

INSIGHTS

into

South Australian History

Volume 2

South Australia's German History and Heritage

Ian A. Harmstorf



*Prinzessin Adelheid von Sachsen-Meiningen
—Princess Adelaide from Saxony-Meiningen*

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Volume 2

South Australia's German History and Heritage

Ian A. Harmstorf

Historical Society of South Australia Inc.

ADELAIDE

1994

Published 1994
by the Historical Society of South Australia Inc.

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ISBN 0 9588276 2 1

Copies available from
Historical Society of South Australia
Institute Building
122 Kintore Avenue
Adelaide SA 5000

Typeset & Printed by
Gould Publishing Services
North Adelaide South Australia

Cover Illustration: Prinzessin Adelheid Amalie Luise Therese Carolin was born in the town castle at Meiningen on 13 August 1792. On 17 July 1818 she was married to the heir-apparent William of Clarence. At her marriage in London Adelheid changed her name to Adelaide. On 26 July 1830 William was crowned as King William IV and Adelaide crowned Queen of Great Britain and Hanover. In 1836 the province of South Australia was settled by British arrivals and new capital city named Adelaide. On 21 June 1837 William IV died. After a widowhood given to doing good works Adelaide died of dropsy on 2 December 1849.
The cover photo, from Meiningen, Germany, shows Adelheid as a young woman before her marriage.

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Introduction

This is volume two of what the Council of the Historical Society of South Australia believes will be a long and successful series aimed at broadening the available sources for the study of South Australian history. Australian Studies has been designated a priority area by the Federal Government and it is important that the study of South Australian history and culture takes its rightful place in the broader Australian scheme.

The Historical Society of South Australia has as part of its constitution formal objectives which have led it since 1974 to pursue this very aim. They include: arousing interest in and promoting the study and discussion of South Australian and Australian history; promoting the collection, preservation and classification of source material of all kinds relating to South Australian and Australian history; publishing historical records and articles. The 'Insights' series seeks to fulfil all these objectives.

Apart from the federal push for a greater recognition of the importance of the study of Australian history, heritage and culture, there has been a growing awareness of its value at state level. The Senior Secondary Assessment Board of South Australia has introduced an innovative Year 12 Australian History syllabus which includes a significant core unit on South Australia. This volume

will considerably expand the resources available to students and teachers. The German contribution to the development of the state has been far reaching and over a prolonged period.

It is worth noting that in an era of multiculturalism the present volume has a relevance beyond the history classroom. German language students will also find it of considerable use since the SSABSA extended subject framework includes work on the German influence in Australia and on the customs and traditions of Germans in South Australia.

Further afield, there is a clear interest in the wider community in South Australian family and cultural history in general and their German component in particular. South Australia had the largest intake of German migration and the high percentage of people with German ancestors will find much of interest in the following papers. The state's German heritage has become a significant aspect also of the push for cultural tourism and of the recognition of the value of items of material culture. Those involved in all these areas will also find this volume of considerable value.

Dr Ian Harmstorf is the state's foremost authority on the German contribution to South Australia. The Council of the Historical Society of South Australia is indebted to him for his enthusiastic preparation of the second in the 'Insights' series.

*Dr Robert Nicol
President,
Historical Society of South Australia*

When Torrens Island Was a Concentration Camp

A Dark Chapter in South Australia's History...

Atrocities during wartime are always committed by the 'other side'. Or so we are led to believe. But in World War I, Torrens Island, in the Port River, was the site of a concentration camp which earned a notorious reputation for brutality.

The story of that camp has been suppressed by the authorities for many years. Now the chance discovery by Adelaide historian Ian Harmstorf of documents in the Barr-Smith Library has revealed the shocking truth about Torrens Island.

Much of the detail for this article comes from papers left to the library by the former principal of Adelaide Teachers College, Dr. A.B. Schulz, who died in the 1950s.

Torrens Island is an inhospitable place at the best of times. In autumn and winter cold winds whip in off the sea and fogs drift across its bleak, flat landscape.

That this lonely mangrove island is a landmark is due only to the chimneys of the massive power station which pumps life-giving electricity into Adelaide's veins.

There is nothing there now to tell us or succeeding generations of the notorious concentration camp which once stood on Torrens Island.

Within its barbed wire fences was written one of the most shameful chapters in Australian history.

The camp on Torrens Island flourished for about 10 months—between October 1914 and August 1915—when about 300 Germans were interned following the outbreak of World War I.

Most of the imprisoned men were civilians, not prisoners of war taken in battle, and they included many who were born on Australian soil in traditional areas of German settlement such as the Barossa Valley.

They were arrested, often at gunpoint in their homes or at work, and imprisoned without trial and without knowing what offence they were supposed to have committed under regulation 56A of the War Precautions Regulations.

Under a headline 'Torrid Tales of Torrens Island', a newspaper report of 1919 described it as '...the camp which has the worst reputation in this country among those who are qualified to know'.

The report, from the Adelaide *Truth* of 31 May, listed atrocities committed against internees, including flogging, shooting and bayoneting by guards.

'*Truth* long ago received fairly substantial reports about what had taken place at Torrens Island, but we were not



As well as Australian born there were also German nationals and German reservists interned on Torrens Island. These reservists who were about to be called up in the German armed forces were interned with Australian born who had no interest in politics and whose only mistake was to get slightly drunk and make some indiscreet remark at the local pub. There was considerable tension between the two groups. The reservists often actively supported the German cause and the photo shows the Kaiser Cafe. The man wearing a seaman's cap could well be one of the many German merchant sailors who were interned in Australia when the war broke out. If these men were reservists and likely to be called up into the Kriegsmarine—the war navy, they were not repatriated. Photo courtesy of the Mitchell Library, Sydney NSW

allowed to publish them at the time, owing to the censorship', says the article.

'Things became so bad in the internment camp at Torrens Island that, in the end, the prisoners had to be moved to New South Wales on 17 August, 1915.'

Truth described an incident in which two internees were flogged with the cat-o'-nine-tails for half an hour for attempting to escape.

The flogging was ordered by Capt. Hawkes, an officer who became notorious for his brutality against the prisoners and whom, *Truth* reported, was subsequently reduced to the ranks.

The two men—a German and a Swede—were stripped and tied to a tree outside the compound for the flogging.

'Their piteous cries could be heard from the camp', *Truth* reported. 'They were brought back bleeding profusely. One man was beaten so badly he could not walk for four days.'

Photographs were taken of the men's injuries and copies were smuggled out of the camp, with details of the atrocities.

The information reached Germany and led to the German Government threatening reprisals against Australian prisoners of war unless conditions on Torrens Island were improved.

The prisoners made their own protest at the inhuman treatment in an open letter to the camp commandant, a Major Logan.

The letter was printed in a primitive newspaper, *Der Kamerad*, which the internees somehow managed to publish weekly in the camp. It read:

'Two prisoners were publicly and thoroughly whipped naked. We maintain this punishment is illegal and undignified. We appeal to the Major's sense of justice, and request an inquiry.'

That edition of *Der Kamerad*, dated 26 June, 1915, was the third and last newspaper the internees published. The guards confiscated and destroyed all copies they could find.

However, an internee, Mr. O. Burth, saved copies, and after the war presented them to the State Archives, along with photographs taken in the camp.

According to *Truth*, the internees at Torrens Island were treated well until Major Hawkes came there at the beginning of 1915.

The guards used their bayonets freely on the internees, and a favourite punishment for offenders was to force-march them around the camp perimeter. Those who did not move fast enough for the guard were prodded with a bayonet.

Truth reported that more than 25 of the prisoners had bayonet wounds, including one man who had seven wounds and another who had a bayonet thrust right through his leg by an over-zealous guard.

In one incident a group of prisoners who had annoyed their captors by making a noise were driven at bayonet point over barbed wire by the guards. Many suffered badly lacerated legs and a number received bayonet wounds.

Even worse was the punishment for 36 prisoners who had been caught taking firewood without permission.

They were herded into a small barbed wire compound for two weeks. There was no shelter from the cold, windy weather and not enough room for them all to lie down to sleep at once. They were given one hot meal every three days.

The *Truth* report of 1919 also cites Captain Hawkes as having drawn his revolver and fired at random into the compound after an internee had called out to him for a cigarette.

The bullet hit a prisoner in the leg and the man spent three weeks in hospital recovering from his injury.

The internees had to endure a further two months of ill-treatment after the brutal flogging incident until the Defence Department closed Torrens Island and moved prisoners by train to camps at Liverpool and Berrima, in New South Wales.

Although conditions in the N.S.W. camps were considered generally better than the tent hell of Torrens Island, the ordeal of South Australia's interned Germans was to continue for another four years.

Letters and descriptions written by S.A. and Queensland internees of German descent make heart-breaking reading.



Conditions at Torrens Island for the prisoners were at times appalling. During high tides much of the camp was flooded and prisoners were forced to walk through water in the middle of winter in order to get to the kitchen and collect their food. The photo shows a typical high tide.

Photo courtesy of the Mitchell Library, Sydney NSW

The internees at Liverpool camp formed the Association of Interned Australian-born Subjects and in November 1916, a petition was sent by them to the Defence Minister, protesting at the injustice of their internment without trial and denying that they had committed acts or spoken words of disloyalty.

The petition demanded that definite charges be laid against them, as was their right as British subjects. It is significant that they claimed their internment was the result of personal animus or business jealousy.

Examples of this personal animosity and business jealousy can be read in the Tanunda Police Station correspondence book for 1916/1917.

It is full of letters alleging disloyal conduct by German-speaking members of the community, written by local busybodies whose gossip in peacetime would normally have been ignored.

A typical case is that of a German school teacher named Witt, who was named by an informant for sabotaging the war effort by failing to distribute a sufficient number of tickets for a Red Cross concert.

Witt distributed three dozen tickets for the concert, but another nine dozen were found in his home. His explanation was that he had been too busy to distribute them. The official conclusion drawn was that he was a saboteur.

The Tummel family of Greenock suffered greatly from local amateur 'spies'. Although two of their relatives were serving in the British Army, one as a lieutenant, information laid against them led to three male members of the family being interned in Australia.

A letter from the interned at Liverpool to the Defence Minister, reveals the personal agony and frustration of the men put behind wire because of gossip and war hysteria: 'We, who are mostly from the States of South Australia and Queensland, are denied the privilege of seeing our families owing to distance and expenditure, and our allowance for correspondence is so scanty that an unscalable wall of separation divides us from those who are dear to us...'

In his reply, the Acting Secretary at the Defence Department, Mr T Trumble, described their letter as '...purporting to be written by Australian-born subjects', and curtly informed them that 'Your internment is in accordance with the law.'

On 31 October, 1917, Trumble said the Cabinet had reviewed the question of Australian-born internees and had decided that they should remain interned.

It is not expedient in the public interest to reveal the evidence against you, he told them.

A 'flutter of hope' came to the internees from Prime Minister Billy Hughes in October 1917, when he said in a speech at Maldon, Victoria:

'There is only one hope for the community—that there should be justice to all men, irrespective of their situation.'

But it was not until January 1918 that the Australian-born internees were acknowledged as being Australian citizens by the Secretary of Home and Territories, Mr Atlee Hunt.

The dependants of those internees whose businesses were closed were forced to throw themselves on the authori-



Germans as they saw themselves, romantic, interested in the latest scientific achievements, a nation of 'poets and thinkers', with close family ties and loyalties. Karl Benz in 1884 with his wife and daughter in the 'Benz-Victoria'



Kaiser (Emperor) William I of Germany. Many saw the Kaiser as the embodiment of German militarism. Propaganda drawings of him depicted him eating babies and devouring the world.



Many signs in Lutheran Churches were written in German and could not easily be removed. This illustration from the 23rd Psalm, 'The Lord is my shepherd, I shall not want' is written on a marble baptismal font. The continued use of German signs and the German language during World War I was seen as a provocation by many British-Australians

ties for support. Wives like Otilie Goers of Tanunda, who wrote to the General Staff Officer at Keswick Barracks:

'Will you please give me a weekly allowance of ten shillings for my daughter and me, since by husband was taken to Liverpool in 22 May, 1916. We have tried to continue in our home, as my husband's wages were stopped since he was taken away from us. I am nearly 50 years of age and cannot earn anything.

'Please, sir, give me back my dear husband and my daughter's father. He will work for himself and for us and we need no help.'

Among the papers of the late Dr Schulz is this testimony from an anonymous internee at Liverpool who wrote of the imprisoned Germans:

'With complete disregard for their personal, family or business interests, they have been literally torn from their homes and families, escorted by guards with fixed bayonets through public streets, imprisoned in police cells and in military clinks intermingled with drunken soldiers, exposed to the jeers and taunts of unthinking crowds.

