its

credit it supported its minister, and a number of members who previously did not purchase Kosher meat do so now in spite of the fact that beef cannot be obtained. Having no casting pen, the Shohet is not permitted to kill animals over 70 pounds in weight, and the community has to be satisfied with mutton, veal or fowl. The Dunedin community takes no Kosher meat. At one time the question arose as to whether the congregation should spend money on a Shohet or on the repair of the synagogue. It chose to repair the synagogue.

As far back as 1908, the Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Animals attempted to ban Shehitah. It tried to introduce a Bill in Parliament requiring the stunning of animals before slaughter. When it realized its absurdity as far as the Jewish ritual was concerned, it dropped the proposals. Another campaign undertaken all over New Zealand about 1950 by the Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Animals to prevent Shehitah, seemed to introduce an element of anti-semitism. Most of the previous objections to Shehitah concerned the manner of casting the animals in preparation for slaughter. When the Jewish communities bought casting pens which overcame this objection, the Society began to object to Shehitah itself, although it had incontrovertible evidence given by the greatest scientists in the world of the humaneness of the Shehitah method. Without notifying Rabbi Astor, the Society removed his name as vice-president, but it retained the name of Sir Ernest Davis as a patron.

All the communities in New Zealand strictly observe the ceremony of circumcision. As it is a religious rite, Mohelim should always be observant Jews, but the Australian Bate Din has made it a practice to grant certificates to Jewish doctors who are not at all observant of Jewish precepts.

Many of the funeral rites which were a feature of Jewish life in Europe have fallen into disuse in New Zealand. Full Shivah at a death of a relative is seldom kept. Kaddish is rarely recited for a full year, nor is Yahrzeit frequently observed. All of the four main centres have an established Chevra Kadishah, most of them formed prior to the First World War. Auckland conducted its Chevra Kadishah in conjunction with its Benevolent Society and the sale of Kosher wine. For thirty-eight years Luis Marks, a popular PAGE 190 communal worker, led the Society. Besides being a founder of the Auckland Zionist Society, he was also one of the pioneers of the New Zealand Labour Movement, being later elected a vice-president of the Auckland Labour Club. During the slump, he represented Auckland in the movement to aid the unemployed.

At Dunedin, the Annual General Meeting of the Chevra Kadishah would be held immediately after the Annual Meeting of the congregation. Proceedings would take only a minute. Office bearers would be elected by the formula, "the same as last year". On one occasion, the meeting wanted to know the actual names of the President and committee. They looked back through the files and discovered that the President and committee were all dead.

Problems arose in New Zealand in regard to the care and disposal of old cemeteries. With the expansion of the cities, the old cemeteries were situated in busy districts. At Auckland, the Chevra Kadishah presented the City Council with its unused portion of the old cemetery at the corner of Symonds Street and Karangahape Road. The City Council wanted it for a water scheme. Later, when the scheme was not carried out, the Chevra Kadishah wanted a section of the ground returned in order to build a Metahar House on it. After a stormy meeting of the Auckland City Council, the Mayor gave his casting vote in favour of the Chevra Kadishah, which in due course built its mortuary.

The last Jewish interment in the old cemetery in Hereford Street, Christchurch, took place in 1885. Its dilapidated state urged the committee to try to sell the land and either cremate the remains of the thirty-four persons buried there or re-inter them in the Linwood Cemetery. After many years, during which relatives of every one of the deceased had to grant permission, and after a Special Bill had been passed through Parliament, the bodies were removed to the newer cemetery.

The Dunedin Congregation sold its old cemetery to the City Council, returning the purchase money on the condition that the graves in the cemetery be looked after by the Council in perpetuity.

None of the communities now has a Jewish cemetery of its own. They share a portion of the general cemeteries with other denominations. Cremations are infrequent, but when they do occur, it is the practice to recite prayers before the removal of the body to the crematorium, although one minister, the late Rev. C. Steinhof (Stanton), would have nothing at all to do with the recitation of prayers for Jews whose bodies were cremated.

Wellington, Christchurch and Dunedin conducted Philanthropic Societies, but not like that of Auckland in conjunction with the Chevra Kadishah. Not many calls were made upon them. The Canterbury Jewish Philanthropic Society had one call in eight years. In Auckland, a Hebrew Aid Society had been formed in 1905 by Nathan Phillips for the purpose of lending money to needy persons without interest. The women, in 1928, established a Jewish Women's Benevolent Society in Auckland.

After the First World War, a childless couple in Wellington, Max and Annie Deckston, who had come from Poland just before the end of the century, moved by the sufferings of their relatives, brought many of them to New Zealand. Having accumulated savings after hard work in factories and on farms, they made a trip to Europe in 1929. What they saw inspired them to establish a Jewish Orphanage in New Zealand where children could be reared in an atmosphere of peace. The movement started with the immigration of one orphan girl, followed by twelve children in 1935 and a further twelve in 1937. Annie Deckston passed away in 1938 and her husband the year following, he leaving the residue of his estate to the Deckston Hebrew Institute, the name by which the orphanage was known.

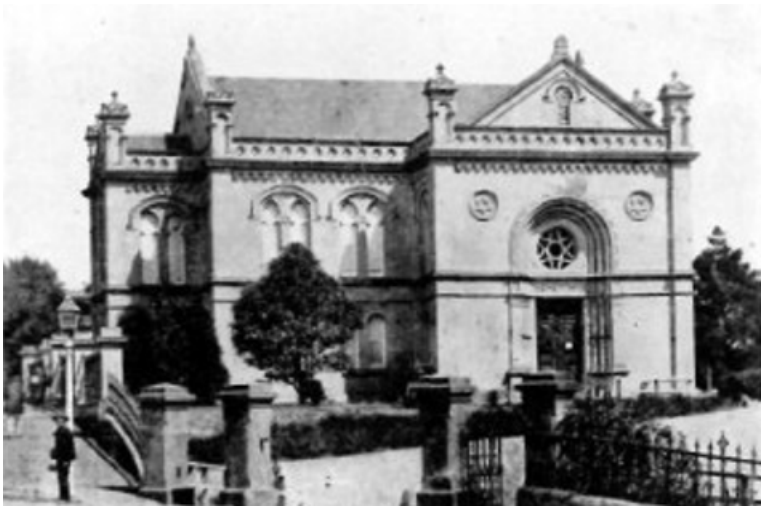
With the object of rescuing Jewish children from Nazi terror, the trustees obtained an entry permit for thirty full orphans between the ages of five and eleven. All efforts over a number of years through the Ort-Oze and the American Joint Distribution Committee to bring children out were unavailing, and then New Zealand Jewry began to realize the extent of the Jewish catastrophe wrought by German brutality. There were no orphans left to come out. The few who had managed to escape had been taken to Israel.

The unavailability of children directed the trustees' attention to the desirability of extending the Trust. Eventually, a scheme was propounded whereby assistance could be given to any institution caring for orphans or aged persons or to any religious, educational or social organization normally found in a Jewish community. During the hearing in the Supreme Court, the Chief Justice, Sir Humphrey O'Leary, found it difficult to believe that from amongst the millions of Jews in the world, a sufficient number could not be found to fill the Deckston Institute. The trustees were then able to point out the enormity of the Nazi crimes. The Supreme Court granted a certificate for a Bill to be brought through Parliament for alteration of the terms of the Trust. At the third reading, objections by a former inmate of the Institute who claimed she had been adopted by the Deckstons, prevented its smooth passage through the Legislature. She had no documentary proof, but stated that she had been adopted "in the traditional method of adoption by members of the Jewish faith by taking your petitioner between their knees, and in accordance with the passage in the Bible, Genesis 48, verse 5, referring to the adoption by Jacob of Ephraim and Menasseh and declaring that your petitioner was their adopted daughter". The Select Committee of the House, impressed with the evidence and that of witnesses who claimed to have seen the strange ceremony, granted the applicant certain relief which was incorporated in the Bill.

The Deckston Hebrew Trust Act, 1949 provides, among other things, that the income can only be used for any Jewish orphanage, any Jewish institution for the care of the aged and infirm, the Wellington Hebrew Philanthropic Society, the Wellington Jewish Welfare Society and the Wellington branch of the Friends of the Hebrew University.

With the object of caring for the Jewish aged, the Deckston Trust Board has negotiated with the Methodist Social Service Trust to erect a Deckston Wing at Eventide Village, on an area containing 150 acres of land, situated twelve miles from Wellington amidst beautiful and ideal surroundings. It is planned to settle twenty aged Jews and Jewesses either in villas or rooms with a central Kosher kitchen. The whole village will remain under the control of the Methodist Social Service Trust, but its Board will contain members of the Deckston Trust. Another body which has been registered, the Wellington Jewish Care of the Aged Society, will concern itself with domestic requirements, entertainment and general welfare of the inmates.

It is intended to cater first for the aged in Wellington, and later for the Jewish aged from any part of New Zealand.



Auckland Synagogue, 1889. The foundation-stone was laid on 10th December, 1884 by David Nathan and the Synagogue was opened by him on 9th November, 1885. This was the last public duty of this highly respected citizen of Auckland.

Auckland Synagogue today.

The Christchurch Synagogue. The foundation-stone for tin's building was laid on February 8th, 1881 by Mr L. E. Nathan, then President of the Christchurch Hebrew Congregation. It was completed the same year and has been in continuous use for Jewish worship ever since.

The interior of the Christchurch Synagogue.

CHAPTER XXVIII
THE SOCIAL STRUCTURE

WITH LITTLE DISTINCTION IN HOME LIFE, IN RELIGIOUS PRACTICE AND TRAINING, and hardly any difference in educational emphasis between Jew and Gentile, it is not astonishing to discover that the incidence of intermarriage has increased at an alarming rate, especially amongst the Jewish section whose social ties with their people have also weakened. It is estimated that between 25 to 50 per cent of Jews in New Zealand are marrying out of their faith. Even the lower estimate must be considered a sizable defection from the fold. This may be the reason in Auckland for the growing custom of calling the Sunday before a marriage, "sitting for joy", when all relatives and friends visit the bride's home to give and view the gifts. So concerned did the London ecclesiastical authorities become about intermarriage, that they sent a pronouncement to New Zealand expressing concern at its frequency. They would have been more disturbed if they had known the frequency with which members of boards of management of synagogues found it compatible with their conscience to attend mixed marriages celebrated in church. Nevertheless, in spite of the big percentage of intermarriage, a large proportion of the Jewish community is strongly opposed to it. Jewish roots are deep. Some parents, afraid for their children, have moved to the larger Australian cities where the risks of intermarriage are less. In one synagogue, a resolution to ban any person who married out of the Jewish faith from joining the synagogue as a member was not passed. Nor was a resolution to prevent them from voting. It was felt that a person who had married a Gentile was still a Jew. A special rule in the constitution would have had to be introduced in order to prevent their receiving a vote. They did, however, lose the privilege of being called to the reading of the Law.

A number of Jews who married out of their faith but did not desire to sever their association with their religion or their people, sought relief from the situation by converting the Gentile partner to Judaism. In a number of instances, intermarriage received encouragement from the ease with which conversions were effected. Synagogue committees with little knowledge would assume the right to examine and recommend candidates for proselytization. Few candidates were rejected. Ministers were expected to comply with the committees' wishes. They generally did. One notable exception was Rabbi Goldstein of Auckland, who would have nothing at all to do with conversions, even when his committee received the concurrence of the Chief Rabbi. His committee respected his views. Like many in his community, Goldstein opposed conversions on account of their farcical nature and their contravention of the spirit of Judaism and the law which states that proselytization may not be carried out for the sake of marriage. Judaism requires a proselyte to believe in the Jewish faith. Those who convert for the sake of marriage change their religion for other motives.

Relying upon the recommendations sent to him from committees thousands of miles away, Chief Rabbi Hertz in England would immediately consent even when the recommendations were sent out to him by cable. Complaints from New Zealand led him to seek details of each case, but when congregations began to participate in conversions without seeking his consent, his signature became a mere formality. Desiring to save time, one congregation sought the assistance of the Sydney Beth Din, which consented to act as long as it received a recommendation from a synagogue committee. Occasionally, candidates for conversion were charged exorbitant fees, and in one instance the Chief Rabbi made the congregation return portion of the charges.

The actual act of conversion requires the presence of an authorized Beth Din of three learned rabbis to stand by whilst immersion takes place in a regulation Mikvah. Laxity in the appointment of the members of the ecclesiastical court led to laymen acting with the minister. So emboldened did one congregation become, that it allowed its minister with the assistance of two laymen, to write a Get. Modern orthodox practice demands three learned rabbis to be present at the writing

of a Jewish divorce, with the Ab Beth Din a recognized expert on such matters. It is doubtful if in New Zealand there was ever appointed a man with such qualifications.

Since no community in New Zealand had built a regulation ritual bath, laxity in the form of compulsory immersion took place in cases of conversion. The candidates would be immersed at the seaside. It is very doubtful if such immersion is valid. Because liberal congregations do not demand immersion, orthodox congregations cannot recognize conversions carried out by liberals or by unauthorized persons. Nevertheless, marriages were celebrated in some cases where conversions had not been conducted by orthodox authority.

