

WILLIAM COOPER AND KRISTALLNACHT: SETTING THE RECORD STRAIGHT

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ABSTRACT

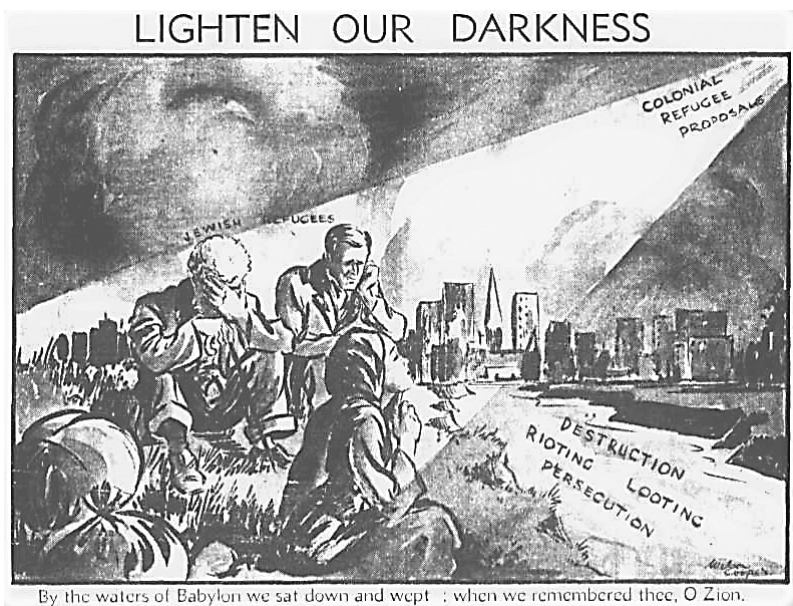
Apparently first brought to public attention in 1997, the protest in December 1938 of Yorta Yorta elder William Cooper and his Australian Aborigines' League to the German consul in Melbourne regarding Nazi persecution of German Jewry is inexorably passing into legend as the sole non-governmental protest of that persecution in Australia, or indeed anywhere in the world. It was most certainly not the sole, nor the first. This article aims to set the record straight.

KEYWORDS

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Australian Philosemites,
Kristallnacht, Nazism,
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Cooper

This issue of the *Journal* is published 80 years to the month since Kristallnacht (9-10 November 1938), so it is an appropriate vehicle in which to try to dispel a myth that has replaced fact, a myth that has gained rapid ground in the Australian Jewish community and beyond – namely, that Aboriginal activist William Cooper's protest to the German consul in Melbourne shortly after the evils perpetrated on that terrible occasion was unparalleled, or almost so. For reasons of time and space, as well as the geographic emphasis of this *Journal*, the present overview concentrates solely on Australian responses to Nazi persecution of Jews, and even then does not purport to be comprehensive. Its objective is to help

to restore a balanced narrative by highlighting some of the other pro-Jewish initiatives taken by Australians during 'the Devil's Decade' of the 1930s. This article is prompted by my concern, as a student of philosemitism in the English-speaking world¹, to see historical accuracy served, and not by any intent to belittle the protest of William Cooper.



A response to Kristallnacht by Brisbane artist Wilson Cooper (1912-98)

A feature article by Lawrence Money in *The Age* of 15 November 1912 headed 'Half a world away, sound of breaking glass found an echo' begins:

There were so many shattered windows that night in 1938 that the murderous Nazi attack on German Jews became known as Kristallnacht – night of broken glass ... The date was November 9 and it was an ominous indication of what Hitler had in store for the Jewish people. Half a world away in Melbourne, Aborigine William Cooper read in outrage about the brutality. Cooper, son of a white labourer and a Yorta Yorta Aboriginal woman, waited for the international protest that would surely follow but, to

his astonishment, there was virtually none. Cooper, who had been fighting for Aboriginal rights for years with little success, felt an immediate affinity with the Jewish plight and what he did next has rung down the years for Jews and Aborigines alike.²

‘Virtually none’? Newspapers throughout Australia carried reports of overseas protests condemning Nazi brutality. Apt was the headline in the *Cairns Post* of 15 November 1938:

‘Barbaric Treatment of Jews: World-Wide Protests’. Not for nothing did Lady Gowrie, wife of Australia’s then governor-general, observe to the Lithgow Country Women’s Association on 25 November: ‘The Nazis’ treatment of the Jews has horrified the world.’³

William Cooper (1861-1941) was certainly a remarkable man and deserves to be remembered. Articulate and resolute, living from the early 1930s in a succession of rentals in the Melbourne suburb of Footscray, he was founder and secretary of the Australian Aborigines’ League. Like his siblings and many other Yorta Yorta people he had spent his youth at Maloga, a mission station near Echuca. There, they had imbibed a deep Christian faith and ‘the historical narrative of the Bible, especially the Book of Exodus, encouraged them to envision themselves in terms akin to the persecuted and suffering Israelites’. While insisting on his people’s rights, Cooper was no embittered firebrand, writing in 1939, for instance, that the League ‘and an overwhelming majority of natives realise that missionaries have been our best friends, and if it had not been for missions and the work and interest of missionaries, very few aborigines would have survived. We take off our hats to missionaries who have left the comforts of civilisation for the heat, flies, dust, bad water, and other discomforts of the mission field.’ He also praised the Lyons ministry for doing more for Aboriginal people than any previous administration had.⁴

Cooper’s associate, Ballarat-born Essendon resident Arthur Penrose Acteson Burdeu (1858-1941), a railwayman and trade

unionist who became president of the League – **Aborigines** affectionately termed him ‘the black white man’ – was also a devout Christian. The League was deliberately ‘non-political and non-sectarian’, Cooper explained in 1935 (the year before the League was formally constituted) since in its quest for the advancement of indigenous Australians the League sought allies ‘from every section of the community’. Individuals like himself:

have had the advantage of education and culture for some generations, but we never forget that we are brothers to the dark man who has not had our advantages, of the dark man who is advancing by the same road we have trodden. We never dissociate ourselves from the dark man, whether he be in the primitive condition or in contact with civilisation without being civilised. We are not seeking for any advantage for any class of aboriginal but for the race, and for every member of it, no matter what the stage of his progress. We desire to help in the advance of all the dark people to the culture of the European.

With this as our ideal, we have organised a League, the aim of which is to present our appeal to the white population. We have a programme by which we feel the progress of the race can be facilitated, and this programme is advanced in the confidence that it will receive due attention.

The dark folk are generally, if not invariably, poor. They are little able to finance the organisation necessary to bring their disabilities to the notice of their friends. It is for this reason I am writing. We know the sympathy with and interest in the dark man as we know of the British love of a square deal for all. We must express our case, but we lack the financial ability. We therefore appeal to the lovers of the dark race to help in whatever way is possible.⁵

To quote the now long-defunct Melbourne daily *The Argus* (3 December 1938):

At a meeting of the Australian Aborigines League a resolution was passed voicing on behalf of the aborigines of Australia a strong protest against “the cruel persecution of the Jewish people by the Nazi Government of Germany and asking that this persecution be brought to an end.” A deputation of aborigines who are members of the League will wait on the German Consul on Tuesday at 11.30 am to present the resolution and ask him to convey it to his Government.