'Some of their fathers and grandfathers were expressly invited by the agents of the different Australian Governments to make their homes in Australia and they did so in full confidence, never dreaming that their children would be treated in such a fashion.'

By August 1918, internees of the Naturalised British Subjects Association at Holsworthy Camp, N.S.W., were in a state of utter despair, as the following letter to the Minister of Defence illustrated:

'The mental torture and resulting frailty of physical health is so pronounced in the case of those who are unfortunate enough to have been interned for any lengthy period, that the time has arrived when an urgent appeal on

the grounds of humanity must be made for the consideration of our cases with some sense of fair play and justice. All we ask is a civil trial.'

Of all the letters, documents, cuttings and papers in the late Dr Schulz's possession, the following statement by an internee contains the saddest and most devastating comment on Torrens Island and the N.S.W. camps...

'That such occurrences are possible in the twentieth century in such an advanced democracy as that of Australia seems hardly credible. But it is so, and there is being registered in Australian history a chapter which all real Australians will some day heartily wish could be expunged.'

The tragic irony about this statement is that until the discovery of these papers in the Barr-Smith Library officialdom had almost managed to expunge this shameful chapter from our history.

At the end of the war, all material relating to Torrens Island was called in by the military authorities to Melbourne.

In 1992 more information was discovered in the Mitchell Library in Sydney which verified the reports which appeared in the article above. The information in the above article was based primarily on data found in the Barr-Smith Library of the University of Adelaide.

The Mitchell Library papers consist of a series of photos of both the Liverpool N.S.W. camp and the Torrens Island camp in South Australia. As well as numerous letters from inmates of both camps complaining about the conditions perhaps the most interesting discovery was of a diary kept by prisoner Bungardy. Bungardy describes how on Torrens Island prisoners who collected wood for fires were shot at like rabbits for the amusement of the guards. The shooting was not meant to kill, just be very close and frighten the prisoners or drive them in a particularly direction. The shootings would be a complete surprise. The whippings are also described again in detail. It is interesting to note that one of those whipped was Swedish, although how he came to be in Torrens Island is not explained.

The contrast between the unforgiving attitude of the military-civil authorities and the more tolerant attitude of ordinary Australians is also brought out in Bungardy's diary. Having escaped from the Liverpool camp he made his way to Sydney where he met with a soldier who was absent without leave, AWL. He may even have deserted. Bungardy took the soldier's uniform and the soldier Bungardy's clothes. Dressed as an Australian soldier Bungardy then enjoyed several months of freedom until by sheer chance he was recognised by a policeman in a post office while he was posting a letter to his mother in another part of Australia. The policeman had known him in Broken Hill before the war and reluctantly had to arrest Bungardy.

Reprinted, with additions, from the *Sunday Mail*, 2 July 1979.

Witchcraft!—And Visions of the Devil in Early South Australia

Witchcraft: A European phenomenon of Medieval times? No, it flourished in South Australia only last century, and may still persist today.

In this third, and final, article on our German settlers, Adelaide historian, Ian Harmstorf, discusses some of the beliefs, both sacred and profane, of the superstitious country folk who came here from Prussia.

Along with their cakes, carts, culture and religion, the Germans brought to South Australia a little-publicised aspect of their European heritage—witchcraft!

Exactly when witchcraft came to the new colony is impossible to determine, but the knowledge necessary to practise the black art is believed to have been brought here by at least 1842.

As Ian Harmstorf points out, the early German settlers were rural folk with a literal belief in the power of good and evil.

The first group of Lutherans who arrived with Pastor Kavel in 1838 were of a strong pietistic bent, rejecting the world and worldly ways in favour of the life hereafter.

'They had a strong belief in the supernatural', says Mr Harmstorf. 'They placed great importance on visions and frequently acted on them.'

He recounts a popular story concerning a vision experienced by a member of Pastor Kavel's congregation.

'Someone had a vision that the Devil would descend on the Kaiser Stuhl at midnight on a certain date.

'They thought it their duty to catch the Devil and lock him up so he could no longer cause trouble in the world. Led by Kavel, the parishioners went up the Kaiser Stuhl with chains. They were going to bind the Devil and put him in gaol in Tanunda.'

How long they waited in vain for Mephistopheles is not known but it is assumed he did not appear.

Recorded evidence does exist for an even more apocalyptic vision and its deflating aftermath.

A German traveller, Friedrich Gerstaecker, writing in the 1850s, describes the night when Pastor Kavel led his flock to a place outside Tanunda to await the end of the world.

Kavel had seen the end of the world in a vision and wanted to be received into Heaven surrounded by nature and not among the debauchery and licentiousness which he believed existed in Tanunda.

The nearest this pious party of Lutherans got to the end of the world was a violent downpour, which Gerstaecker says dampened their ardour somewhat for Kavel's visions.

In Germany, the Old Testament of the Bible used to be known as 'The Five Books of Moses'. But there was also another more sinister tract, with a similar name.

Called the 'Sixth and Seventh Books of Moses', this was the witch's Bible—an encyclopedia of spells, charms, curses, herbal cures and witchcraft, which included a conversation with the Devil.

Copies of this book were believed to have been brought to S.A. by Silesian migrants as early as 1842.

Although the early Lutheran Church directed that copies of the witchcraft manual be surrendered to be burnt, a number remained in circulation, often hidden in a niche of an Adelaide Hills or Barossa Valley farmhouse.

Copies were handed from generation to generation and

a number are retained by local German families.

It was often believed the owner of such a witchcraft book would not be able to die unless the volume was passed to someone else for safe keeping.

Most instances of witchcraft unearthed among the early German community were confined to farms and farm produce—hens not laying, cows running dry, mysterious fires.

One of the most spectacular, described by an elderly resident in the German community, concerns a farmer who had a row with his wife one morning.

The angry wife put a hex (spell) on the farmer. This is the elderly resident's account of the incident:

'He was ploughing. She went to town with a few vegies, whatever she was selling. He stood at the plough with both hands on the plough handle, and he was still there when she came home at night.

'She must have been able to use some powers. Her husband stood there all day until she came home at night.'

Another old resident remembers:

'A lot of people used to wear red ribbons around their necks so that they couldn't be bewitched by the next person. Or wear their clothes inside out.

'Whether this has any effect or not I don't know, but they said it did.' Witchcraft also was used to forecast weather—a vitally important service for the farming community of those days.



As is common with witchcraft and the practice of techniques which have since gained less sinister reputations, the beginnings are shrouded in secrecy and ignorance.

A particular piece of evidence Mr Harmstorf finds intriguing is 'The Sanctuary' at the foot of the Kaiser Stuhl.

'It is a rectangular grove of trees with an arrangement of stones at one end that could be an altar', he says.

Visions are immediately conjured of the superstitious German peasant folk holding black masses and witchcraft ceremonies at night in this secluded spot. However nothing definite is known as to the real use of The Sanctuary and it remains one of S.A.'s mysteries.

If speculation on The Sanctuary sometimes exceeds the bounds of probability, that on the activities of the 'exorcist', Krummnow, who came from Hamburg in 1838, does not range far enough.

'Krummnow's favourite spiritual activity was driving evil spirits out of young girls, who clearly fascinated him, and whom it appears from contemporary accounts, were quite clearly fascinated by him', says Mr Harmstorf.

'This proved too much for the dwellers of Hahndorf and Lobethal. His popularity waned and as South Australia no

longer seemed a paradise for his particular kind of dissent he sought virgin fields in Hamilton, Victoria'.

Krummnow, a tailor, set up rival Lutheran parishes in the Adelaide Hills, based on communism.

As he was naturalised Krummnow was able to buy land from the Government and this he did for 18 families who arrived with Pastor Fritzsche aboard the *Skiold* in 1841.

It was not until some time later that the unfortunate new arrivals found that they were part of SA's first commune at Lobethal, run by Krummnow.

It took nine years of legal battles before the last of the land was returned to its rightful owners.

Although the 'Sixth and Seventh Books of Moses' were banned by the Lutheran Church, both here and in Germany, copies were printed in the United States in German and then exported to the homeland and to settler communities around the world.

Whether witchcraft has entirely died out is open to speculation.

One incident was reported by an elderly resident as recently as two years ago, and another expressed the fear to researchers that witchcraft was still being practised.

Reprinted from *Sunday Mail* 9 October 1977

The Germans in South Australia 1855

By the year 1855 Germans and their children already constituted over 8% of the population of South Australia. The early German settlers who had emigrated to South Australia as early as 1838, only two years after the foundation of the province, were followed by many others. The first German settlers had come because they were suffering religious persecution in their homeland later settlers came to enjoy the freedom, the sun and the economic prosperity of the new colony. Many came because they had friends or relatives already in the province.

The year 1855 was a politically important year for the German settlers. They were established as farmers throughout the Barossa Valley and the Adelaide hills. The towns of Hahndorf, Lobethal, Bethany and Tanunda were all flourishing. Lutheran schools had been started in several areas where there were German settlers, and German churches with their distinctive continental architecture dotted the country landscape. Two German newspapers had been launched, *Die Deutsche Post* (The German Post) and *Deutsche Zeitung für Südaustralien*, and a German Hospital had been opened. Die Deutsche Club (German Club) had been started the year before and was to flourish as a centre of German culture and learning until 1907. German miners from the Harz Mountains were active in the colony's copper fields, while German smelters brought their skills of how to smelt with timber to the Burra mine. But the German influence was not only felt in the country districts of the colony. In the years surrounding 1855 numerous German silver and goldsmiths arrived in the colony to settle in Adelaide. Most of the German artisans who had arrived on South Australia's shores, however, were builders or carpenters, many of whom settled on the land. Of course, the greatest percentage of German settlers were peasant farmers who had previously rented land but whose great desire was to gain their own piece of land in the new country.

A handful of middle class Germans who had participated in the abortive European revolutions of 1848 had elected not, like most of their contemporaries, to go to the United States but had chosen South Australia instead. Because of their background and education these men gave a new sense of focus and leadership to the German community, particularly in Adelaide. In the country the Lutheran church leaders, the pastors, were still the focal point of the German communities, but the increasing number, of Germans in the colony together with their new found wealth and perhaps most importantly the realisation that they were becoming South Australians and that their children were South Australians, led to a desire to have some political say in the future of the colony of which by now, 1855, they clearly saw themselves as a part.

Dr Ulrich Hübbe was already advising the government on the land laws of the Hansa towns of Germany and this advice was to be incorporated in the famous Torrens Real Property Act of 1857. Land tenure and legal safeguards in the buying and selling of land were of vital interest to the German settlers, the great majority of whom had settled on

the land and were already becoming the backbone of the colony's wheat growing industry. The reliability of the Germans and their devotion to the soil, which they considered was not something to be exploited, but husbanded and conserved, to be passed on from one generation to the other had already been proved during the Victorian gold rushes of the early 1850s. During this period a great many settlers of English origin had dropped everything and gone to the diggings. But the Germans stuck to the land; at the most one son had been sent to the goldfields to be allowed to try his luck, and his luck was to be on behalf of the whole family. If he struck paydirt then more land was bought for the family. Land was something which, although you might own, was also thought to be held in trust from God and therefore not to be left or given up lightly. Other reasons may have also entered into it. With so many people leaving the land there was a shortage of food in many areas. As one German put it, "I made gold with the plough".

But in 1855 the Germans felt they had not been fully accepted. Although naturalised they did not have all the rights of British born South Australians. For example their naturalisation was not even accepted in the neighbouring colony of Victoria, and although they could vote, a naturalised German could not be a member of the Legislative Council, as the only House was then called. The right of the Germans to sit on the legislating body was seen by them as essential if naturalisation was to be meaningful. German rights, as the leading Adelaide newspaper, *The Register* wrote on 3 September, 1855, a major constitutional issue of the day and a hot political potato. But many Englishmen felt the Germans should be grateful that they were even allowed to come to South Australia and stop demanding equal political rights with Englishmen. *The Register* on the other hand considered that "in regard to the great question of political privilege, we are firmly convinced that both justice and policy debate the necessity of abolishing in this colony all political distinctions resulting from class or race, and of uniting under the common privileges of one and the same constitution every bone fide settler on this soil". *The Register* also went on to say "let us make from the (people) of all countries one new political Confederation of South Australians".

But not all South Australians agreed. A gentleman signing himself "a sexagenarian Briton", wrote in the same month to another Adelaide newspaper, *The Adelaide Advertiser*, saying 'our teutonic friends have very good reason to be thankful for the refuge South Australia has afforded them ... and they ought to gratefully acknowledge and quietly enjoy their freedom. I would naturalise no more Germans until they made the English language a professed object in their education ... To have the rights of Anglo-Saxons they must cease to be Germans'. On the 27 August 1855 *The Adelaide Times* reported that the German colonists of Adelaide met at the Europa Hotel (Germans following the custom of their homeland usually met in a hotel for any occasion, both official and unofficial), to protest at the

exclusion of Germans from the Legislature—that is the Parliament of that time—of the colony. The meeting was somewhat disorganised according to the report but finally a petition was drawn up to be presented to the Governor.