When an influx of orthodox migrants arrived in Wellington during the Second World War, they demanded the building of a Mikvah, but the congregation would not permit the Mikvah to be built on synagogue premises. Although money has been collected by the sponsors, the congregation rejected a motion to erect the Mikvah as late as September, 1954, mainly on account of the fear that the Rabbi might compel brides to go to the Mikvah against their will prior to marriage.

At the suggestion of Chief Rabbi Israel Brodie, the ministers in New Zealand formed a Board of Ministers which, according to one synagogue committee, "since its inception has not clearly clarified its own procedures". It did make it clear, however, that it intended making proselytes. This seemed to be intended as one of its major functions. But the Chief Rabbi put a stop to it all. He has laid it down as an instruction that no further proselytes are to be made until a Mikvah is built.

The alarming rate of intermarriage in New Zealand would have been even higher if not for strong counteracting influences. Besides the powerful hereditary and historical ties which are not easily broken, the social structure was built up to such an extent as to make the community partly self-sufficient for its social needs and amenities. Club organization developed in New Zealand to a far greater extent than in similar-sized Anglo-Jewish communities in other parts of the world. The ever-increasing propaganda against the Jews emanating from Germany before the Second World War and the subsequent news of the horrors of the concentration camps and the European mass murders, contributed towards the consolidation of New Zealand Jewry. More remarkable still, as a factor for Jews in New Zealand retaining their Jewish associations, was the amazing growth in strength of the Zionist cause and the self-sacrifice they made in alleviating the lot of their persecuted brethren in other parts of the world. Whilst in other countries influential sections of Jews averted their eyes from the Zionist movement, Zionism in New Zealand received almost unanimous support from every section of the community. The wealthy and influential Jews were amongst its most ardent supporters. Living in a country free from material and political anxiety, the justice of Israel's struggle moved New Zealand Jewry deeply. A sense of equity has always been keenly developed amongst Jews. In New Zealand it aroused Jewish and religious sentiments. New Zealand Jewry received an unlooked-for and an unexpected reward from its views. Its attitude helped it partially to preserve itself.

From 1923 onwards, the constant stream of emissaries from Europe, Israel and the United States who came to Australia to seek help for various Jewish causes, made it almost an invariable rule to visit New Zealand as well. Not one went away empty-handed. New Zealand Jewry gave generously. It offered substantial sums which were often made with great personal sacrifice by individual members of the community. Each emissary came with a message, substantially the same, yet each adding some of his or her personality to it, giving it a character of its own. The message was a Jewish message. It told of Jewish suffering and of Jewish hopes. It may not have been intended as a religious message. Nevertheless, its very content and aim touched it with an emotional religious colouring. The saving of souls, feeding the hungry, clothing the needy, the messianic realization of Israel reborn, and the gathering in of the exiles, were all themes with a Jewish religious imprint. It could not but affect the hearers. It aroused a Jewish consciousness. Unconsciously, it maintained Jews within the fold.

The first social organization in Wellington started as a Zionist Society with David J. Nathan as President and the Rev. Herman Van Staveren as Treasurer. Founded in June 1903, the Wellington Zionist Social Club catered for men only in a room at Empire Chambers, Willis Street. But after a few changes it finally settled in permanent premises in Brunner Buildings, Lower Cuba Street, where it remained until 1921. In the meantime it had changed its name to the Wellington Jewish Social Club. Besides ordinary club activities, the members enjoyed debating, an annual smoking concert and an annual picnic. The first picnic nearly ended in disaster. Three hundred members and friends aboard the Duco, bound for Lowry Bay, had to be helped ashore in rowing-boats when the Duco sank in the harbour. The Club also formed a library. Extremely active in entertainment, the Club became a popular meeting-place.

In 1921, the Club moved into premises which it had bought in Ghuznee Street. It widened its activities by the formation of a cricket team and the establishment of a separate club for the ladies—the Wellington Jewish Women's Social Club. The affairs of the organization proceeded pleasantly until the Second World War when, of necessity, activities were restricted. The dilapidated condition of the building impelled the Club to purchase and build new premises in the same street. These were opened in June, 1954, and the community now enjoys a social centre worthy of its name. Unpretentious, yet comfortable and utilitarian, the centre is now the focal point of the community, where it meets for all kinds of functions in pleasant conditions and in a happy atmosphere. The community showed wisdom in its moderation by not being over-ambitious in its building programme and in the manner in which it conducts its Social Clubs.

A Boy Scouts' Association, a Girl Guides' Association, a Boys' Club, a Jewish Young People's League, a Maccabean Club for athletics, a Wellington Jewish Women's Guild and a Hutt Jewish Women's Guild were all Wellington societies which flourished for brief periods. A more permanent organization, the Union of Jewish Women of New Zealand, was founded in 1929. It unites the Jewish women of the country in all their activities, and has branches in Wellington, Auckland, Christchurch and Dunedin.

In Auckland, "The Maccabeans", a social and athletic group with headquarters in Upper Queen Street, were very active from about 1900 until 1909, but did not achieve permanence. Following Wellington's example, the community formed the Auckland Jewish Social Club in 1923 in Wyndham Street, but during the depression the Club waned. It re-formed in 1931 in Queen Street, primarily as a businessman's lunch club, and for the last twenty-five years it has fulfilled an important social function in the community.

Dissatisfied with the lack of cultural and social activities, Rabbi Alexander Astor, on his appointment to the Auckland community, formed the Auckland Judean Association, which met mainly in the communal hall of the synagogue. It achieved a variable success. After the Second World War, a number of English Jews, accustomed to a more vigorous Jewish life in Britain, established the Auckland Jewish Colonial Club to provide some of their social needs. The community still felt it needed a social centre, and, in 1955, four hundred members of the three main societies met and resolved to amalgamate into the Auckland Jewish Association with the principal object of establishing a communal centre at an early date. If it builds on the same lines as Wellington, the project should be successful.

Auckland also had its Judean Boy Scouts' Association, Judean Girl Guides' Association and Auckland Jewish Girls' Society, which all started with enthusiasm and lapsed when the initial zeal was dissipated.

The Canterbury Jewish Social Club, founded in 1907, faded and revived on three occasions. When, in 1953, the community found itself the proud possessor of over sixty young people, an unprecedented figure, it decided a communal centre was necessary, and at considerable expense it has built, at the back of the synagogue, suitable social rooms which should prove a communal asset.

When Leon Cohen, a prominent member of the Wellington Social Club, moved to Dunedin, in 1924, he persuaded his new community to form the Dunedin Jewish Social Club which, because of dwindling numbers, now endeavours, under the guidance of E. Hirsh, to provide social amenities for the Jewish students who attend the University of Otago.

Apart from the Union of Jewish Women of New Zealand, the four major communities in the country co-operated with each other on all matters of mutual interest. Whenever a new governor came to the country, they would combine in the presentation of an address of loyalty. They united in protesting against Calendar Reform. From 1922 until the Second World War, a cricket club from the Wellington Jewish Social Club would annually meet a team from the Canterbury Jewish Social Club in competition for the Ernest Boulton Cup and, later, for the Isaac Gotlieb Cup. This led, in 1934, to a Quadrangular Tournament held in Wellington. Its success resolved the four organizations to form a New Zealand Maccabean Association with the intention of holding a combined sports meeting in Auckland in 1935, but a polio epidemic prevented the meeting taking place. The project was not pursued further. For some years, all the societies in Wellington formed themselves into the Council of Wellington Jewry and the societies in Christchurch into the Council of Canterbury Jewry. Both unions dissolved. However, a United Jewish Synagogue for New Zealand has been mooted and a draft constitution has been tabled. The formation of a Council for New Zealand Jewry has also been suggested.

The energy and vitality of the Wellington Jewish Social Club, when it entered its new premises in 1921, led to the establishment of a New Zealand Jewish Press. Leon Cohen edited a four-page humorous broadsheet as the organ of the Club with the curious name of Ish Kabibel. At the end of the year, Ben Green took over the editorship, changed the newspaper's name to the Jewish Times, made its tone a more serious one, and later called it the organ of New Zealand Jewry. It developed into an excellent monthly journal of about twenty pages and added a Zionist Supplement as the organ of the Wellington Palestine League. In January, 1932, the Jewish Times ceased publication. M. Pitt and A. Katranski combined, in March, 1935, as editors of the Jewish Review, a social monthly journal issued from Wellington. At the beginning of the war, the paper ceased to be published. A humble effort to provide local news for the Auckland community, commenced by Mrs Alexander Astor in July, 1940, as a small eight-page publication, the Auckland Judean, developed into a splendid monthly newspaper. Sponsored by the Auckland Judean Association and the Auckland Congregation, the journal changed its name, first to the Judean Bulletin and then to the New Zealand Jewish Bulletin, and was sent to every Jewish home in New Zealand. Although complete as far as Auckland news was concerned, it gave good coverage for the rest of New Zealand as well.

When the Zionist movement expanded, the Zionist Council of New Zealand decided to publish its own journal. It produced a most attractive monthly magazine with an illustrated, stiff paper cover. Although the New Zealand Jewish Chronicle, which issued its first number in September, 1944, was essentially a Zionist monthly, it also presented general Jewish news. Unfortunately its editor, Simon Hochberger, a young poet and writer of promise and a victim of Nazi terror, died at the end of 1947. In the emergency, M. Pitt took over. In April, 1949, the Chronicle and Bulletin merged, retaining the name of the New Zealand Jewish Chronicle, under the supervision of Mrs Alexander Astor, the managing editress. It still continues to flourish, having added a Youth Supplement, Hagesher, issued by the Education and Youth Department of the Zionist Movement. The Wellington Jewish Social Club, once again desiring to publish its own periodical, has, from March, 1955, issued a fine, four-page broadsheet, the Monthly Review.

CHAPTER XXIX
ZIONISM

OUTWEIGHING ALL OTHER SOCIAL ACTIVITIES, working for the various Zionist societies and appeals occupied a goodly portion of the leisure hours of the community. At first supplementing the social clubs, Zionist work gradually prevailed over all other communal activities. The suppressed indignation at the persecution of Jews in different parts of the world and the horror of German atrocities, welded New Zealand Jewry into a unanimity to share in the burden of saving the remnant of the Jewish people and to endeavour to give to the under-privileged members of their faith the same freedom as was enjoyed in New Zealand. The democratic liberty of New Zealand convinced its Jews that no other than a similar system would suffice their downtrodden brethren. Guided by inspired and able leadership, New Zealand Jewry accepted the morally imposed responsibility, and responded sincerely, with its heart and soul, to the many demands made upon it. In proportion to its members, it made equal sacrifices to Jewries in other parts of the globe. No other denomination in the country had so many calls made upon its generosity as the Jews.

Zionism started modestly. At the end of 1903, Auckland formed a small Zionist Society about the same time as Wellington established its Zionist Social Club. When Theodore Herzl died in the following year, he was mourned from the synagogue pulpits, the Dunedin Congregation also passing a resolution recognizing his work for the Jewish cause and making a spontaneous collection for his widow and family. The first of the new type of Israeli emissaries came out to New Zealand in 1905 in the person of Samuel Goldreich, the Life President of the South African Zionist Federation. His addresses inspired the formation of the Wellington Zionist League, and F. E. Baume, K.C., M.P., to accept the presidency of the Auckland Zionist Society. Dr W. Heinemann founded the Dunedin Zionist Society. Little activity took place in the movement before the First World War, but it received encouragement when Rabbi Goldstein of Auckland accepted the position of President of the local branch in 1912, a post which he retained for over twenty years. It also marked the beginning of the placement of Jewish National Fund boxes in private homes. Today there is hardly a Jewish house which is not adorned with a blue and white box. The Fund, which is world wide, owes its popularity to its small demands, its non-political nature PAGE 206 and its primary object of purchasing and redeeming the soil for the Jewish people. A secondary object, the re-forestation of the country, attracts donors to plant trees for the modest sum of a few shillings on any specially happy private occasion. For those who wish to mark a happy occasion by the donation of a larger amount, the Jewish National Fund provides inscriptions in special books housed in Jerusalem, recording the donors' participation in the building up of the Holy Land. To be inscribed in the Golden Book, the Sefer Hamedinah, the Sefer Barmitzvah or the Sefer Hayeled is considered an honour. In New Zealand a Happy Day Thought Fund emphasized the idea. J.N.F. commissioners, with assisting committees in the four larger New Zealand cities, administer the Fund. Voluntary workers collect the money in the J.N.F. boxes twice each year.