And on 7 December, that paper reported:

A deputation from the Australian Aborigines League which visited the German Consulate [in Melbourne] yesterday with the intention of conveying to the Consul (Dr. R. W. Drechsler) a resolution condemning the persecution of Jews and Christians in Germany, was refused admittance.

A letter requesting Dr. Drechsler to forward the resolution to his Government was left at the consulate.

The resolution voiced “on behalf of the aborigines of Australia, a strong protest at the cruel persecution of the Jewish people by the Nazi Government of Germany and asks that this persecution be brought to an end.”

In January 1939 an augmented version of the resolution, the work of Burdeu and Cooper, was sent to minister for the interior John McEwen.⁶

In 2004 Sydney-based Henry Benjamin, at present publisher of the online resource *J-Wire*, reported for the Jewish Telegraphic Agency: ‘[I]n 1999, Jonathan Morris, executive director of the [Melbourne-based] Jewish Holocaust Museum and Research Center, learned about [Cooper’s] protest from Gary Foley, an Aboriginal activist who had studied the Holocaust at Melbourne University. It is believed that the protest was one of the first Australian public protests in support of German Jews.’ On 2

December 2002 a plaque in Cooper's honour had been unveiled at the Jewish Holocaust Centre. It is inscribed: 'The Jewish Holocaust Museum and Research Centre honours the Aboriginal people for their actions protesting against the persecution of Jews by the Nazi Government of Germany in 1938'. No such plaque honours Critchley Parker, the young Melburnian of Anglo-Celtic descent who in the Nazi period strove for a Jewish refugee settlement in Tasmania, and perished in the attempt.⁷

Rabbi James Kennard, principal of Mount Scopus College, has described Cooper as 'one of the few people in the world' to appreciate 'at that early stage' what Kristallnacht implied. So far as I am aware, there is no evidence for that claim. The rabbi has also stated that Cooper's was 'probably the only private protest' made.⁸ In her book *William Cooper – Gentle Warrior*, published in 2012, Barbara Miller writes:

Cooper is fondly remembered by the Jewish community of Australia and has been honoured by Yad Vashem Holocaust Memorial Centre in Jerusalem because he led *the only known private protest worldwide against Kristallnacht* [my emphasis], the start of the Holocaust in 1938 [it was not]. He has an Academic Chair of Resistance to the Holocaust named after him. This was touching because he was not a citizen or counted in the census of his own country. He mentored some of the leaders who worked for the 1967 referendum to have Indigenous people counted as people not flora and fauna (plants and animals) in Australia's constitution.⁹

Cooper's gesture is certainly touching, for the reasons Barbara Miller cites. But in claiming that it was 'the only known private protest worldwide' she errs. Abetting the myth that it was, Dan Goldberg, a former editor of the *Australian Jewish News*, wrote in the Israeli newspaper *Haaretz* (10 December 2012) of 'Cooper's *unique protest* [my emphasis] against the Nazis', which 'has only gained traction here in the last decade or so after a small newspaper report about the 1938 protest was unearthed.' Thus,

Labor state politician Tom Watts, in pushing for the federal seat of Gellibrand to be named after Cooper, explained: ‘He [Cooper] is also famous for leading a protest of the German consulate in Melbourne against Nazi persecution of the Jews during the Kristallnacht – recognised by Yad Vashem as the only protest of its kind to take place anywhere in the world.’¹⁰ Welcoming the Australian Electoral Commission’s unanimous decision to change the name of the federal seat of Batman to Cooper, Executive Council of Australian Jewry president Anton Block said: ‘William Cooper holds an esteemed place in the hearts and minds of our community. We will never forget his singular act of bravery and humanity in standing with the Jewish people as our darkest hour approached, and when others remained silent.’¹¹

What Gary Foley had actually written in his article, ‘Australia and the Holocaust: a Koori perspective’,¹² was that Cooper’s League was ‘the first group in Australia *to attempt to lodge a formal protest with the German government representative*’ [my emphasis]. But that is equally mistaken.

Echoing what has become a sort of received wisdom, the kind that brings to mind the old adage ‘a little knowledge is a dangerous thing’, the claim that Cooper’s was ‘unique’, the sole ‘private protest’ anywhere in the world against Nazi antisemitism following Kristallnacht, has been repeated so regularly that it is almost set in stone. What, precisely, is meant by ‘private’ anyway? Presumably that it was not a government initiative. Adam Manovic, an Aboriginal writer and podcaster justifiably proud of William Cooper, has remarked: ‘Despite no country breaking off diplomatic relations with Berlin after Kristallnacht, many in the global community were shocked. However, there was only one “private” protest (by citizens) that we know of against Kristallnacht and the German Nazi regime led by Adolf Hitler – this was instigated by William Cooper.’ In Perth a few months ago, as featured conspicuously in the *Australian Jewish News* (3 August 2018), prominent Melbourne communal identity Mark Leibler seemed to echo Manovic, similarly noting that no country broke

off diplomatic relations with Germany as a result of Kristallnacht, and similarly asserting that 'there was only one citizens' protest that we know of against Kristallnacht – the protest organised many thousands of miles away by William Cooper'.¹³ Cooper's call upon the German Consul in Melbourne was unique? Or the first protest of its kind following Kristallnacht? Decidedly not. As the Australian Associated Press reported from London on 14 November 1938, over the weekend of 12-13 November 'Protests against the treatment of Jews by the Germans were made by political and church leaders throughout England ... Several thousand Communists, after a demonstration in Hyde Park, delivered to the German Embassy a resolution of protest.'¹⁴ And in Melbourne itself two comparable protests occurred 19 days before Cooper's. Reported *The Argus* (18 November 1938):

Two deputations visited the German Consulate yesterday to protest against the treatment of Jews in Germany, but found that there was nobody in attendance. The deputations, representing the Australian League for Peace and Democracy [formerly the Australian Movement Against War and Fascism], and the Spanish Relief Committee, arrived punctually at 11.30 a.m. The Consul (Dr. R.W. Drechsler) had been informed previously of the proposed visit.

At a meeting on Tuesday the Spanish Relief Committee pledged itself to do all in its power to assist the German people in restoring harmony in their national life. It decided to call upon the German people to take a strong action to end the persecution of a defenceless people.

The deputations left messages for the Consul, with the request that he should forward them to the German Government.

The League's communication protested against "the frightful atrocities being perpetrated by the Nazis against the Jews," and expressed the opinion that the "barbarous crimes" were a menace to civilisation.

The Committee, “as an organisation for the relief of suffering,” called on all Germans “in the name of humanity to bring pressure to bear on their Government in order that moderation and justice may prevail.”

Egregiously, in evident ignorance of many incidences in Australian history of solidarity with Jews, publicity material for an event scheduled for Broken Hill, New South Wales in March 2018 claimed that:

Twice in Australia’s short Jewish history an act has occurred of *ahavath hinam* – altruistic love, that crossed the lines of faith and race.’ The better known of these occurred in Melbourne, when William Cooper led his Aborigines Advancement League [sic: this body was not yet in existence] in protest against the atrocity that was Kristallnacht ... Less well known and equally inspiring were the actions of members of the tiny Jewish community of Broken Hill during the historic Barrier Strikes when greedy mine owners tried to starve their workers into surrender. Jewish shopkeepers – formerly refugees from persecution in Lithuania and the Ukraine – saw the suffering of striking mine workers and responded by extending them credit ... In return Christian ministers urged their parishioners to donate to the synagogue building appeal, an event unheard of in Christian-Jewish relations.¹⁵

(Actually, contributions by Christians to synagogue building funds were by no means unknown in the English-speaking world.)