The report of the deputation bearing this petition appeared in *The Adelaide Observer* on 27 September 1855, under the heading "German Rights". The deputation numbered among its members several British born South Australians who were of the opinion that British justice was not being done to the Germans by excluding them from becoming politicians. The Governor said that recently he had had the pleasure of "traversing several districts of the colony cultivated principally by Germans, and he had with pleasure remarked the rapid conversion, effected by their energy, of a recent wilderness to a civilised country studded with thriving homesteads and apparently paying a rich return to those who had spent their time and labour in its cultivation". Further, the Governor promised that when South Australia achieved responsible government 'those aliens who sought the privilege of sharing the honours of legislation should;... and that these conditions would therefore form portions of the proposed bill'.

When South Australia elected its first responsible Government in 1857 it numbered among its members, F.E.W. Krichauff, who had been born in Schleswig, Germany, in 1824. He had stood for parliament with the express purpose of seeing that the Real Property Act was passed. Germans had been accepted as full citizens of South Australia at last. During the following years many more people both German born and of German descent were to enter the South Australian Parliament, taking a vital interest in education which they considered essential for the well being of the colony, as well as land legislation and the conservation of our natural forests.

The German members of Parliament strove both to forward the interests of the colony as a whole and also to look after the members of their own electorates, most of whom were on the land or connected with it. For the women, in particular, life could be lonely in a strange land. Working on farms there was little opportunity for them to learn English, so they tended to cling to their German friends. The farmers' wives, for a great deal of the time isolated on their farms, tended to live with their memories. From just outside Lyndoch one German woman wrote, 'Most of the time I am with you all in the homeland. Despite the fact that this land is so beautiful, one still doesn't feel at home, at least I don't. I have been here for over ten years and I feel just as strange and foreign as if I had just arrived. After my sister left a great gap appeared in my life. With her I could talk about you, my dear ones at home, and I could endure the crippling loneliness. In my mind now I often wander with you around the house and see you doing your different tasks. When I tell you that my thoughts wander about the old home, I don't mean just the house but the whole village. In my mind I wander through the church,

the school and over the mountains and the paths. I see everything just as I knew it, just as I left it'.

To such women the Lutheran Church was not only a centre of spiritual comfort but also one of the few places for social interaction. The church and memories helped to make life bearable in the days when in the German areas all travel was done either by foot or oxen cart, that is if the oxen were not being used to pull ploughs.

For the Germans in South Australia 1855 was a good year. They had proved themselves ideal settlers, hard working, sober, thrifty and devout; they were all the founding fathers of South Australia expected from new settlers. Perhaps their greatest virtue was seen to be their self reliance. They did not look to the state for favours, but rather tried to solve their problems from their own resources. In a colony where "selfhelp" was seen as the supreme virtue by the Baptists and Congregationalists who were then the leaders of the society, the self reliance of the Germans was seen as a shining example for others to follow. The success of the Germans at becoming South Australians was their acceptance as full political equals, a considerable achievement when one considers the chauvinistic attitudes of most Englishmen of that time.

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Suggestions

Although South Australians with non-British backgrounds now enjoy full constitutional and political rights, do they enjoy the same social and economic rights as those of British descent or birth? Is it perhaps easier to legislate for equal political rights than it is to legislate for equal social or economic rights?

While many early German settlers suffered from physical loneliness, settlers today of a non-English speaking background often feel lonely but for different reasons.

The early German settlers found it difficult to gain acceptance even though they had many attitudes which were similar to the English. What becomes of migrants whose attitudes are different? Many early Germans said they were made to feel socially inferior to the English. Has this situation changed for people of non-English speaking background? What leads to acceptance?

The Interests of the German Community in the 1890s

German influence in South Australia reached a high point in the 1890s. In the census of 1891 Lutherans numbered over 7% of the South Australian population and it is estimated that German born and their descendants constituted approximately 10% of the total population of the State.

Germans were well respected in the State Parliament, holding seats with large German-Australian populations, a great many of whom were farmers. Martin Basedow, Robert Homburg, Friedrich Krichauff and Theo Scherk were all members of Parliament at some stage during the 1890s and all had a reputation for integrity and hard work. Robert Homburg was the most important member of the German community, owning a law firm and being Attorney General in two ministries from 1890-1892 and 1892-1893.

The election of 1893 raised no great issues for the German community, the vast majority of whom were connected with the land and fairly conservative in their views. The election based on the themes of 'rest and quiet' and 'peace progress and prosperity', promised little change.

The German Club, which was the centre for German literature and culture, had been founded in 1854. In the late 1880s the Club had built an imposing new building which still stands at 89 Pirie Street, Adelaide. The more informal German Association, founded in 1886, was also flourishing. New German settlers continued to arrive in the colony throughout the 1890s, strengthening the German community.

There were Germans in all the major professions and shops with German names did excellent trade in all types of business along Rundle Street. German food shops and tobacconists were prominent. One still eats Ditter's nuts, berliners and fritz.

The German farmers who had struggled in the 1850s and 1860s to keep alive had established themselves with the good harvests of the 1870s and early 1880s, and because they had never relied on one crop but had always grown a diversity of products—following the subsistence agriculture of their European background—they were better able to survive the bad seasons of the late 1880s and 1890s.

The Germans were a respected and often admired group in the community. Their religious demeanour and frugal habits were thought to set a good example for all South Australians. The Lutheran Church ran a school system in all the Lutheran areas of the State and children were taught to be both fluent in English and German. In most schools the literary subjects tended to be taught in German while maths and science were in English. For most people of German descent who lived in the country areas of South Australia the church was the centre of both their spiritual and social lives. The shadow of the Boer War, when the Germans tended to side with the Boers, was not to intrude on this harmonious relationship between South Australians of British and German descent until the very end of the 1890s.

The Germans took a very active interest in the affairs of the colony, and the *Australische Zeitung* 'Australian newspaper' brought the day-to-day affairs of the colony as well as overseas news to all those who could read only German. The German community did not wish to make it another Germany but they were determined that the best ideas from Germany should be introduced into South Australia for the benefit of all. Among the ideas put forward in Parliament during the 1890s as a result of their German connections was Homburg's suggestion on the adoption of the more humane philosophy behind the German poor law, while Basedow considered compulsory military training as in Prussia, took larrikins off the streets and made boys into men. Basedow also considered that the concepts behind the labour colonies of Germany could be incorporated into the village settlement schemes and German ideas of workmen's compensation usefully studied. All the German members in the Parliament in 1890 supported payment of members because that was the practice in the German Reichstag (Parliament).

The origins of the German farmers and their representatives in Parliament strongly influenced on their political beliefs. Unlike many of the wealthy pastoralists, the German farmers had come to South Australia with nothing and had made good by their own efforts. They considered people who wanted the State to help with welfare handouts were not pulling their weight. The German parliamentarians, who represented country districts with large numbers of Australian-German farmers, were against the Labor Party, which they considered would not only raise taxes—perhaps by a dreaded land tax—but take away the moral fibre of the community. They believed success was due to hard work. The only German parliamentary exception to this was Theo Scherk, who represented the electorate of East Adelaide, an area where the working class Germans in Adelaide tended to live. He believed not all poor people were poor because of their own fault. On the other hand even the more conservative Germans wanted humanitarian legislation for the old and sick on compassionate grounds, and because it would keep the working class happy and contented.

Agriculture was important to the South Australian economy in the 1890s and the German elected members of Parliament took good care that the interests of the man on the land—including many German farmers—were properly represented. The question of land ownership was often an area of conflict between the German representatives and many other members of Parliament. The Germans in the country areas were bona fide or genuine farmers, not speculators or absentee landlords. They worked the land they owned. Many British parliamentarians speculated in land or were city businessmen with no real interest in the land except to make money. In 1898 Homburg initiated an Agricultural Holdings Bill to try and break up some of the big land companies but it was defeated by the absentee

landlords in parliament and others who considered it interfered with 'free enterprise'.

The Germans consistently tried to obtain advantages for the farmer as opposed to the 'capitalist land owner'. Their attitude to the soil was that it was a gift from God, something to be nurtured and kept and passed on to one's sons. It was not to be exploited. The Germans tried to conserve the soil, not wrest as much as they could from the land and then move on to new areas. They wanted to tax absentee land owners heavily so these people and the land companies would be forced to sell the land to genuine farmers who worked their own land. Germans had been intimately concerned with the setting up of Roseworthy Agricultural College and the Agricultural Bureau. In 1896 Theo Scherk advocated the teaching of agricultural science at the School of Mines (the present University of South Australia) because a truly revolutionary suggestion most people believed that the only way to learn to be a farmer was to be a farmer.

One of the over-riding interests of all Germans was education. As we have seen the Lutheran Church ran its own system of schools in order to preserve the Lutheran religion and German language. The latter was considered most important as Luther had written in German and it was considered at that time that a true understanding of Lutheranism and Christianity could be reached only through an understanding of that language.

However, education was also considered important in a non-religious sense for all Germans and their descendants were above all South Australians. They had left their homeland and given up their nationality to become South Australians and they were all to support Federation as a means of gaining both security through strength and greatness for Australia. They were not transplanted Englishmen who viewed this land as second best. It was to be the home of their children and their children, and they wanted the best for it, and one of the ways they saw of doing this was through a good educational system. Prussia had had a national system of education since the latter half of the nineteenth century and one of the reasons for the strength of the new Germany was seen in the 1890s to lie in her education system. So when the Germans in the South Australian Parliament spoke about this system they were listened to with great interest.

The Germans were delighted in 1891 when free education was introduced because they considered education not only the right of every citizen but necessary for the well-being of the State. In one of the issues of the 1893 election the Germans were against the return of religious instruction into school hours because this would bring out denominational differences. Moral instruction had been included since 1891 and this was enough to keep a sense of decency in the community, not the pushing of denominational differences.

South Australia's Germans saw the future of South Australia in its educational system and by 1893 the Germans were well pleased with what they saw, and resisted any change. The Germans were also unanimous on another great issue of the 1890s—the position of women. At that time most German husbands took a very patriarchal view

of their families. Their attitude to women having the vote can best be summed up in their own words. On 7 September 1893 Theo Scherk told Parliament in a debate on the Adult Suffrage Bill, that he was in favour of women having the vote because 'women would only seek to exercise their franchise and never seek a seat in Parliament'.

However, his attitude was quite radical compared with that of some of his fellow countrymen.

On 13 June 1894, in the Legislative Council, Martin Basedow, who had been Minister of Education in 1881, said 'I am entirely opposed to women's suffrage'.

And further:

There were sufficiently disturbing elements in Parliament now without introducing any more ... It would be necessary for women, if they were given the suffrage, to read the newspapers carefully and watch keenly what was going on in the political world. How could they do all those things and attend to the house properly.

One month later he proclaimed 'If women took an interest in politics her sublime destiny—to marry, to study the happiness of her husband, to become a mother and the centre of a happy family—would to a great extent be frustrated'.

In 1898 Basedow was worried that women were teaching boys in schools and repeated his belief that the place of women was in the home.

The Germans also feared 'do-gooders' and moralists who wanted to make them 'better people', particularly those who wanted to take away the pleasure of their 'continental Sunday' with its drinking and gaiety.

Basedow told Parliament in 1896:

They could not make people sober and good by acts of Parliament. By over-legislation they only caused more offences and contributed to the demoralisation of society. How long would it be before they had an act to tell people what time they should get up in the morning, what time they should have breakfast, lunch, afternoon tea or at what time they should go to bed.

Yet despite their conservative views about women, in the election year of 1893, the German star shone brightly in South Australia. Important economically, culturally and politically, many of their ideas were widely accepted and their influence can still be seen today.

Suggestions

Many families of German descent have within the last ten years celebrated the centenary of their arrival in Australia. Some families have over 2,000 descendants. Are any members of the class related to or do they know about such a family? Most families have published centenary books. If possible study one of these looking for reasons for migration and the type of work undertaken by the early settlers.

German migrants were accepted into the very highest positions of government in the nineteenth century. Are non-British settlers accepted as readily today? Think of some other foods that a delicatessen—German for specialty foods—sells that are German in origin. What would you consider some of the most important contributions of the nineteenth century German settlers to South Australia?