Britain's promise through the Balfour Declaration to establish a Jewish National Home for the Jews in Palestine, quickened Zionist sentiments. When the allies captured Jerusalem in the First World War, General Sir Francis Wingate sent a cable to the Governor-General of New Zealand concerning the privations of the Jewish colonists in Palestine. The Jewish communities responded with a substantial sum for their relief. All the communities supported the London Board of Deputies in their representations to the New Zealand Government to vote for provision for special protection for minorities, especially those in Russia, Poland and Roumania, in the Peace Treaty made at Versailles. They also asked for support of the Jewish Delegation at the Peace Conference, and the New Zealand delegates, the Rt Hon. W. F. Massey and the Rt Hon. Sir Joseph Ward, did champion the Jewish cause. When the Peace Conference endorsed the Balfour Declaration, New Zealand Jewry held special services in the synagogues. An Auckland solicitor, Louis Phillips, serving overseas in the New Zealand forces, deserved, as a stalwart Zionist, the honour

of being New Zealand's first delegate at the International Zionist Conference. When he returned home he toured the country lecturing on the Zionist movement, and received the promise of the communities to support the cause.

Louis Phillips's lectures paved the way for the magnetic Israel Cohen to win the hearts of the people when he came out on behalf of the Palestine Restoration Fund. His campaign started the first of the long stream of appeals in which prominent non-Jewish politicians took part, and at which large sums were asked for and received. At Wellington, the Mayor presided, and the Acting Governor-General, Sir Robert Stout, and the Prime Minister, the Rt Hon. W. F. Massey spoke. Sir Michael Myers and the Hon. Mark Cohen also addressed the meeting. Tramcars carried advertisements proclaiming the event. In Auckland, the Mayor presided over the meeting, and Colonel C. E. R. Mackesy, the first New Zealand soldier to enter Jerusalem in Allenby's campaign, spoke in favour of the cause. The meeting was described as "the most enthusiastic held in the eighty years' history of the Jewish community in Auckland". Israel Cohen stated years later that enthusiasm for Zionism in New Zealand was not equalled anywhere with such friendly notice in the Press. The campaign resulted in a collection of over £21,500.

Between the two world wars, the more prominent of the official emissaries included Madame Bella Pevsner, who formed the Young Judean Society, and David A. Brown of Detroit, a renowned American social worker, philanthropist and businessman devoted to the Zionist movement. In 1927, Dr Alexander Goldstein thrilled New Zealand audiences with his oratory. In a leader, the Wellington Dominion stated: "Many people are saying today that they often heard of the faith which moved mountains but they never met anyone who had it until they heard Dr Alexander Goldstein discourse on the Zionist Palestine projects and the ideal by which these projects are inspired ...." The Prime Minister, the Rt Hon. J. G. Coates, received him and expressed sincere sympathy with the Jewish cause for a Jewish National Home. After Dr Goldstein returned to England from a world tour he said at a lecture at Jews' College, "If I were asked which was the best Jewish community in the world from the Zionist point of view, I would say New Zealand." He later added, "If there is a roll of honour in the world for communities, the first place in that roll of honour belongs to Auckland."

Mrs Henrietta Irwell of the London branch of the Women's International Zionist Organization soon followed Dr Goldstein. Dr Benzion Shein proved to be a popular emissary, coming out to New Zealand in 1933 and 1939, preceded on the last occasion by talented Mrs Ariel Bension (later Mrs Samuel Wynn) who consolidated the W.I.Z.O. movement in the country.

During the Second World War, David Ben Gurion, the leader of the Jewish Agency and future Prime Minister of Israel, had to return to Palestine from America via New Zealand. When he arrived at Auckland the community tendered him a reception which the Prime Minister, the Rt Hon. Peter Fraser, attended. The latter often spoke in favour of Palestine on his frequent visits to Jewish functions.

From the close of the Second World War onwards, an unceasing stream of brilliant talent has visited New Zealand on behalf of the Zionist and Israeli semi-governmental organizations to seek assistance for its superhuman task, and at the same time inspiring the communities with a messanic message.. The more eminent amongst them included Professor W. Fischel, campaigning for the Hebrew University, Dr Samuel Shocken, the head of the Shocken Press, Dr Michael Traub, impressive Mrs Archibald Silverman, from the United States of America, Dr Samuel Sambursky, for the Hebrew University, Mrs Irma Lindheim, an American living on an Israeli kibbutz and once a President of Hadassah, Rabbi Max Schenk, President of the Zionist Federation of Australia and New Zealand, capable Bernard Cherrick, Jack Brass, who was later shot down over Bulgaria, Mrs Kate Gluckman from South Africa, Mrs Malcah Weinberg-Schalit for the W.I.Z.O., M. Edelbaum, dynamic Rabbi Louis Rabinowitz, Chief Rabbi of Johannesburg, South Africa, learned Moshe Medzini, former editor of Ha'aretz, Berl Locker, the Jewish Agency politician, rustic Captain Simeon Hacohen, Captain H. Bemer from Canada, picturesque,

attractive, word-spinning Ya'acov Zerubavel, who fascinated audiences although he spoke only in Yiddish and Hebrew, and popular Benzion Shein, who visited New Zealand for the third time.

Besides other lesser luminaries who came out to New Zealand for major Zionist and Israeli organizations, another stream visited the country for private Israeli institutions, such as orphanages, old-aged homes and Yeshi-voth, as well as for political parties such as the Mizrahi. They, too, did not leave New Zealand empty-handed.

The ever-waxing support for the Zionist movement, both in principle and in practice, created a busy social life for the Jewish community, who conducted their Zionist affairs on efficient, organized lines. The Zionist Societies in Wellington, Auckland, Christchurch, Dunedin, Hamilton, Palmerston North and Gisborne have, from 1943 onwards, held a Dominion Conference almost annually. The New Zealand Zionist Council is affiliated to the Zionist Federation of Australia and New Zealand, which sends delegates to the World Zionist Conference. John Nathan represented New Zealand at the Conference in 1951. After Israel Cohen's mission, the women in the four larger centres combined into the New Zealand Women's Zionist Society for Infant Welfare in Palestine, which endeavoured to introduce the Plunket method into children's welfare service in the Holy Land. Later the Society expanded and included all women's Zionist work in its programme. It affiliated to the Women's International Zionist Organization, of which the New Zealand body is a branch, having sub-branches in even the smallest of the New Zealand communities. The New Zealand W.I.Z.O. meets from time to time in conference. In the larger centres a Junior W.I.Z.O. has been formed for Jewish girls. In addition, the youth are now organized under the Habonim as a result of the amalgamation of the Habonim and the Zionist Youth League, the latter itself an amalgamation of the Auckland Judean Youth and the Wellington Maccabeans. Branches of the Friends of the Hebrew University have also been formed in the four larger centres to assist scholarship in Israel.

Apart from meetings and the raising of funds, the Zionist movement through the women's organizations arranged an "Eastern Garden Fair" in 1921 and "In a Persian Garden" in 1926, fairs held in Auckland to raise funds to send Plunket nurses to Palestine. The energy and ability of Mrs David L. Nathan, the President of the Women's Zionist Society, assured success for the ventures. She received the co-operation of the Postal Department which agreed to frank letters with a stamp advertising the carnivals. Tram-cars and picture theatres also advertised the events. In conjunction with the New Zealand Palestine Plunket Nurse Fund, the movement sent Misses E. Ashberry and E. Hyams to Palestine to introduce the Plunket system, and later opened three mother craft centres in Jaffa and Tel-Aviv. Mr and Mrs David L. Nathan donated one New Zealand Infant Welfare and Mothercraft Training Centre, which the wife of Dr Edward G. Joseph, a former President of the Wellington Zionist Society, opened in 1929. The Plunket system introduced by New Zealand made a definite contribution to the extraordinary record held by the young country of Israel, which boasts one of the lowest infant mortality rates in the world.

A feature of the fairs was the interest Zionism aroused amongst non-Jews. In Gisborne, a group held a "Boston Tea" in aid of the Plunket Nurse Fund for Palestine. Sir Truby King, the Director of Child Welfare in New Zealand, watched the work with deep sympathy, and at the first Women's Dominion Conference, the meeting inscribed him in the Golden Book. The Christadelphians have maintained their interest in the Zionist movement, and often made substantial donations towards its various funds. At a memorial banquet held in Wellington commemorating the first anniversary of Israel's independence, the movement inscribed the Government of New Zealand in the Golden Book for its support in the creation of Israel at the United Nations. When the Prime Minister received a Golden Book Inscription for his unswerving support of Zionism over the years, he said, "There has been a long argument as to whether the Balfour Declaration when it used the term 'Home' meant 'Home'. To me there could be no 'Home' unless the people concerned were masters and mistresses in their own 'Home'." The Mayor accepted a Golden Book Certificate on behalf of the City of Wellington to mark the centenary of Wellington Jewry and the happy association of the Jews with the city. He recalled the early Jewish pioneers of Wellington.

The Rt Hon. Peter Fraser, on a number of occasions, addressed the Zionist Dominion Conference and Jewish meetings, where he expressed the view in favour of the United Nations division of the Holy Land. Otherwise, he said, the United Nations would be bankrupt. In Wellington and Auckland non-Jewish pro-Palestine committees supported New Zealand's official attitude. They had been formed to give expression of interest in, and sympathy with, a Jewish National Home, and to obtain moral support for implementation of the Balfour Declaration. Prominent members of the clergy and the university, as well as politicians, belonged to it. Canon C. W. Chandler frequently spoke favourably about the justice of the Jewish cause, and the joy he experienced at the birth of the Jewish State. A Golden Book Inscripton stated that he received it for the championship of just dealings with all peoples. Many Gentiles joined in the protests which the New Zealand PAGE 210 Zionist Organization made from time to time against the injustice meted out to the Jews in connection with the Holy Land. They protested against the Arab massacres, the prevention of Jews' migrating to their "Home", and the denial of defence materials to guard against Arab aggression.

New Zealand Jewry celebrated the declaration of Israel's independence with Thanksgiving Services, and when the Consul-General of Israel, Mr Y. H. Levin, arrived in the country, it tendered him a moving welcome. With pride, they also greeted Mr Joseph I. Linton, the first Israel Minister to Australia and New Zealand, and later His Excellency, Mr Mordechai Nurock, the Israeli Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary to Australia and New Zealand. These ambassadors for Israel not only represented their country diplomatically They were messengers of goodwill, bearing the spirit of the Bible from the land of the Holy Book. They also sought trade between the two countnes. Dr S. Hirsch, of the Agricultural Faculty of the Hebrew University, and Mr Eliahu Lipovelski, of the Farmers' Federation of Israel, spent many months in New Zealand investigating the breeding, rearing and the purchase of the country's cattle.

Another responsibility which the New Zealand Zionist movement has accepted is the partial care of the youth. Besides the clubs conducted by the Habonim, annual summer camps for juniors and seniors are held in suitable surroundings and food is supplied in accordance with the dietary laws. They are very popular and splendidly managed. The movement has also collected a Jewish library for general use. To train youth leaders, it has arranged with Israel for a number of young people to spend a year or two in the Holy Land. In return, the scholarship winners are expected to spend two years amongst the children and youth clubs as leaders and organizers when they come back to New Zealand.

The enthusiasm of the Zionist movement in New Zealand is due in great measure to the unremitting and inspiring leadership of Mrs David L. Nathan of Auckland. For many years Isaac Gotlieb led the movement in Wellington, but unfortunately, to the sorrow of New Zealand, he and his wife, his daughter Denise and his sister and brother-in-law, Mr and Mrs Samuel Triester, were all killed in 1951 when the aeroplane in which they were travelling to Israel was struck by lightning when about to land at Rome Airport.

A number of New Zealanders, moved by the history of their people and its struggle for emancipation, have idealistically decided to settle and live in the land of Israel. Some have descended from well-established pioneer families. Most were in comfortable and secure positions. They believed they would fulfil their life's ideal, as well as retain their religious affiliations, by assisting in the building up of the new Israel and in the rehabilitation of the thousands of the persecuted who have assembled there from the four coiners of the earth. Amongst the first to leave for Israel was Dr Edward G. Joseph, a grandson of the pioneer Wellingtonian, Jacob Joseph. He has become famous in the Holy Land and beloved for his skill, his bravery in besieged Jerusalem during the Arab attacks and his Hebrew malapropisms. His home became a popular rendezvous for New Zealand soldiers during the Second World War. Amongst others who have, for idealistic reasons, departed for Israel, have been Mr John Nathan, a great grandson of the

Kororareka and Auckland pioneer, David Nathan, and Mrs David L. Nathan herself, the devoted Zionist leader.

The New Zealand Zionists believe that their task will not be completed until the downtrodden remnant of their people, especially those living in Arab countries, are rescued, rehabilitated and firmly settled upon Israel's soil. At all times, it is hoped, bonds of friendship will tie New Zealand and Israel. For Jews, Israel is the symbol of world peace. Its people are imbued with a noble spirit of democracy and a fervent desire to fulfil the Biblical ideal of the brotherhood of all mankind. New Zealand Jewry is also hopeful that Israel will soon provide it with some of its cultural and spiritual needs— "That the Law will go forth from Zion and the word of the Lord from Jerusalem."

CHAPTER XXX
SOCIAL RELATIONSHIPS

AT THE SAME TIME AS NEW ZEALAND JEWRY strove with all its might and main to accomplish a prophetic dream of two thousand years' standing, it by no means neglected its religious qualities of compassion in accepting the responsibility and burden of giving immediate and substantial aid to those in need and in dire distress.