The assertion that William Cooper and his League’s protest concerning Kristallnacht was one of only two occurrences of *ahavath hinam* in Australian Jewish history is, as *The Argus* report of 18 November 1938 clearly shows, nonsense. All praise to Cooper and his League for their noble gesture. But the seemingly boundless mythologising of that event has distorted the record

of Jewish-gentile relations in this country, and eclipsed other initiatives in Australia on behalf of persecuted Jewry. It is time other sympathisers with Jewry achieved their deserved niches in the communal memory. Their efforts have not been obscured from the public record – many have, indeed, been mentioned in past issues of this *Journal*. Dr I.N. Steinberg wrote of Critchley Parker in *Australia – The Unpromised Land* (London, 1947) that ‘this unknown man of another people’ died a martyr for the cause of human dignity and for the Jewish people ... [his] name is closely linked for all time, with the Jewish people.’ Yet how many Australian Jews publicise or praise Parker today? Surely the reason for his lack of recognition by our community is not that he happened to be white?

In the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, during major instances overseas of antisemitic persecution, Australian non-Jews demonstrated their outrage. Their solidarity with oppressed Jewry took various forms, including newspaper editorials and letters to the press, donations to funds opened on behalf of the distressed, and protest meetings in capital cities and country towns, attended and addressed by public figures from across the political and religious spectrum. Manifested were several typologies of philosemitism that for reasons of space cannot be described here. It must be stressed that many political conservatives were among these sympathisers, and it may interest readers to know that among the Australians protesting the Kishinev pogrom in 1903 was a group of Chinese Victorians. They collected ten guineas (about \$2200 in today’s money), as, in the words of their spokesman, W. Shi Geen, a businessman and Chinese community leader and activist, ‘a small contribution for the persecuted Jewish people in Russia, in order to show their sympathy with these unfortunate down-trodden people’. Theirs, in all likelihood, was another example of an ‘act of loving kindness by an oppressed minority who saw themselves in the faces of the Jewish other’, which is how the Broken Hill publicity material cited above characterised the Aborigines’ protest regarding Kristallnacht.¹⁶

To put William Cooper's protest into its proper perspective, it should be borne in mind that as soon as Australians became aware of the antisemitic practices of Hitler's regime non-Jews joined Jews in condemning it. For example, on 30 March 1933, the Labour Council of New South Wales passed a resolution protesting German antisemitism, and resolved to forward the resolution to Germany's Consul-General in Australia, Sydney-based Dr Rudolf Asmis. As *The Argus* reported the day afterwards, Asmis was claiming that reports alleging persecution of Germany's Jews were 'untrue and grossly exaggerated'. But:

Although the boycott of Jews is not due to begin until Saturday [1 April], already Jewish stores and shops in many places have been forcibly closed. Some have afterwards been permitted to reopen following instructions from Nazi headquarters, where premature local measures are deprecated. It has officially been announced that the slaughter of animals according to Jewish rites has been prohibited throughout Germany.

At Darmstadt a tear gas bomb thrown into a store caused a brief panic, some women fainting. Nazis picketed many Jewish shops in that city and prevented customers from entering ... At Munster Jewish professors were prevented from entering the University, and at Gottingen 24 shop windows in the main streets and the windows of the Synagogue were smashed. At Goerlitz 1,000 people demonstrated in front of the County Court, demanding the expulsion of Jewish judges and lawyers, several of whom have been taken into "protective custody."

That same month in Sydney, 300 waterside workers, having heard a representative, 'Comrade' Sharkey, speak on the situation in Germany, passed a motion denouncing, and demanding the immediate cessation of, 'the murder and torture' of workers, including Jews, 'by the Nazi murder bands', and sent it to the German Consul, Dr Asmis.¹⁷ On 16 April 1933, the annual conference of

the Church of Christ, convening in Hobart, unanimously passed the following motion: 'That this conference desires to express its utter abhorrence of the treatment meted out to the Jewish people in Germany; and protests against any boycott because of racial and religious distinctions; also that a copy of this protest be forwarded to the Chief Rabbi of Australia [by this they seem to have meant Rabbi Francis Lyon Cohen of Sydney's Great Synagogue]. Around the same time the Melbourne division of the Textile Workers' Union 'protests against the pogroms and mass murders by the Nazis against the German trade unionist workers and Jews, and calls upon all workers of Australia to pledge full support to the German workers in whatever action they may take to protect their class against attacks by the German fascists'. On the union's instructions, its secretary, J.R. Revill, forwarded the resolution to the local German consul. And at its April 1933 meeting the Newcastle branch of the International League for Peace and Freedom 'indignantly' protested 'against the brutal and inhuman treatment of the Jews in Germany, as such is fraught with so great menace to the peace and freedom of the world'.¹⁸

At Melbourne Town Hall on 27 April, a protest meeting presided over by Colonel (later Brigadier) Harold Cohen MLC was attended by some 2000 people, Jews and non-Jews. In a heartfelt apology, for absence, future prime minister Robert Menzies QC praised the contribution of Jews to Australia in many fields, lauded their 'intellect', and ended: 'I hope that I may be associated with the protest of the meeting tonight against the barbaric and medieval persecution to which their fellow Jews in Europe are apparently being subjected.' To quote *The Age* of the following day: 'Remarkable manifestations of sympathy with the Jewish community and protests against the treatment of their fellow Jews in Germany were voiced.' Former state premier William Alexander Watt, once widely assumed to be a prime minister in waiting, and himself an agnostic Presbyterian of Scots-Irish parentage, moved: 'That this meeting, representative of the citizens of Melbourne, expresses its earnest condemnation of the persecution of Jews in

Germany, and expresses its sympathy with the victims. It deplores the revival of a reactionary spirit of religious intolerance and discrimination, which is opposed to the principles of civilisation, and is provocative of international friction.'

'Britain had led this movement of protest against these outrages, and it was appropriate that her young daughter nation should give it articulate support'. Watt, immortalised on canvas by the Jewish Australian portraitist E. Phillips Fox, maintained: 'For many generations Britain had given sanctuary to the Jews – (applause) – and now numbered on the roll of her famous men are many Jewish names, eminent in all walks of life.' Seconding the motion, Labor MLC for East Melbourne John Percy Jones paid tribute to the 'notable contributions' made by German Jews in many fields, observing that 100 years after Heine was compelled to leave Dusseldorf Einstein was obliged to leave his homeland. Messages of sympathy were read from Roman Catholic Archbishop Mannix as well as from leaders of the Anglican, Presbyterian and Baptist churches, from the National Council of Women, and many other organisations. A relief fund opened at the meeting added over £2000 (about \$A200,000 in today's money) to the £5000 subscribed by wealthy Jewish businessman Sidney Keith.¹⁹