List of 69 Placenames of German Origin Changed by the Nomenclature Act of 1917 South Australian Government Gazette 10 January 1918

Bartsch's Creek	to	YEDIKOO CREEK	New Mecklenburg	to	GOMERSAL
Basedow, Hundred of	to	HUNDRED OF FRENCH	Oliventhal	to	OLIVEDALE
Bauer, Cape	to	CAPE WONDOMA	Paech, Hundred of	to	HUNDRED OF CANNA WIGRA
Berlin Rock	to	PANPANDIE ROCK	Petersburg	to	PETERBOROUGH
Bethanien	to	BETHANY	Pflaum, Hundred of	to	HUNDRED OF GEEGEELA
Bismarck	to	WEEROOPA	Rhine Park	to	KONGOLIA
Blumberg	to	BIRDWOOD	Rhine Hill	to	MONS
Blumenthal	to	LAKKARI	Rhine River N.	to	THE SOMME
Buchfelde	to	LOOS	Rhine River S.	to	THE MARNE
Carlsruhe	to	KUNDEN	Rhine (North), Hundred of	to	HUNDRED OF JELICOE
Ehrenbreistein	to	MT. YERILA	Rhine (South), Hundred of	to	HUNDRED OF JUTLAND
Ferdinand Creek	to	ERNABELLA CREEK	Rhine Villa	to	CAMBRAI
Mt. Ferdinand	to	MT. WARRABILINNA	Rosenthal	to	ROSEDALE
Friedrichstadt	to	TANGARI	Scherk, Hundred of	to	HUNDRED OF STURDEE
Friedrichswalde	to	TARNMA	Schoenthal	to	BOONOALA
Gebhardt's Hill	to	POLYGON RIDGE	Schomburgk, Hundred of	to	HUNDRED OF MAUDE
German Creek	to	BENARE CREEK	Seppelts	to	DORRIEN
German Pass	to	TAPPA PASS	Schreiberhau	to	WARRE
Cermantown Hill	to	VIMY RIDGE	Siergersdorf	to	BULTAWILTA
Gottlieb's Well	to	PARNGGI WELL	Steinfeld	to	STONEFIELD
Grunberg	to	KARALTA	Summerfeldt	to	SUMMERFIELD
Grunthal	to	VERDUN	Vogelsang's Corner	to	TEERKOORE
Hahndorf	to	AMBLESIDE	Von Doussa, Hundred of	to	HUNDRED OF ALLENBY
Hasse's Mound	to	LARELAR MOUND	Wusser's Nob	to	KARUN NOB
Heidelberg	to	KOBANDILLA			
Hergott Springs	to	MARREE			
Hildesheim	to	PUNTHARI			
Hoffnungsthal	to	KARAWIRIRA			
Homburg, Hundred of	to	HUNDRED OF HAIG			
Jaenschtown	to	KERKANYA			
Kaiserstuhl	to	MT. KITCHENER			
Klaebes	to	KILTO			
Klemzig	to	GAZA			
Krawe Roch	to	MARTI ROCK			
Krichauff, Hundred of	to	HUNDRED OF BEATTY			
Krichauff	to	BEATTY			
Kronsdorf	to	KABMINYE			
Langdorf	to	KALDUKEE			
Langmeil	to	BILYARA			
Lobethal	to	TWEEDVALE			
Meyer, Mt.	to	MT. KAUTO			
Muller's Hill	to	YANDINA HILL			
Neudorf	to	MAMBURDI			
Neukirch	to	DIMCHURCH			
New Harnburg	to	WILLYAROO			

NOMENCLATURE COMMITTEE'S REPORT ON ENEMY
PLACE NAMES

Ordered by the House of Assembly to be printed, November 7th, 1916.

(Estimated cost of printing (570), £3 4s. 8d.)

S.G.O., 5894/16)

ENEMY PLACE NAMES—COMMITTEE'S RECOMMENDATIONS.

The Nomenclature Committee appointed by the Government on August 11th have the honor to report as follows:—

We were asked to report on the question of giving effect to the following resolution carried in the House of Assembly on August 2nd, 1916:—

That, in the opinion of this House, the time has now arrived when the names of all towns and districts in South Australia which indicate a foreign enemy origin should be altered, and that such places should be designated by names either of British origin or South Australian native origin.

The duty of suggesting new names to replace those of enemy origin was also allotted to the Committee.

We find, from a careful examination of the official records, that there are on the map of South Australia at least 67 geographical place names of enemy origin, ranging from an important centre like Petersburg to trigonometrical stations and obscure hills in the remote interior. There may be a few not officially recorded which have escaped our notice.

The 1916 Parliamentary Paper on which the Act was based

German Settlement in South Australia to 1914

Origins

Germans have comprised a significant part of the population of South Australia almost since the State's foundation. This has been variously estimated at between 7% and 10% until the outbreak of World War I in 1914. The first British settlers arrived in South Australia in 1836. Some years earlier in 1817 in Prussia, Friedrich Wilhelm III had made the first moves to unite all the Protestants in his kingdom in a Union Church by the introduction of a common official liturgy. This was not entirely successful and many congregations continued to use the old Lutheran form of worship. In 1830 Friedrich Wilhelm ordered that all congregations should use the church order. Pastors who did not conform were sent to prison and their goods confiscated. Parishioners who followed the old liturgy found it impossible to hold services or have their children baptised and confirmed.

Early Migration

By 1836 in the village of Klemzig (now Klepsk in Poland), in the Province of Brandenburg near the corner of Silesia and Posen, the Pastor, August Kavel, after earlier vacillation, had joined the old Lutherans. Seeing no end to the religious persecution he had decided to emigrate with his congregation. After toying with the idea of emigrating to Russia or the United States Kavel went instead to England, where through his Hamburg contacts he met George Fife Angas, a director of the South Australian Company. Through Angas, Kavel was able to arrange for finance to pay the fares of his congregation to Australia. Angas, himself a Baptist and dissenter, was also a philanthropist and was willing to assist those who like himself had difficulties with the established church. However, Angas also had a keen eye for business and saw that a sizeable number of German peasants in the new colony would both contain the price of food and form a ready supply of farm labourers, enabling the cost of hired help to be stabilised. He was to be proved right on both counts.

The majority of Germans who came to South Australia until migration stopped in 1914, came from Protestant eastern and central Germany, probably because of the anti-Catholic attitude of Angas and the chain migration set up by the first arrivals. An insignificant number of Germans from the Catholic south and west also migrated to South Australia but most from these areas went to the Americas.

Arrival

The first group of four ships arrived in South Australia during November and December 1838, only two years after the proclamation of South Australia as a British Colony. In any assessment of the Germans in South Australia their early arrival in strength is of the utmost importance for the Germans saw themselves, and were seen also by British-Australians, as pioneers. The first group of 517 settlers was

soon joined by others. Not all who came even immediately after the first arrivals were deeply religious but the Lutheran Church set the tone for the Germans in the country areas that was to last until the present day.

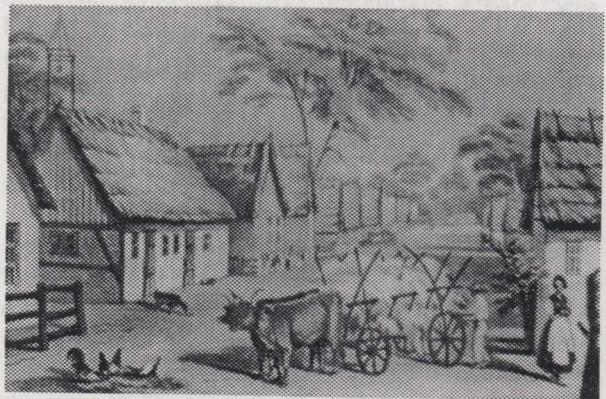
As befitted their peasant origins the first Germans took up rural pursuits; first in a village named Klemzig in the Torrens Valley some 8 kilometres from the capital Adelaide, and later in 1839 in the Adelaide Hills at Hahndorf, named after their ship's captain, Hahn. The market gardening pursuits of the Germans in these two areas were for a few years to be Adelaide's only supply of fresh vegetables as the British settlers pursued the more immediately lucrative pastime of land speculation. By 1842 some of the original German settlers, as well as later arrivals, had moved into the Barossa Valley, 60 kilometres north of Adelaide.

About 50% of the Germans who arrived in South Australia before 1850 came in closed congregational groups but after the death of Friedrich Wilhelm III in 1840 and the cessation of

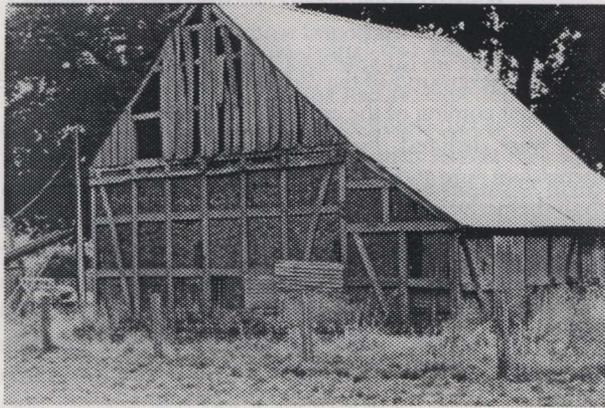
persecution, it can no longer be said that the migrating Lutherans were fleeing from religious persecution. However, until 1847 there was some fear of the return of persecution and this fear continued to be a spur to migration. During the 1850's the other factors in the migratory wave, which had been present even among the first religious refugees, gradually became the prime motive for migration. They were the generally depressed economic conditions in eastern Germany and land hunger, the desire of the peasant farmer to own his own block of land.

Settlement

In Hahndorf the settlers laid out the town in a farmlet village form (Hufendorf) but within a few years this was transformed into a street village (Strassendorf). The fact that the Germans had arrived so early in South Australia meant that they moved into virgin territory as far as the white man was concerned and were therefore able to lay out villages according to their own plan. The town plan of many of these villages, including Hahndorf and Bethany—the first settle-



Klemzig 1847, painted by G.F. Angas



German half-timbered barn, Hahndorf

ment in the Barossa Valley and laid in out in a Hufendorf form—has endured to the present, and their unique form in the Australian environment has ensured their attraction for tourists. At Hahndorf and nearby Paectown many houses were built in the traditional German half-timbered style (Fachwerk). This was possible because of the abundance of redgum in the generally well timbered Adelaide Hills area. For sheds built in the half timbered style the in-fill area between the timbers was pug—mud and straw—while for the more affluent houses the in-fill was of brick. But from the earliest times even in Hahndorf most houses were built of limestone rocks as this building material was readily available whilst timber very soon became difficult to obtain.

In the Barossa the shortage of suitable trees meant that from their arrival the Germans built houses of stone and later, brick although some barns were built of timber split into rough slabs. The roof covering was initially thatch, although very quickly galvanised iron gained popularity as a status symbol. Barns generally remained covered with thatch. The type of house built reflected the styles of eastern Germany. The simpler versions had a hall-kitchen (Flur Kuchenhaus) while the more expensive houses boasted a Black Kitchen built entirely of brick which followed strictly the fire ordinances of nineteenth century Prussia. By 1845 more than 1,200 Germans had arrived in South Australia and further towns had been settled: Lobethal in the Adelaide Hills some 50 kilometres from Adelaide, Tanunda and other smaller hamlets throughout the Barossa Valley.

In the early 1860s groups of Germans from South Australia left for Victoria and New South Wales in search of land on easier credit. However in 1869 with the passing of Strangways Act, South Australia was able to offer land on terms competitive with the other colonies. German wheat farmers quickly spread to the mid north, the Murray Flats and Yorke Peninsula, and finally by the turn of the century Eyre Peninsula. Although the Germans were always in the forefront of the wheat frontier they tended to be conservative in their approach to new land and very few Germans were ever found in the pastoral areas of South Australia during this period.

Economic Life

Under the Wakefield scheme, the land settlement scheme which formed the basis for the settlement of South Australia,

land was initially sold for one pound sterling an acre to the wealthy in 'special surveys' of around 20,000 acres. Land workers, including the Germans, were brought in initially to work the estates of the English middle class had bought these large tracts of land and which had formed into a colonial aristocracy. The carrot to persuade land workers to come to South Australia was that by hard work and frugality they would be able to buy their own property. Frugality was certainly demanded. The Germans at Bethany and Hahndorf not only had to pay back their fares for the journey over but also had to borrow the capital to buy land which was generally sold to them at ten pounds an acre at rates of interest up to 20%. However, in this sense they were perfect settlers. They did not default on any of their debts and had within a few years paid off all they had borrowed and were paying for relatives to come to Australia. Generally it was possible by living extremely carefully, if one had full time work, to pay back the cost of the journey out within two years.