The Kishineff pogroms and other Russian atrocities early in the century created intense indignation within the communities, which spontaneously responded to the call for financial assistance. Indignation and protests did not help, for the persecutions increased with monotonous regularity. Year by year, the sickening reports of the despair and suffering of the Jewries in the Ukraine, in Poland and in Russia, flowed into New Zealand. Up to and throughout the First World War, and continually up to the Second World War, desperate appeals for immediate assistance came from the groaning, oppressed masses of Eastern Europe. Almost annually, the New Zealand Jews, with great self-sacrifice, sent large sums of money to try to alleviate, even if only by a very minute fraction, the unhappy lot of their downtrodden brethren. They grew suspicious, however, of the appeal made by S. Poliakoff for a Reconstruction Campaign for Russian Jewry. They feared the Soviet would confiscate the funds. In addition, during the First World War, the communities sent a large sum for the relief of Belgian Jewish refugees in England, and for the Jewish Prisoners of War Fund.

A proposal to bring out Ukrainian orphans, a suggestion strongly supported by Sir Michael Myers, in 1922, did not succeed because of the restrictions placed upon the immigration of orphans into New Zealand by the Government and the lack of sponsors who would accept individual responsibility for their maintenance, a compulsory governmental provision. From about 1930, Jewish philanthropic authorities abroad tried to raise the standards of the masses in the Ukraine and Poland by scientific means, especially in relation to health and vocational training, through the organizations known as O.R.T. and O.Z.E. They sent out their own emissaries to New Zealand, amongst the more prominent being Dr S. Y. Jacobi, Dr M. Laserson, Dr Hans Klee and Elsley Zeitlin. They all received a ready response from the New Zealanders. Private institutions from Europe also made calls upon the communities. Even an organization from rich America heard about their generosity and appealed for funds through a rabbinical emissary.

The rising tide of Nazism, with its attendant cruelties, brought new problems and additional burdens to Jews throughout the world. New Zealand Jewry did not fail to bear its share of the responsibility. From 1933 onwards, it responded continually to the many calls which came from the General Relief Fund. German refugees began to arrive in the country from about 1936, and everything possible was done by the various Welcome Committees to make them happy and to re-settle them comfortably. The branches of the New Zealand Jewish Welfare Society supported

them until they found work and paid for the upkeep and fees of a number of professional men, mostly doctors and dentists, who were required by regulation to pass certain examinations in subjects in the New Zealand university colleges " before they could practise in the country. The Jewish communities were prepared to accept more migrants and the responsibility for their maintenance, but restrictive measures by the New Zealand Government prior to the outbreak of war checked any great flow of immigration from Germany and Austria. The commencement of hostilities stopped it altogether, except for a trickle which had escaped through Soviet Russia and Japan.

In the third year of the war, news of the horrible extent of the greatest crime ever committed in human history seeped through to New Zealand. Expressions of indignation and horror were vehemently made by all denominations. The Prime Minister, the Rt Hon. Peter Fraser, the Leader of the Opposition, the Mayor of Wellington, the Bishop of Wellington, representatives of the Cabinet and Clergy, at a mammoth protest demonstration held in the capital city, declared their horror-struck fears concerning the unbelievable degradations to which the cruel Germans had descended. As relief came to the small remnant of Jews who remained in the European concentration camps, New Zealand Jewry combined in contributing to the United Jewish Committee for Relief Abroad in an attempt to rehabilitate the bitter sufferers who had been saved. A Search Bureau for Missing Relatives confirmed the terrifying degree of the German crime. When Dr Maurice Perlzweig came to New Zealand for short visits on behalf of the World Jewish Congress, an organization striving to improve the political situation of Jews outside Israel, the country's politicians received him attentively, and many in the communities supported his views.

The heavy demands made upon the charitable sentiments of the Jewish communities in no way affected their generosity towards local and national philanthropic institutions. On the contrary, it seemed to make them more aware of the need for accepting benevolent civic responsibility. Wherever Jews congregated, they served on hospital committees and charitable organizations. V. S. Jacobs, an eminent Dunedin sportsman, received the O.B.E. for his work amongst crippled children. A relative, John Jacobs, a Deputy Town Clerk of Dunedin, was secretary of the Otago Hospital Board for thirty-nine years. Another recipient of the O.B.E., Samuel Saltzman, earned his reputation as a philanthropist. He built the Saltzman T. B. Ward at Greymouth, an Administration Block at Waipiata Sanatorium, the Saltzman Theatre at the Dunedin Hospital, the Saltzman Wing at the Methodist Mission Home at Company Bay, the Saltzman Wing at the Balclutha T.B. Hospital, a Children's Home at Oamaru and a whole building for the St John Ambulance at Dunedin. The St John Ambulance organization presented him with one of the only two Donat medals ever presented in the southern hemisphere.

For her charitable work, Mrs J. I. Goldsmith received the M.B.E. She also acted as Chairman of the Women Justices' Association. Her husband, Joseph Isaac Goldsmith, associated with innumerable communal activities, acted as Chairman of the Disabled Soldiers' Re-establishment League, the Otaki Health Camp, the Citizens' Unemployed Committee, during the depression, and helped to found the "Smith Family". Chess enthusiasts themselves, Mr and Mrs Goldsmith donated the Goldsmith Chess Trophy in memory of their son Lionel M. Goldsmith, killed in air operations over Europe.

Sir Truby King received an enormous amount of help from a number of Jews in furthering the adoption of the Plunket method of child care and in making it known throughout the world. Mrs D. E. Theomin of Dunedin sponsored the scheme and accepted the position of the first Treasurer of the Plunket Society. Wolf Harris donated the first Karitane Hospital for Dunedin, and Sir Arthur H. Myers presented a Karitane Hospital for Auckland. The movement received ardent support from Mrs D. L. Nathan.

Although the New Zealand Jewish communities readily assisted Israel both morally and materially and always supported any appeal which came from abroad, they remained essentially English in composition and in their associations. Their compassion and benevolence extended

widely to all Jewries; their loyalties and historical ties bound them strongly to Britain and naturally New Zealand itself. Though the Anglo-Jewish Association did absolutely nothing in New Zealand, some of the communities continued paying their contributions to the English organization. When the more vigorous Board of Deputies of British Jews assumed the leadership of the Jews in England and agreed to representation from colonial communities, all the New Zealand congregations took advantage of the invitation.

To strengthen the ties between the English and the colonial Jews, the dynamic, active Chief Rabbi of the British Empire, Dr Joseph H. Hertz, came out to New Zealand in 1921, accompanied by Albert M. Woolf, the Vice-President of the United Synagogue, as part of his pastoral tour of the Jewish communities of the British overseas dominions. Enthusiastically received wherever he went, his lectures, especially the one on "The Bible as a Book", deeply impressed his Jewish and Gentile audiences. The New Zealand Herald wrote: "I have been listening to a sermon, and the Chief Rabbi has confirmed me in my opinion that to be a Jew is a thing in which a man may well take pride. ... It is an honest religion which exalts conduct." On his tour, he appealed for funds to establish a Jewish War Memorial for British and Dominion Jewish soldiers killed in the First World War. The form of the Memorial was to be a permanent fund for assisting educational institutions. New Zealand Jewry donated over £12,000 towards the cause. Impressed with the effect of the Chief Rabbi's visit, a leading Auckland citizen wrote: "It has had a most inspiring effect on the Jewish community. I would strongly urge that this pastoral tour should be repeated at stated intervals of not more than seven years." New Zealand also impressed the Chief Rabbi. "Nowhere in the world," he stated, "have Jews, in proportion to their number, attained to such prominence. This is due to the fact that they are largely descendants of old, mostly English, settlers who were among the pioneers of Australia and New Zealand. They have been fortunate in their spiritual guides."

Following up the appeal for the Jewish War Memorial, Sir Robert Waley Cohen, the President of the United Synagogue in London and the recognized lay leader of English Jewry, when he visited New Zealand on private business as managing director of the Shell Oil Company, lectured on the purpose of the Memorial and the problems with which British Jewry was faced. His visit of several months, at the close of 1924, proved of considerable value to the communities.

New Zealand deeply respected the office of the Chief Rabbi, but he made no further monetary demands of them except in the Second World War, when he asked for donations for the Chief Rabbi's Emergency Fund to buy mobile synagogues for personnel serving in the forces. He also urged the rebuilding of the Great Synagogue, London, destroyed in a bombing raid. His death soon after the war evoked deep expressions of regret.

His successor, Chief Rabbi Israel Brodie, followed in the footsteps of his predecessor by paying a pastoral visit to New Zealand in 1952. It was not his first visit to the country. He had come earlier as a representative for a Zionist cause from Australia, where he had served for many years as the minister of the Melbourne Hebrew Congregation. When he came on his pastoral visit, he came as a guest of the Government, which tendered him a State reception. He also lectured to large audiences on "The Bible" and on "Religion in the Modern World". His visit added to the popularity which he widely enjoyed.

In their association with the British Commonwealth, the Jews of New Zealand displayed their deep loyalty and preparedness for sacrifice. New Zealand sent a very small contingent to South Africa to fight in the Boer PAGE 216 War. Jews served amongst them. They included Joseph Isaac Goldsmith, who acts as the Dominion President of the South African War Veterans' Association, and Albert M. Samuels, who represented Ohinemuri as a member of the House of Representatives from 1925 to 1928 and Thames from 1928 to 1935. Rabbi S. A. Goldstein of Auckland, as Honorary Secretary of the Boer War Patriotic Fund, boosted the morale of the country. The New Zealand Jews have a proud record of service both in the First and Second World Wars, as is evidenced by the large list of names on the honour rolls affixed to the walls

of the synagogues of the various congregations. Practically every eligible able-bodied man volunteered for the forces.

In the First World War, Arthur Melziner Myers, elected to the Auckland East seat in the House of Representatives in 1910, was promoted to Minister for Customs, Munitions and Supplies in the National Government. He had previously served as Minister for Finance, Railways and Defence in the Mackenzie Ministry. In the army, he held the rank of colonel in command of the Motor Service Corps. His was the only munitions department in the British Commonwealth which came through the war with a clean record and no scandal. As a young man, he had entered his uncle's office, Ehrenfried and Company, at Thames. Later he completed the amalgamation of the company with Brown, Campbell and Company, to become its managing director. A progressive man, he contracted the building of the Auckland Electric Tramways and reduced fares from 3d. to 1d. a section. Elected Mayor of Auckland in 1905, he gave an honorarium to subsidize bands to play in the public parks. When he completed his term of office in 1909, he laid the foundation-stone of the new Town Hall, to which he donated the clock. Ten thousand people gathered in Albert Park to witness a presentation given to him on behalf of the City. He in turn presented the City, at a cost of £20,000, with eight acres of land, known as Myers Park, on which he built a free kindergarten and school for backward children. He also donated £5000 towards a Karitane Hospital and gave many pictures to the Auckland Art Gallery. At Thames, he improved many of its amenities and assisted in establishing its Technical School. Leaving for London in 1921 to take up a directorship in the National Bank of New Zealand, he received a knighthood three years later for his services to his homeland. Sir Arthur M. Myers died in 1924.

Bertram Joseph Jacobs distinguished himself in the First World War as President of the Palmerston North Patriotic Society, as President of the Palmerston North Returned Servicemen's Association, and later as Dominion President of the N.Z.R.S.A. Amongst a number who received awards during the war, Miss M. Mendelssohn received her decoration for work as a masseuse. The Jewish communities continued their patriotic work in the Second World War, mainly through the Union of Jewish Women, which as an established institution, was able to carry out its patriotic activities in an organized fashion. They were pleased to hear the warm tribute which the Prime Minister paid to the Palestinian troops who had fought in Greece and Crete, and whom he had met on a visit to the Middle East. As a patriotic gesture, Leon Cohen gave an ambulance to the New Zealand Government. Joseph Abel was awarded the M.B.E. for his public services, especially in connection with the Returned Servicemen's Association and the New Zealand Red Cross, of which he was appointed first Dominion Chairman. He also acted as Chairman of the Red Cross in the Hawkes Bay earthquake disaster in which a number of Jews were amongst those killed. His activities included organizing the Million Pound Patriotic Appeal in 1941 and the Sick and Wounded Appeal a year previously. Patriotic workers also helped to entertain the Jewish members of the American Marine Corps when the Corps was serving in New Zealand. Rabbi S. Katz took particular care of the Americans, and when he died they erected a memorial for him in the foyer of the Wellington Synagogue. In January 1940, Rabbi A. Astor of Auckland was commissioned as Senior Jewish Chaplain to the New Zealand Forces. In 1942 he was appointed as the official representative of the National Jewish Welfare Board of America. His spiritual ministrations to thousands of American Jewish servicemen included regular attendance at Army and Navy hospitals in the Auckland area. The New Zealanders had no Jewish chaplain who served abroad, but Rabbi L. M. Goldman of the Australian Imperial Forces took it upon himself to look after the interests and spiritual welfare of the men who served in the Middle East and in the Pacific area.