The following month a meeting of prominent citizens, Jewish and non-Jewish, protesting Nazi persecution of Jews, was held in Sydney under the presidency of that city's Lord Mayor, Alderman Richard Hagon, managing director of Hagon Brothers, tailors, to protest the Nazi regime's persecution of Jews. Among those seated on the platform were E.M. Mitchell K.C., G.E. Ardill (vice-president of the Hebrew Christian Alliance), conservative MLA Sir Thomas Henley and Labor MLC Simon Hickey. Letters apologising for absence 'generally deplored the ill-treatment of Jews in Germany, and expressed full support for any action decided upon' and in his opening remarks Alderman Hagon stressed that contrary to one press report he had not attended a function in honour of the officers of the *Köln* (which had left Germany

on a goodwill cruise before Hitler's regime gained power). New South Wales's conservative (United Australia Party) premier (Sir) Bertram Stevens declared that:

the economic existence of 10,000 Jews in professional positions were affected by the fulfilment of the Nazi threat of ousting that race from Germany. He was constrained by the character of representations made to him, and by the standing of those in the community who had supported them, to accept the invitation to take his stand on the platform in support of the protest that was to be entered. He had been furnished with abundant evidence of the character of the atrocities committed in Germany, and for that reason, as chief citizen of the State, he would voice his protest. He need hardly say that nothing was calculated more speedily or more effectually to destroy all possibility of the objective of world peace being realised than the encouragement of racial bitterness. Members of the Jewish fraternity were as entitled to free citizenship of the world as any other race – (applause) – provided that they observed the laws of the countries in which they resided; and to deny them that freedom, the right to full citizenship, and the right to observe the laws of the country was tantamount to saying that they had no right to live. “That idea is repugnant to our sense of fair play,” Mr. Stevens added. “It is definitely opposed to the ideals of the British people everywhere. If this be allowed to go unchallenged it may destroy for all time all hope of the world ever enjoying peace, and all hope of international goodwill and co-operation. The Jewish people, as we know them in this country, are excellent citizens, worthy in every way to all rights and privileges that we enjoy under the British flag. The whole world has had enough of the horrors and economic burdens of war. It is safe to say that, with one or two exceptions, the people of all civilised

countries are heartily sick of the petty prejudices and racial hatreds that often lead to war. We, in Australia, desire peaceful relationship with every country, and to join in a co-operative spirit to re-establish the world on a sane and progressive basis.”

[Applause.]

Stevens then moved the motion: ‘That this meeting, representative of the citizens of Sydney of every race and creed, earnestly condemns the persecution of Jewish and other citizens in Germany and, whilst expressing deep sympathy with the victims, still more deploras the revival of a reactionary spirit of intolerance and racial discrimination which is opposed to the principles of civilised freedom.’ It was seconded by Sir John Peden, president of the Legislative Council, who said: ‘I trust that the Jewish community in this State will permit me to offer a sincere expression of deep sympathy with them in the intense fear and anxiety they feel on account of the treatment suffered by members of their faith and blood in Germany since the recent revolution.’ He continued:

It was ... a matter for profound regret that the embers of religious persecution should again be stirred, and a ban placed upon some members of a race, dispersed over the earth’s surface for many centuries, without a national home, yet great in mind and national spirit and in the service they had rendered to the world. [Applause.] It was something of which they might be proud, that at a time when there was such obvious need of peace on earth, British people were uniting with Jews in their midst to protest against religious intolerance and racial hatred. [Applause.]

They could not help remembering what had been said by men like Lord Reading, Lord Hugh Cecil and Sir Austen Chamberlain. Nor was it without significance that the *Manchester Guardian* had been forbidden in Germany for exhibiting what it believed to be facts concerning Jews there.

‘We who are not German nationals, or sons of Jewry, cannot help asking,’ he concluded, to applause, ‘whether Germany of to-day has not forgotten its true inheritance, the spiritual ideals of its poets and philosophers, and whether fanaticism is not laying its heavy hand on the land of Luther and Erasmus.’

Speaking in support of the resolution on behalf of the National Council of Women, of which she was president, Mildred (Mrs Bernard) Muscio pointed out that in 1930, at the League of Nations’ Assembly, two Weimar Republic delegates raised the issue of the treatment of minorities, for whom they tried to get the League to act as protectors. It was unanimously agreed, she observed, that the faith and culture of minorities should be sacred. That must apply to Germany’s Jews.

Dr S.J. Kirkby, bishop coadjutor of Sydney, moved that the resolution should be forwarded to the Lyons government for transmission to the United Kingdom, which of course controlled Australian foreign policy at the time. ‘I am here because I want it to be known that, as head for the time being of the Anglican Church, I stand right behind the purpose of this great gathering,’ Bishop Kirkby explained, garnering tumultuous applause. He had, he revealed, received two politely-worded letters that very afternoon from Dr Asmis, the German consul-general in Sydney, who attempted to downplay reports of German brutality against Jews, claiming they were much exaggerated by the press. Kirkby paid tribute to ‘the debt which Christians owed to God’s ancient people’. Nobody had tried to persuade him to attend the present meeting. He did so of his own conviction:

This ugly nationalism of the ascendant section of Germany to-day is opposed to the ideals of peace and liberty. We have no right to interfere with anything domestic in Germany; but this is bigger. It affects the whole circle of humanity. Freedom is at stake. In 1833 the liberation of slaves in the British Empire was brought to a fruitful conclusion. Here I see what Great Britain fought against being raised

again, and I want 1933 to have a similar significance as regards freedom as 1833.

Benevolent Sydney financier and ex-solicitor T.E. Rofo, president of the Council of Churches, whose portrait by the Jewish artist Joseph Wolinski had been entered for the Archibald Prize in 1926, seconded the motion, which was carried amid acclaim. Free Church minister and theologian Professor R.G. Macintyre, attributing Nazi persecution to jealousy of Jews' intellectual ability and success, then successfully proposed the meeting pledge itself to support the fund already opened for the relief of Jewish refugees from Germany. In seconding that motion Rabbi Francis Lyon Cohen of the Great Synagogue referred to correspondence that he, like Kirkby, had received from Asmis. After that, Louis Burkard, president of the German-Australian Chamber of Commerce, rose, introduced himself, and requested from Alderman Hagon permission to speak. 'He met with a cold reception from the audience. A hostile demonstration drowned anything he uttered, and, realising the futility of making himself heard, he returned to his seat.'²⁰

On 2 May 1933 the Victorian Manufacturing Grocers' Union unanimously passed the following resolution: 'That a strong protest be made to the German Consul against the cruel treatment of the Jewish nation in Germany. Also that we protest against the barbarously oppressive treatment of the working-class organisations and the brutal treatment of working-class leaders'. On 12 May 1933 the union's secretary, F.J. Riley, wrote to Dr Asmis bringing to his attention this resolution, explaining in the covering letter:

We are compelled to believe that atrocities are being committed against leaders of the Jewish race, that working class leaders are being murdered, others brutally treated, that working-class organisations are broken up and others are so muzzled that they cease to function, that working-class newspapers are closed by order of the Government, and that

freedom of speech, thought, and action have been superseded by a brutal political organisation that has taken upon itself a dictatorship that burns books to prevent the spread of knowledge ...