Chain migration played a particularly important role in German emigration to South Australia. Compared with the United States, South Australia was far distant, relatively expensive and land was not received as a grant but had to be bought. Also compared with the Germans who went to Victoria for the gold rushes in the 1850s, there was no immediate pot of gold at the end of the rainbow. There was, therefore, a real need to be met and looked after on arrival. The dedication of the earlier German arrivals, who were delighted by the fact of having two crops a year, is perhaps best illustrated during the period of the gold rushes. Angas claimed that he had lost no German workmen due to the rushes and generally German farmers allowed only one member of the family to go to the rushes while the rest remained at home and worked the farm. The attitude of the German farmers can best be summarised by one who wrote 'We make gold with the plough'.

German farmers took to wheat farming in the new province as their main source of income. At no stage even to the present day were they to become dependent on one crop, remaining at heart subsistence farmers, always having enough in bad times to see them through from produce grown on their own farms. In this they formed a marked contrast to British farmers who as early as the 1860s had gone over to monoculture farming and as a result suffered severely when the price of their staple fell. One result of this was that British farms had a high turnover of owners. German farms tended to remain in the same family for generations for they were not forced to sell in bad seasons or when a glut forced down the price of the staple crop.

But not all the Germans who emigrated to South Australia were farmers. Some 80% of the migrants came through Hamburg. Hamburg emigration statistics and naturalisation figures in South Australia suggest that 33% had farming backgrounds, 37% were artisans, 9% were from commerce, 1% were professionals, (this last figure includes all pastors and missionaries), 12% were labourers and 8% other callings. As a result the Germans were able to set up completely self contained villages and even small towns in which nearly all essential services were supplied by Ger-

mans, enabling them in the narrow economic sense to be closed communities.

One large group of German migrants which was important in the economic development of South Australia and is not listed separately above, comprised the miners. Between 1848 and 1854, 1100 people left for the colony from the area of Clausthal-Zellerfeld in the Harz Mountains. Lead mining was no longer profitable in that area and so the Government of Hanover sponsored twelve expeditions to South Australia consisting primarily of miners, but also including people affected by the general economic downturn in the area. Some of these miners worked on all of the South Australian copper fields and later in Broken Hill. The dream of many was to cease mining and take up farming. German miners had always been employed in the mining industry in South Australia due to their expertise with charcoal smelting, a method which had been superseded in England by coal. Although not a miner the first mineralogist in South Australia was also a German, Johann Menge, who arrived in 1836. He was responsible for discovering several copper deposits and also recognised the potential of the Barossa Valley.

The wine industry, now centred in the Barossa Valley, did not flourish in South Australia until phylloxera ravaged the vines of the eastern states in the last decade of the nineteenth century. German farmers had always grown some grapes for their own consumption but even with the growth of the industry the Germans were the growers and the makers but with the exception of Gramps, Seppelts and the then even smaller Hoffmanns and Henschkes, they did not own wineries, not having the capital to build them. In Adelaide most Germans were in the artisan class, and like their counterparts in the country, many started their own businesses, building up a reputation for good workmanship. A small group with clerical backgrounds but lacking fluent English was often forced to take labouring jobs, but many of this group soon sought and won managerial positions, particularly in the hotel trade.

Religion

Although in 1838-1839 the first Germans had arrived united in the faith, at a meeting in Bethany in 1846 the old Lutherans in Australia split into two groups, one led by Pastor Kavel and the other by Pastor Daniel Fritzsche. The Kavel group was known as the United Evangelical Lutheran Church and was to look mainly to Germany for spiritual inspiration and sustenance. The Fritzsche group was known as the Evangelical Lutheran Church and later to look mainly to the Missouri Synod in the United States of America. The Fritzsche synod tended to be more conservative and evangelical in approach. Both groups spawned further breakaway synods none of which however reached the size or power of the original two synods.

Factionalism among members of the Lutheran Church was not unknown in Germany but one interesting result of the splits within the Lutheran Church in South Australia was that many country towns had two Lutheran churches. In Tanunda, the centre of Deutschtum German language and culture, in South Australia, there were four, each bitterly opposed to each other. One of the beliefs held in

common by the two largest synods and a result of the pietistic background of the old Lutherans, was that of the imminent coming of the end of the world. From this two facts were deduced. First, that the faithful should hold themselves pure and therefore contact with people less pure than themselves should be avoided. Second, that as much of the world should be converted to the true faith as possible before the apocalypse. The seeming contradiction was overcome by missions to the heathen, especially the Australian aborigines, and some attempt at proselytising among other churches, although this was exercised almost exclusively between the various synods of the Lutheran Church and not other denominations.

For most of the period to 1914 the synods of the Lutheran Church agreed, if for different reasons, that 'language saves the faith'. Other than a genuine belief that the Lutheran faith could only properly be expressed in German, practical matters also dictated the retention of the German tongue. Initially at least the pastors all came from Germany because no Lutheran theological colleges were established in Australia until the end of the nineteenth century. The pastors were therefore fluent only in German. Books both for the congregation and the pastors were written in German. The situation for the Evangelical Lutheran Church changed however by the 1890's as more and more pastors arrived from the Missouri Synod in the United States. These men had as their first language English. For many Lutheran pastors the decision became one of losing the faith or losing the youth as more and more Australians born of German descent with English as a first language, filled the churches.

Both the retention of the German language and the pietistic otherworldliness which kept the Lutherans apart were a hindrance to assimilation and a Lutheran cultural contribution to Australia society. The formation and stability of the closed communities which, except for the barest necessary economic interaction, had little intercourse with British-Australia settlers, did not encourage cultural transfer. With the coming of the first world war it also led to intense speculation as to what actually happened in the tightly knit German-speaking communities. This lack of knowledge about the Germans among the British-Australian public led to suspicion and fear which was to prove disastrous for the German element in South Australian life in 1914. The lack of unity, indeed the intense distrust in which the various synods held each other, weakened any response when the Lutheran Church as a whole was attacked during World War 1.

The very few German Catholics who arrived in South Australia before 1914, numbering in the low hundreds, did not have such a problem. Never in great enough numbers to form separate congregations or clubs they were quickly absorbed into the mainstream of Australian Catholicism. Another group of non-Lutherans were the Moravians who numbered about one thousand people in the middle of the nineteenth century. However, by the later 1880s little more is heard of them they were unable to obtain pastors from Germany and were gradually absorbed into other denominations.

The church filled a most important role in the lives of the early German farmers. Opening up the new land was not an easy task. The Germans had no experience of the Australian heat or the droughts or floods that periodically ravaged the land. But, unlike the British settlers they were strangers in a strange land often cut off from the mainstream of society by language and customs. However, they were strengthened in their determination to continue by two beliefs, first the land was given to them in trust from God and was theirs to use only in so far as it was nurtured and loved and passed down from father to son. The feudal concept of stewardship of the land was very much part of their thinking and as a result they were, within the limitations of their knowledge, conservationists from the moment of arrival. Second they believed that, like the children of Israel, they had been led to the promised land of South Australia by God. In the new land they had freedom of worship. This freedom brought with it two responsibilities because God had ensured their deliverance they had a duty to keep the Lutheran faith pure, and the sovereign who had offered them this freedom was owed their complete loyalty.

The Lutheran pastor served as a linchpin in keeping these ideas alive, usually through the medium of the German language. The pastor was not only the spiritual leader of each community but in many cases often served as a part time school master as well as being an adviser and counselor to all. The Pastors in the country areas were the custodians of German culture, which was interpreted by them to be Lutheran culture. Except for church music the more secular aspects of German culture were ignored, being of little consequence when compared with matters of the faith. Lutheran pastors, having been forced into emigration through the interference of the State in the affairs of the church, were extremely happy with the doctrine of the separation of Church and State which prevailed in South Australia for most of the nineteenth century. They took little interest in the affairs of state except where they directly impinged on their interests. The Germans who took an active interest in politics were either non-practising or came from St Stephen's, Adelaide, which was not affiliated with either of the major synods.

Social Structure and Organisation

St. Stephen's was frequented primarily by Adelaide Lutheran businessmen who considered both major synods too illiberal for their tastes. The Adelaide Germans were divided not so much on religious as on class lines. The class differences were as clearly defined as in Germany and constant calls for German unity through the middle class columns of the *Australische Zeitung* clearly fell on deaf ears. Class differences were also cultural differences and this is best illustrated by the German Club and the German Association, the former concerned with German classical music and literature, high culture, while the latter had as its focus social evenings and folk culture. Class differences were also reflected in the places of residence. The poorer Germans initially lived in Stepney and in the side streets of the south eastern corner of the city of Adelaide. Wealthier Germans tended to live in Walkerville or in the more prestigious streets within the city. In the country, class

differences were initially not obvious as there was little difference in income between the struggling farmers and the artisans who made their living in the country towns. But by the turn of the century German professionals and successful businessmen in the Barossa Valley, often married to women of British descent and often no longer Lutherans, formed a class clearly separate from the farmers and artisans and made themselves the subject of some hostility from this group, which considered itself looked down upon as peasantry.

As a numerical group the Germans on the land with their strong attachment to the Lutheran faith, always remained greater in numbers than the Germans in Adelaide if Lutheran figures are taken as a guide. Of the 26,000 odd Lutherans in South Australia in 1901 only just over 20% lived in Adelaide. Although some of the Adelaide Germans rose to political and civic prominence, in a colony devoted primarily to agriculture, the wealth created by the country Germans meant that in financial and political terms they were always more influential than those in Adelaide. The influence of the German politicians was due to the electoral support of the German rural community.

Today the Germans on the land and in the towns that serve German rural areas remain the sole custodians of the early culture that came to South Australia in the nineteenth century. This is still primarily due to the traditions laid down by the Lutheran Church. For reasons of faith Lutherans tended to inter-marry, usually to members of the same synod, and the emphasis laid by Luther on the family meant that within the German community there were extremely strong and lasting family ties.

However in Adelaide the situation was somewhat different for in 1854 a group of middle class Germans lamenting the lack of secular high German culture (*Kultur*) in the city, formed the Deutsche (German) Club. Its stated objectives were the upkeep of the German language and customs. The club was the home of upper middle class Germans in Adelaide and at the height of *Deutschum* (German language and culture) in Adelaide in the 1880s had some 150 members. During this period they were able to build a most impressive club house at 89 Pirie Street Adelaide. However the 1880s also saw the rise of another group of Germans in Adelaide that was to help spell the end of the Deutsche Club. During the 1870s a new type of German migrant had begun to arrive. This new migrant was neither middle class, artisan or farm worker, but rather a city worker usually semi-skilled or having a skill no longer required in Germany owing to the rapid industrialisation of that country. By 1886 this group were strong enough to form its own association, the South Australian German Association (*Sued Australischer Allgemeiner Deutscher Verein*) The word general—*allgemeiner*—gives a clue to the origins of the Association. It was formed out of four smaller associations operating in Adelaide, each of which continued to operate semi-independently under the umbrella of the General Association. This has proved to be one of the great strengths of the group which is still in existence. One of the expressed aims of the Association was 'the promotion of reforms that will in any way tend to increase the happiness and welfare of the human family'. The Association sought to do this

through political means, the church through spiritual. As a result there was little love lost between the Association and the two largest Synods of the Lutheran Church. The Association was seen as a hotbed of socialism and against everything for which the Lutheran Church stood. However Lutheranism was never strong in the city of Adelaide and the focal point of German social life tended to be the Association. At the turn of the century the Association was branded as 'communistic and anarchistic' by the more well-to-do members of the Adelaide German community who considered the Association anathema to everything their German middle class values represented. However the demise of the Deutsche Club in 1907 paved the way for some of its members to join the Association.

The demise of the Club was probably due to two main factors. It was extremely exclusive both in its selection of members and in its fees. Thus it cut itself off from most of the Germans who arrived after 1880, dooming itself to an ageing membership. This financial and social exclusiveness also meant that it appealed only to the most successful Germans in Adelaide. The success of these Germans was usually because their businesses were based on both German and English contacts. They were inexorably drawn into the wider world of the British-Australians where the real power in the community lay. Many of these Germans joined the exclusive Adelaide Club rather than limit themselves to the narrower social and financial opportunities offered by the Deutsche Club. Indeed the very existence of the Association was virtually ignored by M.P.F. Basedow, owner of the German language newspaper the *Australische Zeitung* and a member of the Deutsche Club. It was only after the Club had collapsed and the membership of the Association had climbed to 600 in 1911, that regular reports appeared on the activities of the Association.

The Association tended to be run by the latest arrivals from Germany. Second generation Germans who were not so fluent in German and others who had at least partly integrated into the British-Australian society did not feel the need or compulsion to participate in German social or cultural events or keep up the language. Many Germans in Adelaide, unlike the majority of their fellow countrymen on the land, were extremely poor, having arrived with few saleable skills and no knowledge of the English language. Although this situation was not as bad in the 1880s as it was in the 1850s, these early arrivals with little or no intellectual German culture from their own class background to sustain them quickly, became assimilated.