Many of the refugees who came to New Zealand prior to the war desired to join the forces, and through the Zionist organization unanimously resolved to send a letter to the Minister for Defence requesting that all Jewish aliens be liable for military service on the same basis as New Zealand citizens. The Minister for National Defence replied that Jewish aliens could not be compelled to join the armed forces, although every encouragement would be given to Allied, neutral, and, in some cases, enemy aliens, to render voluntary service in the armed forces of New Zealand. Some

enemy aliens did manage to fight in the front line overseas as members of the New Zealand Army.

After the war many of the soldiers, apart from joining their own local branches of ex-servicemen's clubs, formed a Jewish Ex-Servicemen's Association to revive the comradeship they had enjoyed whilst abroad. Some took a keen interest in their local branches. Maurice Myers, one of a number of Jewish men who had been decorated, and a son of the Chief Justice, Sir Michael Myers, presided over the Returned Servicemen's Association of Otago. He received the Legion of Merit from the Americans.

The intensity of loyalty to their country shown by the Jews of Zealand did not manifest itself only in times of war. It was also most pronounced in times of peace. In every sphere of public and civic life they contributed willingly of their service and ability for the welfare of the country and its common weal. Besides Sir Arthur M. Myers and Albert M. Samuels, F. E. Baume and F. Pirani also served as members of the House of Representatives. Auckland City elected F. E. Baume in 1902 as a Liberal, as did Auckland East in 1905. He spoke frequently in debates and fearlessly championed Jewish causes. Once, when the Official Assignee made a Jewish witness take an oath on protest without a hat, Baume expostulated in Parliament and quoted the correct practice from the book, New Zealand Justices of the Peace, which states, "Jews are sworn on the Five Books of Moses with their heads covered." Some of the members doubted the Official Assignee's excuse that he did not know the witness belonged to the Jewish faith. On Baume's sudden death in 1910, his wife, born in America and interested in many educational institutions, unsuccessfully contested the Parnell seat.

Frederick Pirani continued to speak on practically every controversial subject until defeated for the Hutt seat in 1902. For seventeen years he tried his utmost to be returned to the House, but, in rotation, the electors for Palmerston North, Wanganui and Wellington Central rejected him. He then concentrated on his newspaper and educational interests.

Another colourful New Zealand personality, Sir Percy A. Harris, distinguished himself in English politics and for many years sat as a member of the British House of Commons.

Recognition of Jewish service to the country was reflected in the appointment of a number of Jews to the Legislative Council. Samuel Edward Shrimski, who had been appointed for life, died in 1902. Members of the Council paid him touching tributes. One called him "a champion of the oppressed". Another referred to him as "a foreigner winning his spurs".

The Hon. Charles Louisson, an active executive member of many varied organizations in Canterbury, including the New Zealand Trotting Club, of which he was President, although he spoke but seldom in the Council, continued his services until his death in 1924, when a number of glowing tributes were paid to his memory. In 1920, the brilliant editor of Dunedin's Evening Star, Mark Cohen, received his appointment to the Council, where he sat until his death in 1928.

One more member of the Jewish faith, Eliot Rypinski Davis, sat in the Legislative Council before its abolition in 1951. A son of Moss Davis, he, together with his brother Sir Ernest, consolidated their interests in Hancock and Company and in allied concerns. A man of wide culture, Eliot R. Davis won, as a youth, the Curlow medal for theory of music at Auckland University College. He did a great deal to promote the pig industry in New Zealand. He had a boar farm and his animals won a number of prizes at agricultural shows. His prize imported boar he called "Chief Rabbi". A very orthodox Jew, Aaron Vecht, who even carried his own Kosher butter with him when he travelled, was also closely connected with the pig industry. He had discovered a system for the mild curing of bacon which he introduced to New Zealand and for which he received one shilling a head for every pig carcass cured under his system. It is interesting to note that the name of Aaron Vecht is among the distinguished names appearing on page one of the first Golden Book of the J.N.F. in Jerusalem, together with those of Theodore Herzl and other pioneer Zionists.

The Hon. Eliot R. Davis for many years acted as Consul for Japan. He suffered a severe blow when his son, Trevor Davis, one of the founders of the Junior Chamber of Commerce, passed away at an early age. In his memory, his parents erected a fountain in the Selwyn Domain at Mission Bay which, when illuminated at night, forms various colour combinations through a cycle of jets. In honour of his father, Moss Davis, the Hon. Eliot R. Davis erected a direction finder on the heights of Princes Drive, Nelson.

His brother, Sir Ernest Hyam Davis, erected a direction finder on top of Mount Eden, Auckland, for the same purpose. A great patriot and civic leader, he served as Chairman of the Joint Council of St John and Red Cross in the Second World War, for which work he was awarded a knighthood of St John of Malta and the Legion of Honour. Besides his activities on many civic boards and institutions he acted as Mayor of Newmarket, and in 1935 was elected Mayor of Auckland, a position which he held continuously for six years, earning great popularity by his sportsmanship. He belonged to practically every sporting organization in the Auckland district, especially supporting yachting, for which he had a particular love from his keen volunteer days in a naval detachment in which he served for eleven years. He had raced, as a personal friend of Sir Thomas Lipton, in the famous yacht Shamrock. At the age of eighty-four years, Sir Ernest still sails his own yacht in and about Auckland Harbour. His larger gifts to the City of Auckland include Brown's Island, the name of which has now been changed to Davis Island.

Others who gained election as mayors of their cities or towns included Maurice Cohen of Palmerston North, prominent because of his interest in sport and music, besides his connection with the United Fanners' Cooperative and the Palmerston North Chamber of Commerce. In the same city, Frederick Joseph Nathan, who also was elected Mayor, had wide interests. As President of the New Zealand Horticultural Society, he was one of the prime movers in the establishment of Massey College. His business connections fitted him as President of the Palmerston North Chamber of Commerce. He acted as Chairman of Joseph Nathan Limited, the New Zealand Casein Company, and the Glaxo Manufacturing Com- PAGE 220 pany (N.Z.). Abraham Wachner, an Invercargill personality, served as its Mayor, for which he was awarded the O.B.E. Harold Caro acted in the same capacity at Hamilton. He received the O.B.E. for his chairmanship of the Waikato Hospital Board and for other civic services. It was claimed that he was the first Jewish child born in the South Island. Israel Joseph Gold-stine, too, gained the O.B.E. He was Mayor of One Tree Hill for fifteen years. He sat on the executive of the National Patriotic Council besides his appointments as Chairman of the Local Government Commission, Auckland Metropolitan Milk Council and the Auckland Suburban Local Bodies' Association. A Mayor of North East Valley, a keen sportsman and an examiner for the New Zealand Dental School, had the extraordinarily long name of Septimus Solomon Arthur Wellington Daniel Myers.

Amongst the many Jews who served on city and local councils, quite a number distinguished themselves by long and meritorious service. Councillor Leo Stein of Dannevirke, apart from acting as Chairman of the Hospital Board, held executive positions in practically all of the important institutions in the area. The development of the Eastbourne Borough was in a large measure due to the enthusiasm of Councillors H. J. Levy, S. Edilson and I. Hart. F. Cohen and D. J. Nathan served for many years on the Wellington City Council. In Dunedin, Barnett Isaacs, Abraham Solomon and Mark Silverstone gave devoted service to the City Council.

Mark Silverstone, a popular leader, together with a number of other Jews, helped in a great measure in the formation of the New Zealand Labour Party. It originated in the Wellington workroom of a Jewish tailor, H. Joseph, on a Sunday morning in May, 1907. Amongst the fifteen people present, four were Jews—H. Joseph, Alf Rose, Karl Roth and Simon Zander. Every Sunday morning this group met at Joseph's workroom, arranged lectures and street-corner meetings, and published pamphlets. The Socialist Party made good progress, and early in 1908 gathered sufficient strength to procure its own premises and to publish a small monthly paper, Commonweal, which was the first Labour paper in the Dominion. Later in the same year, branches of the Socialist Party were formed in Auckland, Christchurch and Dunedin. P. Black,

and later Luis Marks, took a leading part in the movement in Auckland, and Mark and I. Silverstone in Dunedin.

Near the end of 1909, a powerful industrial organization came into being—the New Zealand Federation of Labour. Its founders and leaders were all very able men. Before the First World War a small wave of Jewish people, originally from Russia and Poland, but who had lived in Scotland for a number of years, migrated to New Zealand. Among them came Hyman Webster, a very active member of the British Independent Labour Party. An able man of brilliant intellect and wide reading, he used his keen and remarkably logical mind to add practicality to his idealism. His political judgment was almost faultless. On the same boat in which he migrated to New Zealand, he formed a lifelong friendship with Peter Fraser, migrating at the same time. Together they helped in the establishment of the Social Democratic Party in 1913. This was one camp in which Jews more than shared the hard pioneering work of organizing New Zealand labour into a great independent political force. Among them in a less conspicuous manner worked Lazer Zander, whilst his brother Simon, who had moved to Napier, established an active branch there and in the neighbouring town of Hastings.

Another camp, comprising a number of trade union officials and a more conservative element, included a most far-seeing and active man, Solomon Gordon. A nephew of David Wolfson, who had succeeded Theodore Herzl in the Zionist movement, he, too, had lived in Scotland where he had become one of the earliest members of the Independent Labour Party and a great friend of its leader James Keir Hardie. His sole aim was to bring about a united Labour Party on the pattern of the movement in Britain. Towards this end he worked tirelessly and selflessly. His brother, Shaiah, helped him as his right-hand man.

In the home of the Gordons, the leaders of the warring factions frequently met. Many conferences between the two labour bodies were held with the object of bringing about unity. With the influence of Solomon and Shaiah Gordon on the one hand and Hyman Webster on the other, agreement was finally reached, resulting in the formation of the New Zealand Labour Party in July, 1916. The movement appointed Hyman Webster, one of its most energetic and zealous workers, to the National Executive.

For the small number of Jews in the country, it is amazing that they played so important a role in the pioneering of the New Zealand Labour Movement. They are remembered with affection, honour and esteem in the Labour Party. Hon. P. C. Webb, writing to Solomon Gordon in later years, said, "We all appreciated the wonderful work you did throughout the years when workers were few. The government which you helped to create will never let you down. Your old comrades, Savage, Semple, Fraser, Thorn and company, all join in wishing you a very merry and bright Xmas."

In 1936, the Government appointed Mark Silverstone a director of the New Zealand Reserve Bank. He had served on the Workers' Political Committee which had organized the election of Labour Members of Parliament. He had also organized the Otago Branch of the New Zealand Labour Party. Besides his post on the Dunedin City Council he also served on the Otago Hospital Board.

Though Jews had a great deal to do with the organization of the Labour Movement, they still continued helping to organize industry and commerce. Out of five delegates sent to the British Chamber of Commerce from New Zealand, two, Sir Arthur Myers and Joseph E. Nathan, took a deep interest in Jewish communal affairs. Firms established by Jewish pioneers still continued to flourish, although some like Levin and Company had passed out of the original family's hands and others had changed into public companies. Nevertheless, Jews, like Hillel and Stanley Korman, still upheld the pioneering spirit. Coming from Europe they founded the Korman Mills, in 1939, in Auckland. At the end of 1955 they were employing over 1000 workers in one of the largest and most modern factories in New Zealand. In a building 250,000 square feet in extent,

not one pillar nor one pipe can be seen. All installations are underground. Air-conditioned, fireproof, soundproof, its concrete floors are covered with plastic for reasons of warmth and to make it easier for the employees to stand. The company also pioneered amenities, playgrounds and a kindergarten for the children of workers. It stressed management-labour co-operation. Over two hundred and eighty of its workers own cars which they park in twenty acres of ground set aside for the purpose.

Others in the field of commerce included Hubert Joseph Lichtenstein, Chairman of the Junior Chamber of Commerce, who later presided over the Auckland senior branch. John Myers presided over the Wellington Chamber of Commerce and assisted in the foundation of the Wellington Show Association. In many countries Jews have difficulties in joining the Stock Exchange. In Auckland, both R. E. Isaacs and L. A. Levy acted as stockbrokers.

In developing trade between New Zealand and other countries, some Jews found it advantageous to act as consuls for various lands. Hubert L. Nathan, a member of the Wellington Harbour Board and Hospital Board, acted as Honorary Consul for Chile, whilst E. J. Hyams was appointed Honorary Consul for Czechoslovakia. In Auckland, Morris Copeland, a Past Master and Grand Treasurer of the Grand Lodge of Freemasons in New Zealand, served as Vice-Consul for the Netherlands, and in Wellington, Bernard Gotlieb served as Consul for the United States of America. Besides acting as Agent for the Colony of Fiji, David L. Nathan was appointed Consul for Portugal, positions handed on at his death to his son Lawrence D. Nathan. The latter holds the position of Chairman of the Auckland Harbour Board. Before being seriously wounded on the Libyan front, he won the foil and epee championships of New Zealand.