The members of the union are staggered that a nation to which we owe so much in science, literature and culture should be guilty of such action. We assure you we have no national feeling in this matter. We are actuated on the grounds that nothing can justify a nation resorting to such practices as those reported in the daily press.²¹

On 5 May representatives of various bodies including churches assembled inside Newcastle Town Hall to vehemently protest Germany's persecution of Jews and to appeal to Hitler's regime, via the British government, for its cessation. Among the speakers was the president of the local branch of the Returned Soldiers' League, whose members that same day denounced the placing of a wreath on the Sydney Cenotaph by officers of the visiting German cruiser *Köln*, which had already called in at Fremantle, Adelaide, Melbourne and Hobart.²²

'The protest movement against Nazi terrorism is developing,' it was observed in late June 1933. Asmis, at 4 Bridge Street, Sydney, 'is being deluged with protest resolutions.' Thus the South Coast branch of the Blacksmiths' Society of Australasia addressed the following statement to him: 'We ... enter our emphatic protest against the terrorist campaign and the brutal atrocities being carried out by the Hitler government against the working-class Jews and religious bodies in Germany, and in the name of the working class of N.S.W. we demand that this cease immediately.' Similar resolutions were carried by the Bulli Miners' Lodge, the Southern District Miners, the Kembla Heights Unemployed Unity Committee, the Central Illawarra sub-branch of the Federated Engine Drivers' and Firemen's Association, and the Workers' International Relief branches of Wollongong, Fairymeadow and Fern, Corrimal, and Scarborough.²³ Dr Asmis, reported at

year's end to his masters in Berlin: 'the attitude of the Australian press has since the middle of March been extremely hostile to Germany; and the agitation rose until August'.²⁴

Nor was William Cooper's deputation unique in being rebuffed. The German consulate staff's normal behaviour was to cold-shoulder awkward visitors. The following example from 1936 occurred at the entrance to 4 Bridge Street:

An attempt by members of the Movement Against War and Fascism to interview the Consul-General for Germany was abandoned soon after the arrival of two policemen today. After having spent half an hour in a passageway of premises at Bridge Street looking at the closed doors of the consulate, the deputation broke up shouting "Down with Hitler's war plan."

The deputation was a large one and included many women. It was stated that several trades unions were represented. Two clergymen were members of the party as it entered the building, but they left abruptly when they discovered that the deputation had no appointment.

The spokesman of the deputation (Mr. S.R. Smith), who is the secretary of the Movement Against War and Fascism, knocked on one of the consulate doors. It was opened about six inches. "We wish to see the German Consul-General to protest," Mr. Smith began.

A voice said – "I can assure you the Consul-General is not here," and the door was closed abruptly.

The deputation settled down to wait in the corridor, and subsequently a sergeant and a constable of police arrived and were admitted to the consulate. In a few minutes they emerged and took up a position at the end of the corridor, apparently wholly indifferent to the future proceedings, and did not move or speak. The patience of the deputation soon evaporated, and after shouting, "Down with Hitler,

down with Fascism,” and “The time will come when you will open the door,” the deputation trooped into the street.²⁵

In June 1938, when the German First World War naval hero Count Felix von Luckner arrived in Sydney aboard his yacht *Seeteufel*, a deputation went aboard ostensibly to greet him. But to his embarrassment the ‘address of welcome’ (signed H. Collingwood) read to him ran: ‘In the name of tens of thousands of political prisoners incarcerated in German concentration camps; in the name of tens of thousands of victims who have been treated with unspeakable barbarity in brown houses; in the name of tens of thousands of prisoners victimised by German police; in the name of the flower of German literature, science, and arts, who have been driven from their fatherland into exile; in the name of the true German nobility who had been denationalised by the Nazi policy; in the name of tens of thousands of pacifists, socialists, liberals and Jews, who have been condemned to slow economic strangulation in Germany; in the name of the stricken soul of Germany which is now prostrate; in the name of true Germany which will ultimately sweep away the gang which misgoverns the First Reich, the school of modern writers welcomes you to our free and democratic Australia. For and on behalf of the school of modern writers, in the year of our civilisation, 1938.’²⁶ And not long before Kristallnacht, the Joint Spanish Aid Committee sent to Prime Minister Joseph Lyons a petition it had organised that called upon his government to play its part in any scheme devised for alleviating the plight of Jews in the Reich. ‘We are convinced’, the petition ran *inter alia*, ‘that the persecution is not supported by the majority of the German people. We feel that it is important that among the many voices raised in protest the voice of the Australian people should be heard, and we urge the Commonwealth Government to register as strong a protest as possible.’ Victorian signatories included Melbourne’s Anglican Archbishop Frederick Waldegrave Head,

Bendigo's Bishop Donald Baker (who became principal of Ridley College, Melbourne that year), stalwart philosemite William ('the little doctor') Maloney, who was Labor MHR for Melbourne, radical lawyer Maurice Blackburn, Labor MHR for Bourke, Ivy Weber, Independent MLA for Nunawading and president of the League of Women Electors, Labor MLA for Wonthaggi William McKenzie, and the secretaries of the trades unions representing railway, waterside, iron, and building workers.²⁷

An Australian Associated Press report, dateline 'Berlin, Thursday [10 November]', opened:

Attacks on Jews and destruction of Jewish property are being continued throughout Germany with a ferocity unparalleled in recent years. Tonight mobs of Germans in Berlin itself carried on a campaign of shop wrecking, looting and assaults. The entire police force and hundreds of Black Guards were called out. but they were powerless to enforce order. It was not until nearly midnight that some semblance of control was secured.²⁸

The harrowing facts made headlines the following day, and for days afterwards. Soon newspapers around Australia, in remote rural centres as well as capital cities, were reporting what very many of them termed a 'pogrom', preceded by such adjectives as 'ferocious' and 'frightful', or supplemented by such phrases as 'of exceptional ferocity' or 'of unparalleled ferocity'. Fairly representative was the *Sydney Morning Herald's* editorial of 12 November 1938 headed 'The Martyrdom of a Minority'. Calling Herschel Grynszpan's assassination of Paris-based diplomat Ernst vom Rath (the pretext for Kristallnacht) 'as senseless as it was cowardly' and 'bound to be made the pretext for a new campaign of terrorism and spoliation' against Jews, it continued:

But a powerful and presumably civilised nation whose rulers countenance an orgy of violence against helpless thousands of the innocent, in reprisal for the guilt of a single individual, forfeits sympathy for

the slaying of its representative and earns the execration of the non-German world. This week's pogrom would have been disgraceful enough had it been a spontaneous outburst of popular indignation and fury. The outrages, however, bear all the marks, not of sporadic mob violence, but of organised destruction planned while von [sic] Rath was dying ...

Racial ferocity, industriously whetted during five years of anti-Semitism, has no doubt proved a willing accessory to looting and incendiarism, but in a country so rigidly regimented as Germany violence, unless it is revolutionary, does not break loose without official sanction, and it is impossible to avoid the impression that the opportunity offered by the Paris murder has been avidly seized by the Nazi Government to begin a new and revolting chapter in the martyrdom of the German Jews ...

It may be said that what Germany does or allows to be done to a section of her own people is her own business, but, though the regimented Nazi Press may rant and scold the insolence of foreigners who dare to protest, it cannot prevent neighbours of the Reich from drawing their own lessons from the brutal treatment of the Jews. It cannot prevent them wondering with what validity Germany claims to rescue minorities abroad when she so cruelly oppresses a minority of her own, nor whether it would not be contrary to natural justice to return to her charge the millions of natives in the mandated territories. When the German picture darkens, as it is darkening now, the hopes of European appeasement and pacification grow faint indeed.²⁹

'Sympathy is being expressed in the resolutions of various organisations throughout the English-speaking world', observed an editorial in *The Argus* on 17 November:

... Just as it mattered nothing that Lenin and Trotsky were infidels and outside the pale of Jewry, so it

matters nothing that Herr von [sic] Rath was anti-Nazi and that the Jews of Germany were neither guilty nor cognisant of the murder. The occasion is being seized, almost as if it had been sought and welcomed, for a German pogrom marked by cruelty and robbery. The property of Jews has been stolen from them, and many thousands have been driven to the frontiers, only to find them closed against them. In many places they have been driven back into the clutches of their persecutors. They have no redress at law ...