Although the Association had been looked upon as being socialist-internationalist, one of the stronger groups within the Association was the German nationalists. These men had arrived in South Australia after the unification of Germany. They were intensely proud of the new resurgent Germany and tended to be very loud in its praises despite the considerable trade competition growing between England and Germany. The few remaining German liberals of the dissolved old Club tempered their pride in the new Germany with the warning that they were South Australians, many by birth, all by adoption, and that their first loyalty lay with South Australia. But the German nationalists because of their more recent arrival tended to be extremely

vocal, relishing their new found freedom of speech in the more democratic British-Australian society. This was to have unfortunate consequences with the outbreak of World War 1.

One other aspect of club life in Adelaide was also to have repercussions in 1914. Although class differences ensured that for many years there were two major German clubs in Adelaide the demise of the Deutsche Club did not mean either the end of these differences or the unification of all the Germans in the city. The constant demands for unification were not met. Little is known of the other clubs, although Club Teutonia, 1889-1938, although without real influence, seems to have been more conservative than even the Deutsche Club, while the Progress Association-Fortschrittsverein—had more intellectual pretensions. The Concordia branch of the Masonic Lodge, which ran German language meetings from 1882 to 1901, was particularly irksome to the Lutheran Church. With the outbreak of war the lack of unity within the secular German community as well as the differences between this community and the Lutheran Church, meant that no united front was able to be mounted against the infringement of civil liberties suffered by Germans and their descendants during World War 1.

Culture, Tradition and Education

In the country areas the cultural traditions of the Germans were closely tied to the Lutheran Church. By means of Church schools in particular the Lutheran Synods tried to perpetuate the language and the faith. By the turn of the century there were 48 Lutheran Church schools in South Australia. However, the percentage of Lutheran children actually attending such schools was only about half the number of such children of school age in the colony. Although the Sunday school system of the Lutheran Church also introduced many children to German, the prime influence in their lives came from the Australian state-run schools which they attended and which gave them English as their first language. By the turn of the century the vast majority of those who had been born in Australia had either English as their first language or were completely bi-lingual. The only exceptions to this were the most isolated farmhouses where German was still used exclusively.

However despite the fears of the pastors, both the liturgies and many festivities and customs survived the translation to English. Among these were the harvest festival and the celebration of the vintage. Weddings also continued to be celebrated in the traditional grand German manner while German food not only survived but was to influence the South Australian palate to the present day, particularly in the range of German sausages and rye breads available at every corner delicatessen store. In Adelaide a Schuetzenfest—shooting festival—had been celebrated as early as 1854. This tradition was also kept alive in various country towns, the most popular being in Hahndorf. The idea was taken up again in 1964 to become an annual event at Hahndorf. The Adelaide Liedertafel male singing group was founded in 1858 and still exists, while the German Turnverein or Gymnastics Association founded by Adolph Leschen was said to be the foundation for gymnastics in the state.

Tanunda still has its own Liedertafel founded in 1861 and a ninepin skittle alley for relaxation.

One tradition common to both country and city Germans and regularly remarked upon by the British settlers was the tradition of painstaking hard work. This attribute was noted among German settlers wherever they settled, whether it was in the New World or the antipodes. Although perhaps given to excess in festive times, their general record of reliability, thoroughness and thrift ensured that they were sought after as workers wherever they went throughout the colony.

Not all the traditions brought to South Australia were folk or religious. By 1901 there were 5,500 Germans living in Adelaide, just over 3% of the population of the city at that time, and among these were a sprinkling of 'forty eighters'. The 'forty eighters' did not have the same influence in South Australia as they did in the United States because they were relatively few in number or perhaps more importantly, did not have such a large group of immigrant Germans behind them relative to the total population. These men had fled from Germany after having participated in the ill-fated revolution of 1848. Most went to the United States and hoped to return to Germany when the situation became less repressive to liberal thought. However some made the more dramatic decision to come to Australia. On 7 August 1849 the *Princess Louise* arrived at Port Adelaide with a group of 'forty eighters'. On board were the brothers Richard and Otto Schomburgk. Richard from was the director of the South Australian Botanic Gardens from 1861 to 1891 and although not its first director, is generally regarded as its real founder. Also on board was perhaps the most talented German and one of the most learned men ever to come to South Australia prior to World War I, Dr Carl Muecke. Muecke was vitally interested in all aspects of education both scientific and literary, and for many years was also involved in the production of German newspapers in South Australia, primarily the *Australische Zeitung*, with his son-in-law M.P.F. Basedow.

The first German newspaper had been published in South Australia in 1848 by Karl Kornhardt. Until the 1870s several German newspapers started but went bankrupt. Rival papers of different political persuasions fought for subscribers to remain financially viable, often waging literary war against each other. In 1863 M.P.F. Basedow jointly launched the *Tanunda Deutsche Zeitung*. By 1875 this had become the leading South Australian German newspaper the *Australische Zeitung*. The tone of the newspaper was initially liberal but with the increasing power of the Labor Party towards the end of the century the *Australische Zeitung* became more conservative in approach. The *Australische Zeitung*, which was forced to cease publication in 1917 during World War I, was proud of the new resurgent Germany but remained firmly loyal to the British crown. However its columns were often filled with the complaint that the German language and customs were not being retained by the Germans in Adelaide.

In country areas the influence of the German press was limited because, by 1900, the second generation farmers considered that the events in Germany which tended to fill much of the newspaper had little relevance to their lives,

and the reports of the South Australian Parliament in Adelaide, except when it affected them financially, were equally remote. Many subscribed instead to *The Chronicle*, a weekly newspaper filled with articles for the farmer. *The Chronicle* seemed well aware of its German readership for its pages had regular extensive coverage on events in predominantly German districts and towns. The Lutheran Church newspapers were another alternative for those who could afford them. The *Kirchen und Missions Zeitung* was published by the United Evangelical Lutheran Church and the *Kirchenbote* by the Evangelical Lutheran Church. Both papers tended to be concerned primarily with church matters although the use of the German language and the position Germany should hold in the minds of the faithful were matters which impinged upon political interests.

Politics

Because of its unfortunate association with the state in Prussia the Lutheran Church generally remained firmly apolitical. The German Consul General from Sydney, on a fact finding tour in 1913, considered that the German language was dead by the third generation and even in country areas the language was dying because of the lack of teachers who were really fluent in the German language. Even when the teacher was fluent, by 1900 in the Evangelical Lutheran Church schools.

The German Consul also considered that in any coming conflict with Germany those Adelaide Germans who could have acted as leaders had so identified with the British that they were of no political use to Germany. Moreover in the country areas, he wrote, the Lutheran pastors totally lacked any form of political consciousness. The Adelaide Germans were content to be big fish in the small pond of South Australia rather than working for the good of the Fatherland. The older leaders of the German community in Adelaide saw the matter from a different perspective. They constantly stated that South Australia was their new homeland and that they were determined to bring the best of the old and transplant it to the new. However they also looked after the interests of their electors, German farmers.

The first German-born elected member of the South Australian Legislature was elected expressly for this purpose. F.E.H.W. Krichauff was elected to the South Australian legislature in the first parliament of the colony in 1857 with the express purpose of helping to pass the Real Property Act. Although this act is commonly known as the Torrens Title Act, the idea of a simple transfer document for property came from the German Hansa towns and Sir Robert Torrens' close adviser throughout the passage of the bill was Ulrich Huebbe who was afterwards awarded a parliamentary pension for his services. After the passing of the Real Property Act Krichauff resigned but was re-elected in 1870. Krichauff, who had worked in the Kiel Botanic Gardens in Germany, was interested in re-forestation based on models laid down by Frederick the Great of Prussia. He was also responsible for the introduction of Arbor Day into South Australian schools.

Basedow was elected a member of the lower house in 1876 and, like his famous forefather, was interested in education, constantly badgering Parliament for a more pro-

gressive, viz. liberal, education. Basedow was also the prime mover in the setting up of the Roseworthy Agricultural College in 1879. For a short period in 1881 he was Minister of Education.

Of the other German parliamentarians the most notable prior to the outbreak of World War I were Robert Homberg, who after serving as Attorney General from 1890 to 1895, was elected a justice of the Supreme Court of South Australia in 1905, the first non-British born person to be elected to such a position in any Australian state. Theo Scherk, elected to the Parliament in 1886, was the son of a Chancellor of Kiel University. He represented the city electorate of East Adelaide which contained many working class Germans. Of all the elected German members he was the only one who could be called in his time left of centre. He had a strong interest in technical education. The influence of the Germans in the political field in South Australia is difficult to assess for on many occasions their interests coincided with the interests of other members. It can be asserted however that German members tirelessly represented the interests of their German electorates on the one hand and on the other, constantly brought before Parliament ideas received from their German countrymen, both in Europe and in the United States. It was one of the ideals of South Australia in the nineteenth century to be seen as 'progressive', and the Germans did their best to help promote this image.

Intergroup Relations

The acceptance of Germans in South Australia was unquestioned until the outbreak of the Boer War. In the early days of the colony an idealism prevailed which looked to a future where there would be no Englishmen, no Scots, no Germans, no Welsh, only South Australians. This ideal was never to be realised. Germans however were still looked upon as excellent settlers and as 'our German cousins'. This was doubtless due to some extent to the influence of Queen Victoria and her husband the German Prince Albert. The rush for colonies in the 1870s and the unification of Germany in 1871 did not appear to materially alter the relations between British and German Australians. German bands continued to play at most Adelaide festive occasions and German concerts both vocal and instrumental continued to entertain all citizens of the capital, not only the Germans. German businesses flourished and although some professionals may have dealt with numbers of German clients, neither in business nor in the professions was there a German exclusiveness. The Germans were an integrated part of the Adelaide scene.

However, with the outbreak of the Boer War and the pro-Boer stance taken by the *Australische Zeitung* the situation appears to have changed. Germans complained that they were not accepted as equals. Their criticism of the war implied that they were traitors and not loyal South Australians, while British-Australians escaped such criticism. Other Germans complained that they had been always looked upon as second class citizens and the war merely

brought such ideas into the open. The period from 1900 to 1914 was fraught with several naval crises between England and Germany. Leaders of the German community in Adelaide were strong in their defence of German culture and equally adamant that Germany had the right to keep a strong navy. While maintaining such an attitude they also emphasised their loyalty to the British crown. A strict separation of cultural and political loyalty was maintained by the Germans. Political views were generally put forward by people who had been born in Germany. It has been suggested that for second generation working class Germans and the middle class of German descent who had already been successful in the English-speaking community, such views were irrelevant. These German-Australians saw themselves as members of the British Empire. In the country areas the Lutheran Church continued in its apolitical role and guarded its cultural identity. Unfortunately with the outbreak of the war in 1914 and the introduction of total war, such luxuries as a separate cultural existence could not be tolerated and the German contribution to South Australia during the first 80 years of its existence as a white settlement was buried beneath a sea of prejudice.

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Some Common Misconceptions About South Australia's Germans

In the past it has been very easy for myths and half truths about South Australia's Germans to develop into historical 'facts'—for two main reasons. First, the Germans generally tended to settle in closed communities which were held together by strong ties of custom and the Lutheran Church, thus inhibiting an interchange of ideas between them and the rest of the South Australian community. Second, the land of their forefathers was the enemy during two world wars and, however unjustly, suspicions of disloyalty fell upon South Australians of German descent. Thankfully most of the prejudice of the wars has by now been put aside, although certainly not all, and slowly the Germans are beginning to take their rightful place in the history of this State. Some misconceptions, however, still have wide currency.