The country produced quite a number of Jewish sportsmen prominent in different fields. Amelia Morris was a champion swimmer, Jack Jacobs, a leading cricketer, S. Hollander, a well-known footballer and international referee, Jack Meltzer, a featherweight boxing champion, and Charles Louisson, amateur champion of the shot and hammer. Louisson excelled in other sports too, and took a keen interest in returned soldiers' affairs, presiding over the Palmerston North Returned Servicemen's Club.

Both Leon Kronfeldt and John Leslie represented New Zealand in swimming as well as in rugby football, the latter also being well known as one of the best amateur heavyweight boxers in the country. Isadore Zuckerman excelled as a sculler, whilst an amateur equestrian, Trevor Davis, often appeared at point-to-point and show meetings and was widely known as a , keen rider and able horseman.

I. Salek, well known in Wellington bowling circles, had the unique honour of being presented with a specially struck medal, the first of its kind in the British Empire, on behalf of the New Zealand Justices' Association, which he founded. Like Felix Hector Levien, a stipendiary magistrate in Auckland, Salek acted in a judicial capacity in Wellington as City Coroner. A profound believer in women's rights, he served as Chairman of the Women's Reform Institute.

As far as Jewish women were concerned, they really had no need for reform. In their religion, they enjoyed equal rights with men, although their duties differed. In home life, they enjoyed the traditional companionship and the indulgences which Jewish husbands usually shower upon their wives. Most Jewish women in New Zealand do not idle, but spend their leisure hours in some public social service. The more prominent amongst them include Mrs Florence Pezaro, the President of both the Australia Club and of the Victorian League, and Miss Kate Keesing, a prominent member of the latter institution.

New Zealand Jewry could indeed be proud of its record of public service and acceptance of civic responsibility. The Anglo-Jewish tradition of loyalty to both country and faith found concrete and sincere expression within the Dominion. Jews regarded their duties towards the State as part of their religion. They were extremely sensitive in the matter of maintaining the good name of

the Jews. They therefore approached their obligations and voluntary activities with zeal and determination to succeed. The result was both satisfactory to themselves and favourable to New Zealand.

CHAPTER XXXI
THE OPPOSITION TO THE REFUGEES

UNTIL ABOUT 1930, HARDLY ANY ANTI-SEMITISM APPEARED IN NEW ZEALAND. A happy relationship existed between Jew and Gentile. In a case when a young Jewish-American seaman was brought to Auckland in chains on a charge of insubordination, the authorities helped to secure his release when he accused the captain and crew of anti-Semitism. The magistrate discharged him without a stain upon his character after representations had been made in Parliament. If any anti-Semitism did exist, it was overwhelmingly counterbalanced by the many kindly acts by Christians towards Jews and the spirit of co-operation with which each dealt with the other. When King Edward VII died, a combined service of all denominations was held in the Parliamentary Grounds at Wellington in which Rabbi H. Van Staveren took part and at which Barry Keesing conducted the choir. It was not unusual for Gentiles, from time to time, to make offerings to Jewish causes. W. Allinson gave an order on a firm of auctioneers in Whan-garei to sell a heifer for the Jewish Relief Fund. The Christadelphians donated large sums for Zionist causes and Jews gave frequently to Christian institutions. The Canterbury and Auckland Congregations each offered £100 to the Canon Chandler Bells Fund. For years after the end of the First World War, the New Zealand Mounted Rifles received Christmas messages from the township of Rishon-le-Zion in Israel where the regiment had been stationed during hostilities.

From about 1930, under the influence of propaganda from Germany and New Zealand sympathizers with Nazism, anti-semitic publications and statements began to be seen and heard. One very well-known retail firm of small articles, with branches in many towns, advertised in the New Zealand Financial Times "that there are no Jews who are officials of the company". Anti-semitic literature, obviously subsidized, appeared in New Zealand bookshops. Copies of the false Protocols of the Elders of Zion found their way into many homes. The beginning of Nazi cruelty, however, when Hitler came to power in 1933, shocked many New Zealanders who denounced the Prussian persecutions. A body of Christian ministers in Wellington passed a strong resolution assuring the Jewish citizens of Wellington of sympathy and prayers. One non-Jewish firm removed the Swastika sign from its stationery. A German in Dunedin suggested that the news published in New Zealand had its origin in British Jewry. The German Consul stated that "Captain Goering assured press representatives in Berlin that Jews were not discriminated against or their liberty interfered with in Germany".

The New Zealand Press scotched the excuses. One newspaper, in a leading article entitled "Jewish people but British patriots", deplored the painful fact that the language of some people in the country was almost as violent against the Jews, and quite as unfounded, as the worst used by the Nazis. It wrote of the Jewish position in the British Empire, quoting the Jews of New Zealand as an example. It reminded the readers of the people of all walks of life who wept at the graveside of Rabbi Herman Van Staveren; of Jewish support for non-Jewish institutions; of Myers Park and the Auckland Art Gallery; of the Plunket Society "born in Dunedin which owed much of its early impetus to financial aid from a group of Jews who not even the generous Scots folk of that city could out-do in public-spiritedness. To speak of Jews as exploiters, usurers and sweaters of labour is to use words utterly regardless of their meaning. Usury is contrary to the Jewish faith. Most Jews in New Zealand who have succeeded have done so through hard work and attention to business. Trade union opinion is that Jewish employers are usually good employers. They have paved the way for the five-day week, yet pay above award wages. The descendants of the Jewish pioneers," it continued, "are no different from other New Zealanders, except that a greater proportion of them attained eminence amongst its citizens. One of them held rank second only

to the Governor-General." The newspaper suggested the establishment of a fund for the relief of Jewish refugees from Germany. It concluded with the reluctance to believe that any suggestion of anti-semitism existed in New Zealand. Unfortunately, it had itself quoted ugly examples of it in the opening sentences of its article.

The proposal to establish a fund for refugees received further support by a suggestion that a Ministers' Federation of Churches approach mayors of towns in New Zealand to open lists for Jewish German refugees. The proposer pointed out that two Jews placed New Zealand on the road to prosperity, Julius Vogel and Coleman Phillips, owner of the Dry River Run, Wairarapa, who introduced a scheme of farmers' co-operative butter and cheese factories. The proposal did not eventuate. Nazi poison had already sunk deep into many hearts. One reply to the proposal reflected the unspoken thoughts of a misinformed and unkindly proportion. It stated: "Charity should begin at home. If the Jews are so good as the New Zealander suggests, the German people would not have got rid of them. The Jew exploits each and every country that gives them freedom. They are usurers of the worst type. Usury is one of their special kindnesses to the human race. It would be a pity to add another collection to the cadging ways of this generation, especially for such a people." Quite a number of Christians immune against injections of bitter calumny voluntarily did come forward and donate towards the relief of German Jews.

As the Nazis grew in power and confidence and multiplied their cruelties, their anti-semitic and insidious propaganda increased in other lands, including New Zealand. Unfortunately, its poisonous venom penetrated into official bodies. Before one refugee had entered the country, the President of the Auckland Division of the British Medical Association announced that protective measures would have to be taken to safeguard against an influx of Jewish doctors to New Zealand. The New Zealand Dental Association not only approached the Government to stop refugee dentists entering New Zealand, but requested the prevention of "the entry of non-Aryans from Germany".

The first German refugees began to arrive in 1936, and as the European situation worsened, the Jewish communities sought permits of entry for the ever-increasing number of applicants. Luis Marks of Auckland worked assiduously for their cause. By July, 1938, the position in Germany became very serious, and though the Government of New Zealand expressed a great deal of sympathy, it indicated that it was prepared to do very little to grant refugees relief. It employed hackneyed phrases to cover a hard policy. An official representative stated that within the limits of migration laws, New Zealand had already received limited numbers of refugees and was prepared to consider applications. Numbers would have to be governed by economic conditions. It could not be assumed that refugees would not become a charge on the State and would make useful citizens.

With the Nazi incursion into Austria and Czechoslovakia, desperate appeals from Europe flowed in pathetic streams to nearly every official Jewish and non-Jewish organization. Highly qualified professional men begged for immigration certificates, solemnly promising to do any kind of manual labour. After Von Rath's assassination, the volume of heartbreaking appeals increased unceasingly, some stating it would probably be the last letters they would be able to write, and pleading in mercy's sake to be allowed to come to New Zealand.

Responsible organizations movingly urged the Government to adopt a more reasonable and humane policy towards refugees. The Twelfth Annual Conference of the Dominion Council of the League of Nations Union adopted the resolution: "That, in the name of humanity, the Government be urged to deal generously with applications for admission into New Zealand by Jews and other European refugees; and that the existing requirements in regard to financial guarantees be waived because of their unsuitability to present urgent circumstances, and also that some of the restrictions in relation to defined occupations be removed." Delegates pointed out that it was well known that Jews made excellent citizens, and because of the urgency, New

Zealand would react in a dreadful way in the future if the country would not permit entry to refugees.

The Bishop of Wellington proclaimed a Day of Prayer for German Jews, and stated the churches would help. The Wellington Synod of the Methodist Church of New Zealand passed a resolution: "This synod expresses the deepest sympathy with the Jewish people in their fiery persecution, and calls upon the Government to give all possible practical refuge and shelter to refugees." From England, the Bishop of Chichester, Dr G. K. Allen-Bell, called upon New Zealand to accept more refugees from Europe. Storm Jameson, the renowned novelist, appealed for help for refugee writers.

The Government, however, hardened its pharaonic heart. It stuck to its ridiculous, harsh policy. When the High Commissioner for New Zealand in London allowed his personal feelings to utter the statement, "New Zealand is prepared to admit as many Czech refugees as possible to the limit of our requirements", he had to retract his statement and said only individual cases could come. Even when he spoke of unrestricted immigration, he spoke in terms of hundreds when he should have spoken in terms of thousands. New Zealand House refused to release information regarding the number of refugees who had entered the country. It was not surprising. The number was so miserably small.

The Prime Minister, in reply to a League of Nations branch deputation confirmed the Government's short-sighted, adamant policy by saying: "Our first duty is to the British people." The Government was, he stated, opposed to mass migration and would deal only with individual cases through the Minister of Customs. He did not explain how a country which could absorb millions, which was underpopulated and with vast empty spaces, could affect the British people or New Zealand by the absorption of a few thousand men and women who would otherwise have to face death. In the poor attempt to protect the material welfare of New Zealand, the Government forgot to protect its religious and spiritual outlook. It seemed to be incapable of facing a situation where democratic principles should have been applied. Fear and fascist propaganda were successfully achieving their evil aims.

The Government's view did not coincide with the opinion of P. Holloway, a New Zealander serving on the Co-ordinating Committee for Refugees, who pointed out that the matter was not entirely a Jewish question. Of the one and a half million refugees, only 500,000 were Jews. The other million was almost equally divided between Christians of Jewish origin and those of no Jewish blood at all. New Zealand, he stated, had a responsibility as a member of the British Empire. It was one of the few countries fit to receive refugees. It had a smaller population per square mile of cultivable land than Australia. New Zealand had a sacred trust to civilization, and it had an opportunity to accept that trust. Refugees would improve the economic PAGE 228 position because New Zealand had need to develop secondary industries.

The excuse given for the non-admission of refugees on a large scale, that it would create unemployment, did not receive the support of the Junior Chamber of Commerce, which doubted its genuineness. So did the executive of the Canterbury Chamber of Commerce. It wanted the creation of new industries. It alleged that the Government had no system in its admission of refugee immigrants, and quoted the example of some young Hungarian Jews who wished to open a factory for the manufacture of radio valves, but could not do so because of the vacillating policy of the Government. Some for whom a guarantee had been given could not enter the country, whilst others who had no guarantee entered with ease.

Cruelly increasing German pressure upon Jews and the talk of imminent war, urged the Peace Pledge Union to move a resolution at Wellington: "That this meeting of the Wellington Branch of the Peace Pledge Union asks the Government to relax restrictions on the entry of European refugees to this country. We feel that the present plight of these people in their own countries is such that all democratic governments should be doing everything possible to relieve their distress.

We feel also that our Government is not doing all it can in this respect. We would especially urge the Government to permit and encourage the entry of refugee artisans and farmers, etc., even to the extent of assisting them to come to New Zealand. The unfortunate position is that the people who are in the greatest need and the most extreme danger are, in many cases, the very ones who are without the means to come here. We would therefore urge our Government to assist them and thereby prove its sincerity in its repeated assurances that it wishes to play its part in bringing peace to the world. In this regard we ourselves are prepared to help in every way open to us."

At the Wellington Diocesan Synod of the Anglican Church, the speakers strongly advocated the admission of refugees on economic grounds. Archdeacon Young advocated their immediate entry on moral grounds. Shocked by lack of knowledge of the problem, he could not imagine such a situation existing in a Christian world. France and Switzerland had responded splendidly to the call, but what had New Zealand done? The problem was fundamentally a moral one, and if the leaders of the Church did not feel that way, it was a poor outlook for the rest of the country.