A dreadful crime has been committed, is still being committed.

There is no method of taking punitive or deterrent action, and the only hope of the Jews remaining in Germany is that the obloquy of the most powerful nations in the world may yet have a restraining influence upon a policy which it would be charity to call a form of insanity.

'Gentile' of Camberwell observed in a letter to *The Argus* published that day: 'The inhuman treatment meted out to the Jews in Germany has roused the anger and sympathy of the whole world of decent-minded people, and one would rejoice if a joint protest were presented to Herr Hitler expressing in the plainest terms the abhorrence of all self-respecting nations.'³⁰ The *Cessnock Eagle* (15 November) urged international punitive action against Germany in the form of sanctions spearheaded by a refusal to export food-stuffs and raw materials to that country so long as the anti-Jewish policy lasted. 'Numbers of people whom I hardly know have stopped me in the street and have expressed sympathy at the way the Jewish people are being attacked and tortured in Germany', an unidentified Sydney Jewish woman was quoted as saying. 'They say what they think of Hitler in no meek terms.'³¹ Such sympathy was widely replicated, from all sides of the political and Christian denominational divides.

Beneath the heading 'Pity is Not Enough', an editorial in the

Brisbane *Courier-Mail* of 17 November declared:

Thousands of people in Australia, as in all other lands where humanitarianism is free to speak, are deploring the new persecution of the Jews in Germany. But pity and protests are mere self-indulgence in sentiment if no help accompanies them. A German Government, which now extends over what was Austria and part of Czechoslovakia, is determined to make the life of Jews and non-Aryans remaining in the Reich intolerable.

Events in the last few days show that it is not prepared even to protect them against criminal violence. Few people can believe in the possibility of changing the policy of the present rulers of Germany towards the Jews by international pressure. Meanwhile the most practical help that other nations can render to the pitiable victims of Nazi hatred is to assist them to leave the land that has become a hell upon earth for them and to aid them in making new homes elsewhere. Upon the democracies of the British Commonwealth of Nations, the United States, France, and Holland rests the chief responsibility for providing this help. Their aid is indispensable to a humane solution of the Jewish refugee problem, because among them they possess and rule half the earth's surface ...

Palestine, a parcel of land less than half the size of Tasmania, has received more than 150,000 Jewish immigrants since 1933, and the Arab revolt is a warning that Jewish settlement there cannot be continued on such a scale. But the distribution of 500,000 or 600,000 Jewish and other refugees from Germany among the great Dominions of the British Commonwealth, in the United States, and in the extensive colonial empires controlled by Britain, France, and Holland could be planned and carefully guided over a number of years so as not to produce

economic or social disturbance in any single country receiving them.

... Co-operation would be expected from Australia, and if Australia has no contribution to make all our present pity for the German Jews and the protests we are voicing against their treatment will be worth little more than they cost us, which is nothing.³²

Councillors of the Adelaide suburb of Thebarton unanimously passed a motion on 16 November deploring the persecution of German Jewry and requesting that local federal parliamentarians convey their sentiments to the federal government. The possibility of inviting persecuted Jews to occupy some of Australia's uncultivated land was also raised.³³ Speaking that same day in reaction to Kristallnacht, officials of the New South Wales Labor Council and its constituents wholeheartedly condemned what Council president J.R. Hughes termed the Nazis' 'bestial actions'. W. Ferguson, organiser of the Australian Railways Union, observed that 'The treatment being handed out to the Jews in Germany clearly indicates the correctness of those who opposed and still oppose the Chamberlain policy of appeasement'. Lloyd Ross, secretary of that same union, remarked that 'Chamberlain – and Lyons here – must take their share of responsibility. Whoever is friend to Hitler has the blood of his innocent victims to answer for!' Mick Martin, that union's president, declared: 'Fascism can't exist without terror and race hatred. It is never a question of Jew against black, Protestant against Catholic, but always and everywhere the unity of the workers against the exploiters.' H.L. Denford, organiser of the Ironworkers' Union, did not mince words:

The Federal Government should deport forthwith every Nazi sympathiser in Australia. We should have a pogrom against Nazis in Australia. This is the only effective retaliatory measure. Protests are useless.

The following day, on the proposal of Lloyd Ross, the Council passed a motion demanding the deportation of Consul-General

Asmis. Departing from its usual policy of opposition to immigration, the Council also called for Jewish refugees to be admitted to Australia and that the federal authorities should accept financial responsibility.³⁴ That was the day the two aforementioned protests at the German consulate in Melbourne occurred, nearly three weeks earlier than William Cooper's.

On 16 November, at its annual meeting, the Melbourne Unitarian Church expressed sympathy with the victims of Nazi persecution, pledged itself to help if feasible, and urged the federal government to protest to the German authorities.³⁵ In the Melbourne suburb of Carlton, home to numerous Jews of mainly East European origin, a special service held (in accordance with a request from British Chief Rabbi J.H. Hertz to all congregations under his jurisdiction) at the synagogue in Palmerston Street to show solidarity with German Jewry in its affliction, was attended by many Christian invitees.³⁶ Meanwhile, Dr W. Janzow, general president of the Evangelical Lutheran Synod, roundly condemned Nazi brutality. 'Lutheran churches in Australia are working to provide assistance and sustenance for the suffering Jews who are being subjected to such frightful hardships in Germany', he said. 'The scheme is to find homes and employment for refugees in Australia and to assist migrants to come here by providing cash loans to cover the money which must be held by foreign migrants before they can land.'³⁷ Also in response to Kristallnacht, the Rev. A.R. Ebbs, of St. Matthew's Church, Manly, wrote to prime minister Lyons suggesting that the federal government should bring to Australia 600 German Jewish lads and young men to be trained in agricultural work. Ebbs was confident that if such youths were distributed throughout Australia and properly trained they would succeed on the land.³⁸

Pro-Jewish sermons were preached from many pulpits around Australia. 'The soul of every decent body must be stirred and sickened' by 'a machine of organised cruelty ... having for its purpose the elimination of the Jews', declared the Rev. E.A. Davies at St. Stephen's Church, Macquarie Street, Sydney, on 20

November. Yet 'the same almost unbelievable devotion to their laws and customs, which brought them through, and made them superior to Egyptian Pharaoh, Assyrian King, Scandinavian Crusader, Turkish Sultan, Roman Caesar, and unholy inquisitor, will enable them to survive the diabolical terrors of the Nazi regime'. At Chalmers Presbyterian Church, the Rev. D.F. Brandt, a former Moderator of the Presbyterian Assembly, said that:

Not only are we shocked, but we are also indignant at the callousness and brutality meted out to the Jews by Germany. The history of the world proves that no nation can persecute the Jews and live, and if Germany is not wrecked on the foolhardy plan of its Dictator, it will certainly come to grief because of the treatment of the Jews. They are God's own chosen race, and ... God has not and will not allow them to be exterminated. The nations that have offered them a home will reap blessings to themselves.