Perhaps the oldest myth concerning the South Australian Germans is that the group led by Pastor Kavel was the first group of Germans to come to this State. They were neither the first arrivals nor even the first German immigrants considered. The Hamburg Consul in London, J. Colquhoun, had as early as July 1836 (that is, before the proclamation of the colony) approached the South Australian Company with a scheme floated by the Hamburg Chief of Police, Senator Hadtwalcher, to send ex Hamburg convicts to South Australia, the prisoners having been specially pardoned for the occasion. However, the offer was graciously refused, primarily because the colony did not want 'convicts' in the free settlement of South Australia, but also



Immanuel Lutheran Church, Light's Pass, Barossa Valley

because the Company had already sent some free German settlers to the colony and it was intended to see how they fared before any more Germans were sent out.¹

The meeting, between Pastor Kavel and George Fife Angas, who paid the fares of the former's group of settlers, was neither as fortuitous nor as providential as tradition would have us believe. 'Kavel met Angas in London' is the usual expression employed. However the meeting had been carefully arranged. When Kavel went to Hamburg he saw Hadtwalcher. Hadtwalcher, remembering his correspondence with Colquhoun, contacted him in London.² Angas's generosity was to repay him handsomely. Not only did the Germans repay their fares, but they also bought land from him at ten times the price he had paid for it as part of the Barossa special survey³ while at the same time paying ten per cent on their debt.⁴

Another myth that practically every tourist guide and tract on South Australia's Germans would have us believe is that Pastor Kavel and his flock came from Silesia⁵ Perhaps it was because Kavel was associated with a synod with headquarters in Silesia has arisen this particular belief. It is also true that the predominant accent in the Barossa Valley is Silesian⁶ But both Klemzig, after which the first German settlement in South Australia was named, and Langmeil, which gave its name to the village which grew into Tanunda, lay in what was then the Prussian province of Brandenburg. Likewise, the second religious group of German migrants to arrive in South Australia, under the leadership of Pastor Fritzsche, came primarily from the villages of Meseritz, Tirschtiegel, Zhllichau, and GrHnberg and nearby hamlets. The first two were in the Prussian province of Posen, the third in Brandenburg and only the last in Silesia.⁷ All now lie in Poland.

The mention of the name of Pastor Fritzsche gives rise to the most persistent myth of all, namely, that most of the Germans who came to South Australia were religious refugees. The truth in this particular case, as opposed to the legend, is much less romantic. King Frederick William III of Prussia had died in June 1840 and with his death the active persecution of the 'Old Lutherans' as they were called, ceased. By that time 517⁸ Old Lutherans had settled in South Australia. Fritzsche arrived with his parishioners in October 1841.⁹ Thus even the second group of Lutheran

- 1 J. Colquhoun to Hamburg Senate, 26 July 1836. Hamburg Archives: CL, VII, Lit M6, no. 2., Vol. 8. Facs. 6, p. 14. See also L.A. Triebel, 'The Early South Australian German Settlers' in *Tasmanian Historical Research Association Papers and Proceedings*, Vol 8 No 3 1960.
- 2 Hamburg Archives; CL, VII, Lit KI, No 9b.
- 3 S.A. Archives: Angas letter book, p. 290-1.
- 4 *Ibid.*, p. 320.
- 5 R. Teusner (ed.), *A Short History of the Barossa Valley* 1971.
- 6 Peter Paul, 'Das Barossa Deutche'. M.A. thesis, University of Adelaide, 1965, p. 6.
- 7 See map p. 26
- 8 W. Iwan, *Um des Glaubens Willen nach Australien* (Breslau, 1931), pp. 44, 49, 59.
- 9 General Histories of the Lutheran Church in English are: Theodore Hebert, *The United Evangelical Lutheran Church in Australia* (translated and edited by E. Stoltz, Adelaide, 1946) and A. Brauer, *Under the Southern Cross* (Adelaide, 1956). A more particular breakdown of numbers can be found in W. Iwan, *op. cit.* and an analysis of those figures in I. Harmstorf, 'German migration, with particular reference to Hamburg, to South Australia, 1851-1844' M.A. thesis, University of Adelaide, 1971, pp. 11-24.



Central Prussia in 1844, showing villages in the areas from which the 'Old Lutherans' emigrated to South Australia with Pastors Kavel and Fritzsche. (From Black's General Atlas, (Edinburgh, 1844)).

migrants to arrive in the colony left Prussia after the active persecution of those of that particular faith had ceased. However, a qualification is needed, for the new king had ordered only a cessation of the persecution and the special concession guaranteeing religious toleration was not passed finally until 1847. It must also be admitted that many members of the Fritzsche group had sold their belongings during the time of persecution and so even with its cessation they were committed to emigration.¹ There is little doubt, however, that the congregations of Lutherans who migrated after them were not religious refugees in the strict sense that they were actually suffering persecution at the time of deciding to leave Prussia. Of the 18,000 or so² Germans who came to South Australia before 1900, when migration from Germany virtually ceased, only about 5% can reasonably be called religious refugees.

As early as 2 July 1839 the *Augsburger Allgemeine Zeitung*³ had written an extensive article on the material success of

the German settlers in South Australia, and on 14 June 1841 *Die Privilegierten Nachrichten von und für Hamburg*⁴ wrote that Fritzsche's group had been so bedazzled by the new land that some form of disillusionment must surely follow. South Australia, in letters sent back to Germany, was spoken of as a land where cake is eaten and coffee and tea drunk every day. A land where fat meat is eaten, where the sky is clear and the climate healthy. By comparison, Germany was a place where 'they hardly had enough to eat'.⁵ For the remainder of the century letters written home to Germany suggest that the immigrants who settled in the country districts of South Australia were more than contented with their lot and frequently urged friends and relatives to join them in the colony.

⁶ They were indeed model settlers, hard working and loyal in their devotion to the Lutheran Church, and they steadily improved their standard of living.

1 Letter of Fritzsche to Church leaders, 9 March 1841, in W. Iwan, op. cit., pp. 139-141.

2 S.A. Archives: Research Note No.55.

3 'Augsburg General Newspaper'.

4 'The Special News from and for Hamburg'.

5 A. Lodewyckx, *Die Deutschen in Australien* (Stuttgart, 1932), pp. 48-49.

6 I. Harmstorf, op. cit. pp. 98-116.

Another widely held myth about South Australia's Germans is that their most significant contribution to the colony in general consists of colourful folk customs and institutions—of cake, carts and wine festivals. In fact a number of Germans made intellectual contributions to South Australian society from which we are still benefiting. Most of these contributions came from those Germans who were elected to the South Australian parliament but there are some exceptions, of whom chronologically the first, and perhaps the most fascinating, is Johann Menge (1788–1852), who landed in 1837.

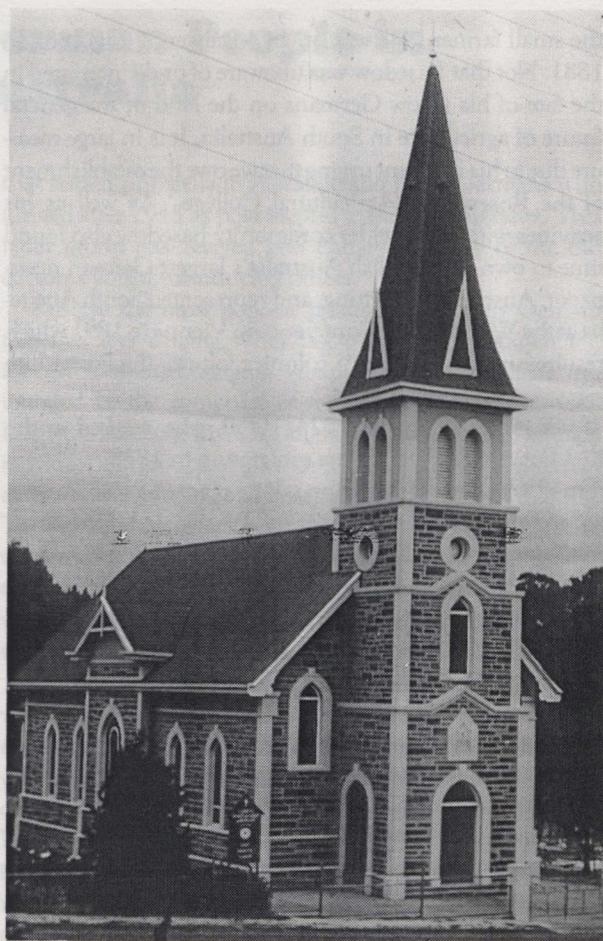
Menge, who brought with him to South Australia a European reputation as a mineralogist, pioneered knowledge of the colony's mineral resources on the eve of the discovery of some of the major copper deposits in South Australia in the 1840s. He also predicted the success of a wine industry in the Barossa Valley. His biographer, Cawthorne, says of him:

Insignificant in person, eccentric in manners, he nevertheless possessed powers of mind, and exercised a certain influence in the early days of the colony that demands a record as a tribute to a genius that under other circumstances would have commanded, not the petty fame of a local poet, but that as wide as the boundaries of literature.

His importance in the early life of the colony was recognised when he was invited to open the Kapunda copper mine in 1844.

The second forgotten German is Ulrich Hübbe (1805–1892) who practised as a barrister in Hamburg before emigrating in 1842. His lasting gift to South Australia and indeed to much of the English-speaking world, which copied it from South Australia, is the Real Property Act, derived in turn from the laws governing the registration and transfer of property in Hamburg and other Hanseatic towns. The transfer of property on a Torrens Title is simple and relatively fool-proof when compared with the cumbersome methods used previously. The term commemorates Sir Robert Torrens who was responsible for carrying the Real Property Act through the S.A. Parliament in 1857–8. Yet both the idea and the final draft of the bill came from Hübbe.² Hübbe's gravestone, which bears the inscription 'the spiritual father of the Real Property Act', is a classic example of the art of understatement.

The third German outside parliament to have a deep and lasting effect on the lives of South Australians was Dr Carl Mücke (1815–1898). Mücke, who arrived in Adelaide in 1849, was perhaps the most talented of the Germans who migrated to South Australia in the nineteenth century. A doctor of philosophy from the University of Jena (the degree was given without examination), he was active in both the humanities and the sciences. In 1866 he advocated a national system of compulsory education (which should include the teaching of science). He later devoted most of his energies to agricultural science and his enquires into soil science were among the first to be undertaken in the State.³



St Peter's Lutheran Church, Eden Valley

One could also mention Dr Richard Schomburgk (1811–1891), a botanist in the service of the Prussian government before coming to South Australia in 1849 on the *Princess Louise*, which also had among its passengers Carl Mücke. Schomburgk was the director of the Adelaide Botanic Gardens from 1865–1891 and, although not the founder, is regarded as the principal maker of the gardens.

Within parliament the Germans were able to bring a perspective into their arguments which many English counterparts were unable to match. Martin Basedow (1829–1902) who trained as a school master in north Germany and arrived in South Australia in 1848, was for many years an outspoken advocate of what was called 'progressive' education, and his opinions both within and outside parliament were highly regarded. He advocated education for the whole man, education to develop the full potential of the individual, education for leisure,⁴ ideas that were both strange and dangerous to a parliament primarily devoted to seeing, that the working man received no more education than was absolutely necessary for him in a society geared to what was believed were the minimal educational needs of

1 W.A. Cawthorne, *Menge, the Mineralogist* (Adelaide, 1859), p. 4.

2 'The Real Property Act' in *Royal Geographical Society of Australia, South Australian Branch, Proceedings*. Vol. 32, pp. 109–112. This contains a statement dictated by Hübbe in 1884. A more general history of Hübbe is to be found in G. Loyau, *Notable South Australians* (Adelaide, 1855), pp. 156–157.

3 *Australische Zeitung*, 5 January 1898.

4 I. Harmstorf, 'Germans in the South Australian Parliament', B.A. (Hons.) thesis, University of Adelaide, History Dept., 1959, pp. 82–101.

the small farmer.¹ He was briefly Minister of Education in 1881. Not that Basedow was unaware of or disinterested in the fate of his fellow Germans on the land or the general future of agriculture in South Australia. It is in large measure due to his insistent urging that we owe the establishment of the Roseworthy Agricultural College.² As well as his activities within the wider community Basedow also found time to own and publish Australia's largest German newspaper, *Australische Zeitung*, and represented South Australia at the World Postal Conference in Vienna in 1891 which resulted in the Australian colonies joining the Postal Union.³

F.E.H.W. Krichauff (1824-1904), who worked in the Kiel botanic gardens before emigrating in 1848, was concerned with the deforestation taking place in South Australia. As Frederick the Great of Prussia led Europe in re-afforestation, so Krichauff in 1875 led the South Australian Parliament to pass the first Act in an Australian colony setting up a Forest Board.⁴ Krichauff in 1889 was also responsible for Arbor Day,⁵ the day on which school children, initially from Adelaide and finally throughout the State, planted trees rather than following the example of the first settlers who cut them down. He urged prohibition of vines suspected of carrying the disease *phylloxera*⁶ and was chairman of the Central Agricultural Bureau from 1888 until it closed in 1902.⁷

Finally, within parliament there was Theo Scherk (1836-1923) son of a Chancellor of Kiel University and himself a schoolmaster who emigrated in 1861. Scherk was a strong advocate of technical education, a city member, and one with more radical inclinations than most of his fellow Germans who by the 1890s had tended to join the ranks of the conservatives. Scherk was on the Technical Education Board which led to the foundation of the School of Mines (the present Institute of Technology). He was on the first council of the School, and was chairman of the finance committee.⁸



German language tombstones are still to be found throughout South Australia. 'Here lies with God. Our Beloved husband and Father. Born, died, at the age of 73 years, 9 months 22 days. Christ is my life, death, my reward. Those left behind in sorrow.'