A spokesman for the Customs Department denied allegations made against it, and stated that it gave the utmost consideration to applicants who by training could help secondary industries. The New Zealand Manufacturers' Association had put forward its views concerning admission of trained factory workers, but the spokesman would not repeat the views although he naively admitted that some might be biased. The Government spokesman also denied lack of system, but would not expand his denial, slipping out of the issue by stating that he did not propose to enter a newspaper controversy. He also avoided other serious issues by uttering unsatisfactory platitudes. The problems regarding refugees, he asserted, were far more complex than average New Zealanders realized. An offer of employment and guarantee was only one aspect, but it was by no means all that was involved in deciding the issue of a permit.

So insistently did the public clamour for the hastening of immigration of refugees, that the matter came before the Legislative Council. But only two days before the outbreak of the war, the Government, unwavering in its merciless, rock-like attitude, carried an amendment to set up a committee to investigate the position and report before any action was taken. The fierce determination of the Government to restrict immigration in spite of a large proportion of public opinion, became patently obvious the next day in a reply by the Minister in charge of immigration. When a member asked for assurances that Jewish refugees were of a suitable type, as he understood ghetto Jews were coming to New Zealand, the Minister answered that he made individual decisions in each case. Great care had been taken. With almost cynical triumph he added: "The number admitted is not so great that there can be many who turn out to be unsatisfactory. The care taken is such that one would expect very few people to be admitted whose admission one would regret."

On the following day hostilities with Germany broke out. German and Austrian immigration ceased completely. The victims of Nazism and of its propaganda were doomed.

The insignificant paltriness of the New Zealand effort in the rescue of victims of Nazi persecution became apparent when figures appeared later, and perhaps inadvertently, in the Press. Before 1938 only thirty-seven Germans and Austrians entered the country; in 1938-9, 251 migrated to New Zealand, and in the following year 423. The figures speak for themselves.

When a handful of refugees did arrive on the docks at Auckland and Wellington, the fuss and clamour of the Press by far exceeded the hullabaloo warranted for such a small number. When less than ten refugees landed from a ship, one prominent responsible newspaper screamed in the headlines, "Many refugees from Europe". On other occasions when only one refugee landed, it was possible to imagine from the excitement raised in the Press that all the tribes of Israel had landed in New Zealand.

Not all of the 711 German and Austrian refugees who came to New Zealand in the four years prior to the war belonged to the Jewish faith. About half were either lovers of personal liberty or persons of Jewish origin or ancestry who subscribed to the Christian religion. A fair proportion of the Jewish refugees, because of their frightful experiences and the controversial reception from the newspapers on their arrival, cut themselves off from the Jewish community and either kept to their own circle or intermarried with members of other faiths.

Although when war broke out New Zealand fought against Germany and its inhuman philosophy, anti-semitism and strange attitudes still persisted in quarters where they would have been the least expected. The University of Otago Council not only moved against the admission of any more refugee doctors, but, in a report from the Dean of the Medical School, it appeared that the University Council had written to the Customs Department requesting that it should refuse entry of foreigners into the country on the ground that they would cause overcrowding in an overcrowded school. S. N. Ziman, the Government representative on the University Senate, protested against a humanitarian profession going out of its way to write to the Customs Department requesting it not to admit foreigners. F. A. de la Mare, the graduates' representative, said the action of the Medical School seemed to him one of the grossest pieces of improper conduct he could possibly imagine. Man's inhumanity to man had reached a unique degree, for the practical effect of the action was to condemn fellow human beings to murder and spoliation. He believed the Government's policy in regard to the admission of refugees to be one of restriction, saying that it had done less in this respect than any other country. New Zealand had been ungenerous to the last degree.

For the sake of the good name of the University, the lame excuse that the report had been drawn up hurriedly, was accepted, and it was sent back to the Medical School for amendment and clarification. Nevertheless, in the following year, F. A. de la Mare had again severely to criticize a member of the Medical School for trying to introduce a ban against refugee doctor students.

The anti-Semitic and anti-human prejudices seemed extraordinary, puzzling and futile when compared with the actual number of refugee doctors and students who belonged both to the Jewish and Christian faiths. At the beginning of 1942, only 15 refugee doctors had qualified in the whole of New Zealand since 1935, and 11 more would have qualified by the end of 1942 if they passed examinations. From 67 applications, only 43 refugees had been admitted to the school, of which 8 already had British qualifications. The 15 refugee doctors had offered the New Zealand Government to go wherever it wanted them to practise, and 6 had been placed by the Department of Health.

An allegation of overcrowding because of the refugees made by one prominent newspaper and the plea that the door should be completely shut against any further admission of aliens because of the risk, received short shrift from many readers, who compared the newspaper's attitude to that of the Nazis in Germany. The editor tried to justify the attitude, but did so PAGE 231 very lamely. He must have known of the small number of refugees who had entered New Zealand. Nor could there have been any great risk. Out of 2300 cases of foreigners investigated by New Zealand tribunals, none at all were recommended for internment. An attempt to turn the issue by asking refugees to help in the war effort had no meaning. The Jewish refugees had long before offered their services to the Government in any capacity which the Government saw fit.

A sorrowful feature of anti-Semitism manifested itself when representatives of patriotic bodies issued statements which, when analysed, could be nothing else but unpatriotic and harmful to New Zealand. The President of the Wellington Branch of the Royal Society of St George said: "The sweepings of Europe can no longer enter New Zealand." He had thought that refugees were coming to the country through Australia, but had been assured they could not enter New Zealand whether they came from a British country or not. At Dunedin, the Returned Servicemen's Association resolved that refugee doctors must go back to former attendant hospital duties when the war ended. New Zealand had taken an overdose of refugees, commented one delegate. The

Manufacturers' Association passed a resolution that aliens should not be permitted to commence business. The folly and the irreligious sentiments expressed by such ungodly views moved Justice O'Regan, a man worthy of his office, to denounce and frequently attack anti-semitism before Catholic audiences, whom he warned of its dangers and insidious effects.

As the war progressed, and many who had prejudices against Jews began to see the Germans and their aims in their proper light, public outcries and hostility against the refugees diminished. When about fifty Poles and Lithuanians, who had escaped from Europe through Vladivostok when Germany attacked Russia, landed, hardly a comment was raised. Most New Zealanders realized that they, the Jews and the refugees were fighting a common enemy.

CHAPTER XXXII
"THE JEWISH PEOPLE ARE OUR BEST PEOPLE"

HARDLY HAD THE WAR CONCLUDED WHEN THE VIRULENT VIRUS OF ANTI-SEMITISM APPEARED in a violent, ugly form. It almost seemed as though the ideologies for which the war had been fought had lost all meaning, and that the sacrifice, the blood and the toil had all been in vain. The thoughtlessness with which the startling, unwarranted attack was made, added to the sadness of the source from which it originated. At the Annual Conference of the New Zealand Returned Servicemen's Association, the meeting passed a resolution: "That any person or persons who arrived in New Zealand from Germany, Austria, Hungary or Italy since 1939, must return to their own countries within two years after hostilities with Germany have ceased, and that they be allowed to take out of New Zealand the same amount of money or property, or both, that they declared to the Customs Department on entering New Zealand. Any further money or property that they possess to be realized and the proceeds handed to the New Zealand Government for distribution amongst needy wives and dependants of those who fought while the enemy aliens enjoyed peace and plenty in New Zealand."

The resolution called forth widespread condemnation, and on the return of the Rt Hon. Peter Fraser from San Francisco, he expressed his unqualified disapproval of the display of racial hatred. The Standard, in a leader, condemned some press reports and certain sections of the New Zealand Returned Servicemen's Association. The New Zealand Herald affirmed that refugees had assisted in rehabilitation by their industry, and had promoted the country's general prosperity. Confiscation and deportation were the very methods of a totalitarian state, for the defeat of which the young nation had contributed its blood and treasure. "All this is not to gainsay," continued the article, "that some refugees have adopted manners and methods most distasteful to this country. They must learn our ways and adopt our standards. But it would be deplorable if the faults of a few should cause the ugly head of intolerance and anti-Semitism to be raised in the Dominion." In spite of the newspaper's suggestion that some refugees had misbehaved, records divulge that the refugees belonging to the Jewish community had a remarkably clean record, and standards of which New Zealand could be proud.

In the following year, the New Zealand Returned Servicemen's Association amended its resolution regarding aliens which it declared had been drawn up in haste. Many of the delegates displayed the courage they had shown on the battlefield by openly declaring the sense of shame they felt in not opposing the original motion more resolutely. After the introduction of a face-saving motion, the matter closed.

Although the incident helped the public to formulate its opinion about anti-Semitism and intolerance, it did not stop the evil altogether. A resolution from the Otago Branch of the British Medical Association to deport refugee doctors was overwhelmingly defeated by thirty votes to one. Some press comment was as hateful and prejudiced as before. Undisclosed organizations

still published the false Protocols of Zion. Anti-semitic literature came into the country from Stockholm. The Swedish Legation notified the public that a special law had to be introduced in Sweden, in 1949, against the fanatical sender of the literature, Dr Amberg. The "Lex Amberg" made it a criminal offence for any person to attack a group or religion. During the Palestinian troubles, anti-Jewish slogans appeared on walls in Auckland. Against the distorted anti-semitic literature which appeared in some more respectable and responsible publications, the New Zealand Zionist Council issued a pamphlet entitled Out of the Depths, which it distributed to every householder throughout the country. It also published a pamphlet, Speaking Candidly Indeed, refuting the warped charges quoted in a book called Speaking Candidly. Sections of the Returned Servicemen's Association still persisted with their folly, and published in its journal, Review, an ungenerous article by an ungenerous gentleman, who, writing of his experiences in the Middle East, referred in uncontrolled language to the Jews of Irael as "the scum of the earth". If any section of New Zealand should have been gracious towards the Jews, it should have been the returned soldiers. During the war the people of Israel extended warm-hearted and sincere hospitality to the New Zealand serving men and women.

The persistent undercurrent of veiled animosity in the propaganda against Jews, led G. A. F. Knight to conclude a pamphlet on the Jews and New Zealand in the following terms: "I have only lived a year in New Zealand. But, already I am struck by two things in connection with the subject in hand. First, I find men and women in this the Antipodes of Nazi Europe who have never met a Jew but who know all the Nazi half-truths about the Jews by heart." He was also struck with the emptiness of New Zealand in comparison with Palestine, which could only take at most, two or three millions.

Although the largest portion of the New Zealand public may have been opposed to racial discrimination, the anti-semites did achieve their aims in some official governmental quarters, especially in the departments connected with immigration. When displaced persons from the concentration camps sought refuge after the war in democratic countries, the Jewish communities of New Zealand in union submitted a memorandum to the Parliamentary Select Committee on Dominion Population, urging an increase of the number of permits allowed to the remnants of European Jewry. It claimed that whilst understanding the Government's requirements, a larger Jewish population than the 0 â€¢ 2 per cent then in the country could easily be absorbed and would give purpose to a constructive immigration policy. Apart from spiritual grounds, and for the sake of humanity, it requested entry especially for those who had a family in New Zealand and for skilled tradesmen. The memorandum pointed out the usefulness of the Jewish refugees who had entered the country before the war.

If the Government wanted proof of the statement, it was available on sight. The Jewish refugees had made a definite contribution to the prosperity of the country. Even in farming, which anti-semites claimed Jews would never undertake, the refugees had succeeded. Two Jewish brothers, Faulweiler, built a farm at Clarendon, south of Dunedin, which agricultural experts consider a model of its kind. K. Haas, a Mangamutu farmer, and his wife, pioneered the passion-fruit pulp industry. Woolf Apt, a Pukekepia dairy farmer, evolved a new method, which is now widely used, of making ensilage for feeding cattle.

Mrs O. S. Heymann, a devoted, energetic worker on behalf of displaced persons, who had ties with the Joint Distribution Committee of America and the European organizations H.I.A.S. and O.R.T., reported to the Inter-Church Council of New Zealand that the Government would allow Jewish people only 120 permits out of the 588 requested. Accommodation had to be available, and a guarantee that they would not be a burden on the State. They were granted only to near relatives. Although later the Government allowed about another 200 permits for close relatives, Jews did not come out to New Zealand in proportion to their numbers. Ukrainians, Poles and Germans, received preference over the poor suffering victims of Nazi and anti-Semitic cruelty. Under the auspices of the International Relief Organization, they migrated to New Zealand with little trouble and without the qualification of nomination by a relative, whilst the Jews had to

undergo unaccountable difficulties. Many difficulties were placed in their way to prevent them coming out to New Zealand. In New Zealand itself, relatives experienced increasing difficulties in obtaining entry permits for their loved ones who had escaped from the European holocaust. As the pressure from the displaced persons camps eased, it became more difficult for a Jew from Europe to pass through the Customs than for the proverbial camel to pass through the eye of a needle. Applications were refused without explanation. Official quarters denied prejudice, but refusals and figures spoke for themselves. So noticeable did the attitude of the authorities become, that the Jewish Welfare and Relief Committee asked the Chief Rabbi, when he came out on a visit to the country, to use his influence with the Government to prevent discrimination against Jews wishing to emigrate to New Zealand.