At the Central Baptist Church the Rev. W.L. Jarvis observed 'that a great tribulation of the Jews as a culmination to their persecution down the ages, was prophesied in Jeremiah 30, as a prelude to their deliverance and restoration to their own land. Nothing in history surpassed the present persecution of the race, and despite the trouble in Palestine, it was possible that the pogroms of to-day were a prelude to the deliverance of the Jew'.³⁹

Thoroughly agreeing with the Brisbane *Courier-Mail's* contention that 'Pity is Not Enough', the Rev. Alan T. Gurr of South Brisbane wrote of his belief 'that public sympathy is with the Jews, and that if it were put to the people they would desire to help in a practical way. It seems to me a wonderful opportunity for Australia to gain not only migrants of a good class, but the necessary capital to make them productive citizens and a strength for this Commonwealth'.⁴⁰ On 20 November, in Brisbane, Lieutenant-Colonel W. Dalziel, commander of the Salvation Army in New South Wales and Queensland, called upon Australia to find employment in rural industries for persecuted

Jews.⁴¹ A long and splendid pro-Jewish article by a well-known Queensland Anglican clergyman, the Rev. A.E. Saxon, appeared in the Brisbane *Telegraph* (23 November 1938), on the same page as a sensitive drawing (see the figure on p. 110) by young local artist George Wilson Cooper. 'As a civilised Christian nation, we can set the world an example, and, more important, do much to alleviate the misery of this persecuted race. We have vast territories uninhabited, and our politicians are constantly urging us to populate them,' Victor Harbor schoolteacher Jean Crowel Kempson observed in the correspondence columns of the *Adelaide Advertiser* (22 November). 'The Jews are an energetic and progressive race and should do much to develop the country.' 'Germany, rightly or wrongly, is pressing for the return of her colonies,' wrote Queensland grazier Arthur Charles Vassal Bligh of Condamine Plains to the *Courier-Mail* (letter published on 28 November 1938). 'If we have any Christian feeling at all the rest of the world must try to save these refugees from perishing. I think we should advocate the settling of all who are willing to do so in certain of the mandated territories, under the guidance and assistance of the League of Nations. Germany would to some extent be atoning for her injustice to these people, as the areas to which she lays claim would be utilised to settle them.' 'France ... drove away thousands of Huguenots to the immense advantage of England and all other nations that received them, and to her own great loss' reflected Tasmanian [Augustus] Tasman Jessup in a letter published by the *Burnie Advocate* on 29 November. 'Germany will lose materially as well as morally by the brutal persecution and expulsion of the Jews, and they will help to build up and strengthen those nations who welcome them. It is to be hoped that narrow-minded selfishness will not cause us to miss this opportunity.' And so forth.

On 17 November in the federal House of Representatives, two Victorian United Australia Party members, Harold Holt (a future prime minister) and William Hutchinson, pointedly enquired whether the Lyons government would associate itself

with a protest from Britain to the Nazi regime against the attacks on German Jewry.⁴² On 19 November 300 people participated in a meeting of protest at Nazi persecution of Jews held under the auspices of the Australian League for Peace and Democracy, addressed by prominent leftwing schoolteacher and feminist Miss Doris McRae, who paid tribute to the Jewish contribution to culture and science, and by Councillor A.E. Pratt of Kew. A resolution urging the Lyons government to protest the persecution, and calling on the Australian people to boycott German goods passed unanimously.⁴³ Also in Melbourne various public figures signed a petition: 'We the undersigned citizens of Melbourne wish to make a protest against the inhuman treatment of the Jewish people in Germany and to express our conviction that the persecution is not supported by the majority of the German people. We feel that it is important that among the many voices raised in protest the voice of the Australian people should be heard, and we urge the Federal Government to register a protest as soon as possible.' Signatories included the Anglican Archbishop Head, Baptist Union chairman C.H. Book, E. Porter of the Australian Youth Council, Arthur Burdeu, president of the Australian Aborigines' League, Constance Duncan, secretary of the League of Nations Union, Herbert Burton, president of the Council for Civil Liberties, poet, essayist and literary critic Nettie Palmer and her novelist husband Vance Palmer, lawyer and parliamentarian Maurice Blackburn, J.F. Chapple, federal secretary of the Australian Railways Union, and Don Thompson, secretary of the Building Trades Federation.⁴⁴

On 30 November a protest meeting against the treatment of Jews in Germany was held in the Perth Town Hall. Chief speakers were Messrs. Badger (of the Adult Education Board) and Graham (of the Young Labour League), and Mrs May B. Vallance, Western Australia president of the Women's Christian Temperance Union.⁴⁵ Meanwhile, at least one Australian newspaper, the Sydney *Daily Telegraph* (24 November 1938) picked up an Independent Cable Service report issued from London the previous day which told

of the policy being advocated by *Das Schwarze Korps*, the official organ of the Schutzstaffel (SS):

“The Jews must be driven out of our dwelling districts, and placed in streets and blocks of houses where they will come in contact with Germans as little as possible.” ... The paper claims that the segregated Jews would soon become criminals. They could then be exterminated.

On 3 December 1938 the Council of Youth passed a resolution protesting against ‘the treatment of Jews in the recent Nazi pogrom and commending the Commonwealth Government for its promise to’ admit 15,000 refugees from the Reich over a three-year period, announced on 1 December. ‘A number of delegates reported that the resolution had been fully discussed by their organisations and heartily endorsed.’⁴⁶ On 5 December 1938, reported *The Argus* next day:

Differences of race, creed, and politics were set aside in the [Melbourne] Town Hall ... when a crowded public meeting agreed to form a committee of about 70 citizens to assist the settlement of Jewish refugees. The meeting was convened by the Lord Mayor (Councillor A.W. Coles). Before and during the meeting, which was held under the auspices of all Protestant Churches and the League of Nations Union, donations exceeding £500 [about \$50,000 in today’s money] were received by the president of the League of Nations Union (Professor H. Woodruff). Other large sums were promised. Many letters and telegrams expressing sympathy with the movement were received by the Lord Mayor ... Scores of extra seats were brought in, but many persons were obliged to stand or sit on the floor round the rostrum, and others overflowed into the corridor outside. By resolution the meeting agreed to the formation of the Victorian Refugee Emergency Council, consisting of representative citizens from

all sections of the community and all Churches, and from representative organisations in the State.