Another serious discriminatory aspect revealed itself when immigration officials implemented a regulation which required a landing permit from anyone not British born, not of European race or colour, or whose parents were not British. Never in any other part of the British Commonwealth was a born Briton prevented from entering a British country because of his foreign parentage. It had a grossly unjust effect upon Jews born in England whose parents came from Europe and who desired to migrate to New Zealand. The ridiculous harshness of the regulation was also implemented against naturalized New Zealanders who, if they left the country even for a short period on business or pleasure, could not return to New Zealand without a re-entry landing permit.

Certain permanent immigration officials and persons controlling immigration for the Government, displayed definite anti-semitic prejudices in regard to the entry of Jews into the country. No better example can be given than the case of Heinz Heymann, a German refugee who had escaped to England. He joined the British forces as a volunteer in 1939, and had fought throughout the war, including the battle of Dunkirk and the invasion of Normandy. After the war he became a British subject by naturalization, and applied for a permit to immigrate to New Zealand where his wife's parents lived. In spite of the fact that Heinz Heymann had an admittedly unimpeachable character, the Minister for Immigration, the Hon. W. Sullivan, refused him a permit on the grounds that "our present policy does not provide for the admission of persons falling within this category". When it was alleged that the phrase had no meaning except to prevent Jews entering New Zealand, no satisfactory reply could be gained. All representations from highly reputable citizens did not avail.

When the Hon. W. H. Fortune wrote requesting an explanation, and remarked that the Jewish community was seething with discontent over the apparent discrimination against intending immigrants of Jewish origin, and that the Heymann case had caused bitterness, he received a remarkable reply. It stated: (1) Persons of British birth and parentage could enter New Zealand. There was no discrimination. (2) Persons not wholly of British birth and parentage must apply for entry permits which the Government could grant at its discretion. (3) Such applications, if made by persons of the Jewish race, are decided according to the nationality and national origin of the applicant. In other words, there is no discrimination in such cases either for or against Jews as such, and their applications are considered according to the criterion usually applied to the same nationality and national origin.

(4) When the application is by a German or Austrian who is also a Jew, regard must be had to the fact that the applicant now has in Israel a national home to which he should be able to go.

If any immigration policy had an anti-Semitic stamp it was the one outlined by the Minister himself. According to his policy, all Sullivans should return to or remain in Ireland because the Irish now have Eire. All alien immigrants have national homes.

Further representations to the Minister had no effect. War service, and the fact that Mrs Heymann's parents lived in New Zealand, simply did not count. When asked by a newspaper why no reason was given for refusal of permits that had been sponsored, he replied that experience

had shown it was not desirable, in the public interest, to give reasons for the refusal to grant entry permits.

After further long correspondence in which the Minister was accused of making a farce of the naturalization ceremony and damaging the good name of New Zealand, Heymann was granted a permit on condition he would go to work where directed by the Government. He refused to accept these terms.

Only near the close of 1955 did the Government remove the unusual regulation of requiring Britons of foreign parentage to possess landing permits. Nevertheless, even after the abolition of the regulation, some highhanded officials annoyed Jews entering the country who came under this category.

Jewish immigration to New Zealand from Europe, never large, has altogether ceased. The Jews have found other havens. A new influx of members of the Jewish faith into the country would have been an asset to New Zealand just as the Jews have formerly been to the country. They have a unique record. The prevention of their entry into New Zealand on a larger scale is a tragedy for New Zealand herself. A country which has introduced so many democratic innovations, renowned for its love of freedom and equality amongst all sections of the community, and which has solved its own racial problem between pakeha and Maori in an unprecedentedly successful fashion, would not have been expected to be influenced by the doctrines of Nazism and the effects of its propaganda. That other democratic nations fell for the same cult is no genuine excuse for a people which prides itself upon its independence of thought. History has its lessons to teach. When totalitarian ideas and practice enter governmental policy and attitudes, demoralization can easily set in. Step by step, oppression can pass from section to section of the community. Nations, like ordinary men, may learn from their errors. Perhaps those who may guide New Zealand's fortunes in the future will benefit from the lessons which history has taught. One message is very clear. The Jews in New Zealand have added to its progress and prosperity.

The Jewish communities need the influx of new blood to strengthen their waning religious and spiritual forces. For the past century, European Jewry has been the source from which Jewries elsewhere received transfusions of energy and the urge to seek loftier horizons. Little fresh infusion has come during the last few years, and none can be expected in the future. New Zealand communities will have to rely upon their own resources. Without efficient and sufficient lay and clerical religious leaders, the communities can slowly disappear through atrophy and assimilation. The process has already set in.

Nevertheless, Jewish resilience is intrinsically strong. It has remarkable powers of recovery. Because of its isolated situation, far from the centres of world Jewry, New Zealand Jewry may suddenly revive with the realization that it has to provide its own educators and its own machinery to fulfil its Jewish destiny and its responsibilities of citizenship. From its very midst young men and women may arise, as they have in the past, inspired with the spirit of the ancient Jewish faith and its philosophy and ideals, with its teachings of righteousness and justice, of mercy and love, and of wisdom combined with knowledge.

The Jews of New Zealand have a great and noble tradition to follow. It is twofold. They have the tradition of their own religion, which has survived thousands of generations in spite of all outrages and ungodly attacks made upon it. It has survived because of its truth and because of its people's sustaining that truth. They also have the tradition which New Zealand Jewry itself has created. It has been succinctly phrased by the Rt Hon. Peter Fraser himself: "You have contributed to its uprising, to the development of the pioneering work in every sphere—industrial, commercial, legal and in the worlds of culture and art, a great contribution—and will continue to give that. May our mountains ever be freedom's ramparts on the sea. The Jewish people are our best people."

GLOSSARY

Ab Beth Din Presiding judge of an ecclesiastical court.
Aliyah To be called to the Reading of the Law.
Aliyoth Callings to the Reading of the Law.
Almemah The raised dais in the synagogue.
Ashkenazi(m) Eastern European Jew(s), or those who pray according to their rites. German(s).
Atuas Gods.
Bameh Madlikin "With what does one light?" An extract from the Talmud recited in some synagogues at the Friday evening services.
Bate Din Ecclesiastical courts.
Barmitzvah Literally "a son of the commandment". A lad who becomes thirteen years of age; the ceremony associated with it.
Ba'al Koreh The Reader of the Law.
Beth Din An ecclesiastical court.
Beth El The House of God.
Bimah The raised dais in the synagogue.
Brith A covenant. A circumcision.
Chevra Kadishah Burial Society.
Choveve Zion Lovers of Zion.
Eben Sappir Sapphire stone.
Eretz Israel The Land of Israel.
Ethrog A citron.
Gabbai d'Beth Almin Treasurer or supervisor of the cemetery.
Gere Zedek Righteous proselytes. Those who convert to Judaism because of belief.
Get A Jewish divorce.
Habonim The builders. A society of that name.
Hagesher The Bridge.
Haka A native Maori dance.
Hathan Bereshith "The Bridegroom of the Beginning". The person called to read the first portion of Genesis on the Festival of the Rejoicing of the Law.
Hathan Torah "The Bridegroom of the Law". The person called to read the last portion of the Pentateuch on the Festival of the Rejoicing of the Law.
Haphtorah The selection from the prophets read in the synagogues on Sabbaths and Festivals.
Hazzan Cantor. Reader.
Hevra Kadishah Burial Society.
Kaddish A mourner's prayer.
Kashered Made fit to be consumed or used according to Jewish dietary laws.
Kashruth Appertaining to Jewish dietary laws.
Kehilah Congregation. Community.
Knesseth Israel The Assembly of Israel.
Ketubah. Ketuboth Compulsory Jewish marriage maintenance agreement(s).
Kiddush Sanctification prayer recited over wine on Friday and Festival nights and on Sabbath and Festival mornings.
Kosher That which is fit to be consumed according to Jewish dietary laws.
Kol Nidre The Day of Atonement evening service.
Lulav A branch of the palm tree.
Matzah Unleavened bread.
Megilah A scroll. The scroll or the Book of Esther.
Metahar House Mortuary Chapel. The place where a dead body is cleansed.
Mezuzah. Mezuzoth The prayer(s) affixed to the right door posts of Jewish homes.
Minyan(im) A quorum of ten men over thirteen years of age, necessary if a service is to be considered a public service. A group (s) who conduct services in a room.
Minhag Polen The Polish custom. The Polish rite.
Mikvah A ritual bath.

Mizrahi Of the east. A society of that name.
Mohel(im) Circumcisor(s).
Morenu Our Teacher.
Neveh Zedek A righteous habitation. A name usually given to an orphanage.
Pa A fortified Maori village.
Padraos Portuguese coins.
Pakeha White man.
Purim The Feast of Lots. The Feast of Esther.
Rangatira no Uropi A gentleman from Europe.
Rosh Hashanah The Jewish New Year.
Sandek The person who holds the child during the circumcision ceremony.
Seder Order. The service at home on the first and second nights of the Passover.
Sedra The portion of the Law read in the synagogues on Sabbaths.
Sefer Barmitzvah The Barmitzvah Book of the Jewish National Fund.
Sefer Hamdinah The State Book of the Jewish National Fund.
Sefer Hayeled The Children's Book of the Jewish National Fund.
Sefer Torah The Scroll of the Law.
Sephardi(m) Spanish and Portuguese Jews and those who follow their ritual.
Sgan Vice. A person who stands next to the Reader of the Law and elects who should be called to the Torah.
Shehitah The act of ritual slaughtering.
Shema Hear. A prayer recited in the evening and morning which commences with that word.
ShivahThe seven days of mourning for a close relative.
Shmud Conversion to Christianity.
Shofar A ram's horn.
Shohet(im) Ritual slaughterer(s).
Shool ganav Synagogue thief.
Sifre Torah Scrolls of the Law.
Simhas Torah The Festival of the Rejoicing of the Law.
Succah A booth used during the Tabernacle Festival.
Succoth The Tabernacle Festival.
Talith A praying shawl.
Torah The Law. The Scroll of the Law.
TrefahUnfit for consumption according to the Jewish dietary laws.
Tu B'Shvat The 15th of the Hebrew month of Shvat. Arbour Day. The New Year for Trees.
Utu Compensation, revenge (Maori).
Whare A Maori dwelling.
Yahrzeit The anniversary of a death.
Yeshivah. Yeshivoth Talmudical college(s).
Yekum Purkon May salvation be granted. A prayer recited on Sabbath mornings.
Yom Kippur The Day of Atonement.

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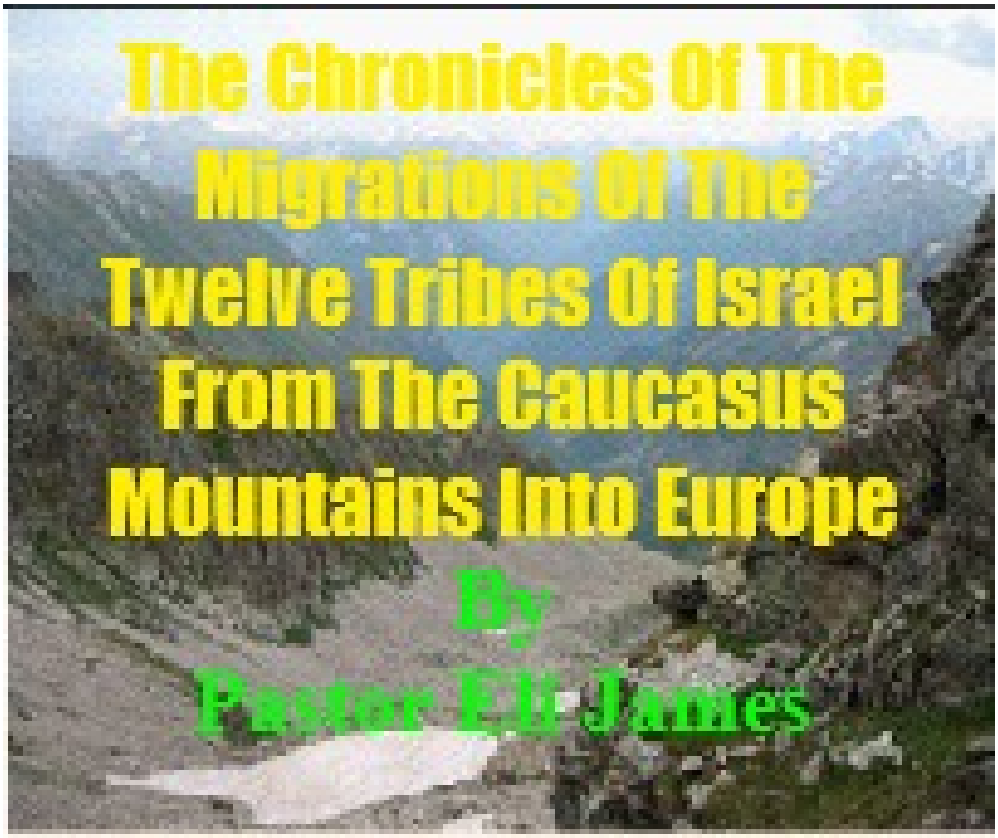

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