Just before Christmas that year came an ecumenical appeal to the Victorian public to contribute generously to the Lord Mayor of Melbourne's appeal for the Victorian Refugee Emergency Council. 'The refugee council must have funds at its disposal to take care of the refugees when they arrive on our shores. It is not proposed to send money out of Australia, as overseas organisations will provide the necessary passage money to bring them here,' explained the signatories, who were the Archbishop of Melbourne, the chairman of the Congregational Union of Victoria (A.C.C. Holtz), the moderator of the Presbyterian Assembly of Victoria (K. Forster), the commissioner of the Salvation Army (Robert Henry), and the presidents respectively of the Baptist Union (A.H. Potter), the Conference of Churches of Christ (T. Rowland Morris) and the Methodist Conference of Victoria (H.G. Secomb). 'The Jewish community in Melbourne recently raised £17,000 for relief work among their own co-religionists. We now appeal to the larger Christian community to show similar generosity.' Those who had already contributed included such figures as Herbert Brookes and his wife (£100), Russell Grimwade and his wife (£100), Councillor A.W. Coles (£60), Ansett Airways chairman Ernest O'Sullivan (£25), and Professor H.A. Woodruff and his wife (£25). The Victorian Housewives' Association, the League of Nations Union, and the Victorian Council of the International Peace Campaign contributed what amounts they had been able to collect.⁴⁷

Melbourne ophthalmologist Sir James Barrett, a staunch philosemite and an advocate of populating Australia's north, was instrumental in the decision of Dr I.N. Steinberg, head of the Freeland League for Jewish Territorial Colonisation, to seek a refuge for some 75,000 displaced European Jews in the Kimberley region of north-west Australia. Barrett was one of the 46 distinguished Victorians who signed a manifesto in support of this, the so-called Kimberley Scheme. Published in *The*

Argus (1 December 1939), it followed a similar manifesto of 14 signatures that appeared in *The West Australian* (6 September 1939) and preceded another, consisting of 55 signatures, which was published in the *Sydney Morning Herald* (19 April 1940). The Victorian manifesto was signed by such well-known figures as the Lord Mayor of Melbourne, the president of the Methodist Church of Australia, Maurice Blackburn, Frank Brennan, Herbert Brookes, John Cain, Frederic Eggleston, Sir Charles Merrett, Nettie Palmer, and Professor Sir Ernest Scott. West Australia's signatories included the Anglican Archbishop of Perth, the Lord Mayors of Perth and Fremantle, and Professor Walter Murdoch, who had earlier declared (*West Australian*, 15 July 1939): 'Israel's extremity is Australia's opportunity'. Signatories to the New South Wales manifesto included the Lord Mayor of Sydney, Charles Bean (Australia's official war historian), Bishop E.H. Burgmann, Sir Robert Garran, Bishop C.V. Pilcher, and Jessie Street. In past issues of this *Journal* alone are to be met a range of philosemites, clerical and lay, male and female, who are as equally deserving of posterity's praise as William Cooper. It is probable that Cooper, who emerges from historical sources as an admirably fair-minded man, would be only too happy to see their concern for oppressed Jewry remembered alongside his own.

Endnotes

1. See especially W.D. Rubinstein and Hilary L. Rubinstein, *Philosemitism: Admiration and Support in the English-Speaking World for Jews, 1840-1939*, London, Macmillan, 1999.
2. <http://www.theage.com.au/national/half-a-world-away-sound-of-breaking-glass-found-an-echo-20121114-29cm1.html>
3. Quoted in *Labor Daily* (Sydney), 26 November 1938.
4. Bain Attwood and Andrew Markus, *Thinking Black: William Cooper and the Australian Aborigines' League*, Canberra, Aboriginal Studies Press, 2004, pp. 5-7; *Advocate*, 12 June 1939; *Melbourne Herald*, 7 August 1937 (interview by Clive Turnbull).
5. *Labor Call*, 24 October 1935; see also Andrew Markus, *Blood from a Stone: William Cooper and the Australian Aborigines' League*,

- Sydney, Allen & Unwin, 1988.
6. Attwood and Markus, *Thinking Black*, p. 133.
7. <http://www.kooriweb.org/foley/resources/politics/jta15dec04.html>; *Australian Jewish News*, 13 December 2002; Hilary L. Rubinstein, 'Critchley Parker (1911-42): Australian Martyr for Jewish Refugees', *Australian Jewish Historical Society Journal*, vol. 11, part 1, 1990. pp. 56-68.
8. See <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=gYn9HVd4Iyk&feature=youtu.be>
9. Barbara Miller, *William Cooper – Gentle Warrior: Standing up for Australian Aborigines and Persecuted Jews*, [Gordon, NSW], Xlibris, 2012.
10. <https://www.timwatts.net.au/campaigns/rename-gellibrand/>
11. *Australian Jewish News*, 29 June 2018.
12. <http://vuir.vu.edu.au/27465/1/AustraliaandtheHolocaustKooriaperspective.pdf>
13. *Australian Jewish News*, 3 August 2018.
14. Quoted in the *Brisbane Courier-Mail*, 15 November 1938; more protests, including one made by hundreds of Dutch intellectuals representing the Unity Through Democracy movement, were reported even in regional newspapers such as the *Kalgoorlie Miner*, 16 November 1938.
15. I owe knowledge of this publicity material to Phil Lipshut, hon. sec. of the Australian Jewish Historical Society in Victoria.
16. *The Argus*, 28 May 1903.
17. *Workers' Weekly*, 24 March 1933.
18. *Burnie Advocate*, 17 April 1933; *The Age*, 22 April 1933; *Newcastle Morning Herald and Miners' Advocate*, 18 April 1933.
19. *The Age*, 28 April 1933; *Burnie Advocate*, 6 May 1933; *Launceston Examiner*, 28 April 1933.
20. *Sydney Morning Herald*, 19 May 1933; *Hobart Mercury*, 20 May 1933. Lars Brundahl, Commissioner of the Leipzig Trade Fair, was also present.
21. *Queensland Daily Standard*, 3 June 1933.
22. *Burnie Advocate*, 6 May 1933.
23. *Worker's Weekly*, 21 June 1933. Sincere thanks to Associate Professor Philip Mendes and to Emeritus Professor Phillip Deery for explaining the abbreviations contained in that report.

24. Asmis to Foreign Office, 30 December 1933, p. 20, File 43515 Jahresberichte der deutschen Auslandsvertretung in Australien, 1929-36, Bundesarchiv Postdam, Foreign Office vol. 16/17, quoted in Christine Winter, "A Good-Will Ship": The Light Cruiser Köln Visits Rabaul (1933)', *Australian Journal of Politics and History*, vol. 54, no. 1, 2008, p. 53.
25. *Adelaide Advertiser*, 19 March 1936.
26. *Burnie Advocate*, 9 June 1938; *Canberra Times*, 9 June 1938.
27. *The Argus*, 6 November 1938.
28. Quoted in *Melbourne Herald*, 11 November 1938.
29. Compare, for instance, *Queensland Times*, 14 November 1938.
30. See also, for example, letters in *Adelaide Advertiser*, 16 November 1938 and *Argus*, 16 November 1938.
31. *Workers' Weekly*, 18 November 1938.
32. *Brisbane Courier-Mail*, 17 November 1938.
33. *Adelaide Advertiser*, 17 November 1938.
34. *Workers' Weekly*, 18, 22 November 1938; *Sydney Morning Herald*, 18 November 1938; *Adelaide Advertiser*, 18 November 1938.
35. *The Argus*, 18 November 1938.
36. *Ibid.*, 21 November 1938.
37. *The News*, Adelaide, 17 November 1938.
38. *Barrier Miner* (Broken Hill), 21 November 1938.
39. *Sydney Morning Herald*, 21 November 1938.
40. *Brisbane Courier-Mail* 18 November 1938.
41. *Tweed Daily*, 21 November 1938.
42. *The Argus*, 18, 19 November 1938; *Warwick Daily News*, 18 November 1938.
43. *Ibid.*, 21 November 1938.
44. *Workers' Weekly*, 2 December 1938.
45. *Workers' Star* (Perth), 2 December 1938.
46. *Brisbane Courier-Mail*, 8 December 1938.
47. *The Age*, 23 December 1938.