That the state owes a debt to the Germans in agriculture, viticulture and folk customs is to be seen by any visitor to the many rural areas of this state settled by Germans or their descendants. Let us not neglect, however, the significant and lasting role played by a small but notable group of well-educated Adelaide Germans in South Australia.

Romanticised on the one hand, suppressed on the other, the history of South Australia's Germans now deserves careful examination so that a proper assessment of their contribution to our heritage can be made.

Reprinted from the *Journal of the Historical Society of South Australia* No 1 1975

1 D. Pike, 'Education in an Agricultural State' in E.L. French (ed.), *Melbourne Studies in Education* (Melbourne, 1858). pp. 68-82.

2 I. Harmstorf, *Germans in the South Australian Parliament*, pp. 93,94.

3 *Australische Zeitung*, 19 March 1902.

4 Parl. Deb. (S.A.), 1875, p. 835

5 J.B. Hirst, *Adelaide and the Country* (Melbourne, 1973), p. 54

6 Parl. Deb. (S.A.), 1874, p. 250.

7 *Observer*, 1 October 1904.

8 I. Harmstorf, *Germans in the South Australian Parliament*, Appendix p. 123; *Advertiser*, 11 August 1923, p. 18.

Folklore of the German People in South Australia

The Germans in South Australia have a long and proud history. A few individual Germans had arrived even before the foundation of South Australia as a British colony in 1836 but the first organised group landed two years after the proclamation of the province. The letters they and other early arrivals sent home set in motion a chain of migration that was to bring German migrants to the shores of South Australia until the present day. From the early 1840s until 1920 Germans and their descendants constituted some 10% of the population of South Australia. This large group of non-British settlers, almost twice the percentage of any other Australian colony, was to have a marked impact on the folklore of South Australia.

The Germans who first came to South Australia were 'Old Lutherans'—that is those who held to the old liturgy of the Lutheran Church and were overwhelmingly peasant farmers and artisans from Prussia. They had been forbidden to use the liturgy of their choice in their east German homeland, an area now lying in Poland, which bordered on the nineteenth century boundaries of the provinces of Brandenburg, Silesia and Posen. Although the restrictions on worship were lifted in 1840, for the next ten years the memory of the time of repression and the fear of its return led many 'Old Lutherans' to migrate to South Australia. This large group formed the nucleus of the South Australian German traditions and it is their traditions and customs that are still most in evidence today.

However two other groups also have had an effect on German folklore in South Australia, a middle class group

that settled primarily in Adelaide and those Germans who arrived after 1945 as post second world war migrants. This latter group has revived and enhanced many of the old customs whilst introducing others.

Perhaps the most popular pastime of the early German migrants was singing. They not only sang in church but formed *Liedertafel*, singing groups, the first of which was founded by the composer of the 'Song of Australia', Carl Linger, in Adelaide in 1858, followed by another in Tanunda in 1862. Both groups sang a wide range of religious and secular songs. Both *Liedertafel* still exist today with a strong following. The Adelaide *Liedertafel* now operates under the umbrella of the German Association. The German love of music also led to the founding of the Adelaide School of Music which in 1898 was to become part of the Elder Conservatorium of Music of the University of Adelaide.

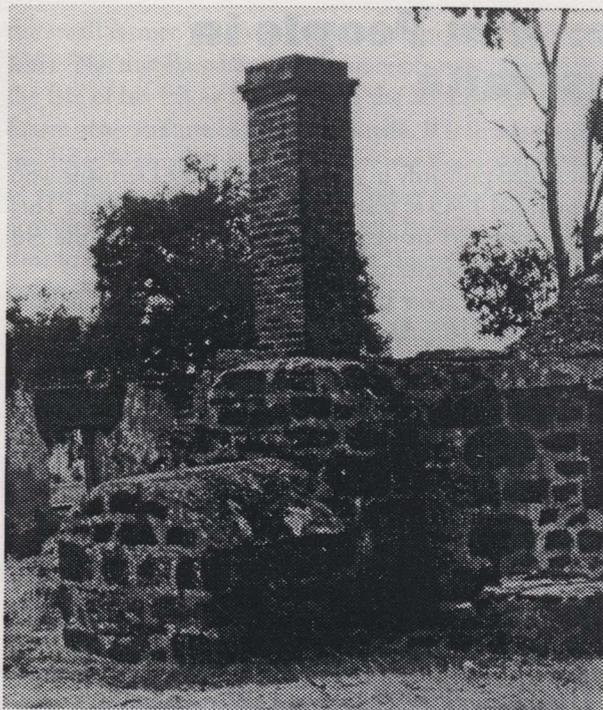
During the last 30 years, prompted by post second-world war migrants, music and dancing groups have proliferated within the German Association. This association was founded in 1886 specifically to encourage the pastimes of working people. Today within the association there are Bavarian groups, mixed choirs, children's choirs and dancing groups, none of which had been encouraged under the rather austere Prussian Lutheranism of the nineteenth century. Although for many years prior to World War I the association was thought to be tinged with socialism and thus shunned by both the Lutheran Church and middle class Germans, it nevertheless kept alive the customs, traditions and beliefs of the working class Germans in Adelaide.

In country areas, often in very small communities, German music lovers developed brass bands for their own enjoyment. By the turn of the century the German communities had adopted the English custom of brass band competitions which are still a feature of country life in South Australia.

The arrival of the post-1945 German immigrants also gave the German love of festivals a great boost. These migrants did much to revive traditions and folklore that in many areas were foundering. Two world wars fought against Germany, with a resulting distaste for all things German, had taken a severe toll on the beliefs and traditions of the descendants of the original German settlers. The arrival of the new migrants, many refugees from a homeland that was not far distant from those of the original settlers, invigorated and made public again a folklore that had been driven underground. Because of the wars German folklore had been practised and mentioned only in the privacy of the home or celebrated quietly in the German areas of the state. In the 1880s and the 1890s for example *Schützenfests* or shooting carnivals had been held in Adelaide, Hahndorf and Lobethal to name the most important venues, but these had ceased with the first world war. The new migrants started again the *Schützenfest* at Hahndorf, enlarged it into a folk festival, made it a tourist attraction far beyond local or state borders, and gave yet another German word to South Australian English.



Lutheran Wedding at the turn of the century



German baking oven on the road to Gomersal (previously New Mecklenburg) Barossa Valley

Similarly on entering the Barossa Valley one is encouraged by large signs to enjoy the *Gemütlichkeit*, a message repeated in practically every restaurant in the region. There is no translation for it is expected that the word will be automatically understood as a feeling of well-being brought about by pleasant surroundings and good company. The reaching out of German festivals into the wider community has been particularly evident in recent years in the Barossa. Again this has been greatly influenced by post-1945 migrants and the events are now enjoyed as part of the South Australian entertainment scene.

An *Oompah Festival* takes place on the Australia Day holiday weekend which, with its Bavarian flavour, would have had no appeal to the early, more serious minded Prussians. The Tanunda Band holds a *Melodie Nacht* (Melody Night), the *Liedertafel a Kaffee Abend* (coffee evening) and the Tanunda Show an *Essen Fest* (Food Festival). But the greatest folk festival is the bi-annual Vintage Festival. This grew out of the church Harvest Festival. Originally a one day affair which started in 1947 the event has continued to grow until today it is a week of festivities of both a festive and cultural nature. The high point for lovers of German food and drink being three dinners each of four courses with at least 1,300 people attending each sitting. Over 4,000 meals are served in 72 hours. The theme is *Gemütlichkeit*, translated by the *Adelaide Advertiser*, 27 March 1991, during a week long series of articles on the Festival, as 'Let's get together and have fun'.

One pastime that was and still is uniquely German is the *Kegel Club*, the Bowling Club with its alley in Tanunda. Played with nine pins, as in the original German game, it is the forerunner of today's ten pin bowling. In the nineteenth century when the Germans in New York, created such a noise carousing at their *Kegel Clubs*, bowling with

specifically nine pins was banned. Another pin was promptly added to give birth to today's ten pin bowling.

The spiritual leanings of most of the early Germans gave rise to beliefs about the supernatural both within and without the Lutheran church. In the Barossa Valley in particular there have been in quite recent times cases of white magic exercised by people, generally women, with strange powers. The magic is usually directed against animals, although people have been involved. There is also a belief that in the nineteenth century black masses were held in the hills surrounding the Barossa Valley although despite circumstantial evidence still in existence they cannot be authenticated.

For most Germans arriving in Australia, however, the Lutheran church provided spiritual succour in the new land, as well as the companionship of like-minded friends and a familiar language. Lutheran churches of the nineteenth century with their unique design still dot the South Australian countryside and indeed, in places like the Barossa Valley dominate it. Other evidence of the building traditions the Germans brought with them is still clearly apparent in these German areas. The Germans came to South Australia so early in its settlement by the white man that they were able to plan and build towns in virgin lands to their own design. The towns were planned either on a *Hufendorf* (farmlet village) model or a *Strassendorf* (street village) model. The former still can be seen in Bethany in the Barossa Valley while the latter is evident in the layout of Hahndorf in the Adelaide Hills. Other *Hufendorf* towns such as Langmeil, have had their original form absorbed by larger towns—in this case Tanunda.

The house design used in German villages and on German farms was distinct for at least 30 years after the arrival of the first migrants. The ideas of building—part of their 'cultural baggage'—understood by those who settled in the country areas caused them to build up rather than out in the traditional Australian manner (a reflection of European land costs). Although not built into all houses, the three most obvious German features were the black kitchen, the baking oven and the attic door in the side gable. The black kitchen was found only in the larger more expensive houses. Having a black kitchen meant that meats could be cured and the German sausages (*wursts*) smoked if desired. Black kitchens were a legal requirement at that time in Prussia, where most of the houses were built of wood. In South Australia, where houses were built of stone or brick, they were not really necessary to reduce the risk of fire but traditional building habits remained for many years. The baking oven was found much more often in German farm cottages. It allowed the baking of bread in the German fashion with the traditional recipes. Wood was placed in the tunnel inside the oven, the oven brought to the right heat and then the ashes scraped out and the dough put in, the heat retained by the oven bricks cooking the bread. The third feature was, and still is, ubiquitous in the South Australian landscape in German areas. The 45 degree gable of the roof enclosed an attic door which was reached by an outside ladder. This attic which ran the length of the house was used as a general storage area and occasionally for sleeping. Another piece of Germany until quite recently widespread throughout the state but now used primarily for display pur-

poses or in processions was the German wagon. With its singular sloping sides and generally total lack of springing it was an all purpose vehicle, cheap to build but immensely strong. It was arguably the distinguishing feature of a German farm. Clothes, with the possible exception in the very first days of settlement of the black wedding gown have never really set the German settlers apart. Black was the colour when dressed for Sunday or best. Prussian-Lutheran sobriety was distinguished by its sombreness. More recent arrivals from other parts of Germany brought other more colourful clothing but these are reserved for dancing and festive occasions.

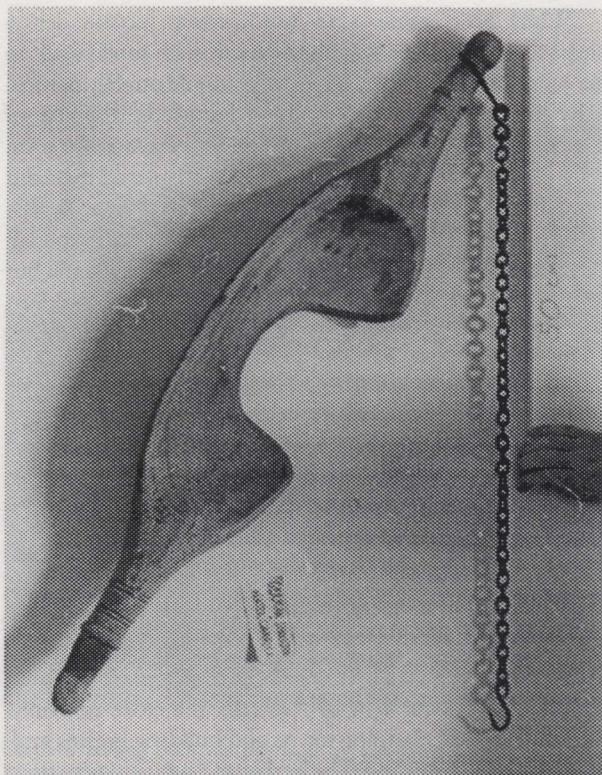
Perhaps the most obvious German influence on South Australia is to be found in food. This influence, especially in the fields of pastries and sausages, continues strongly in the present day, noticeable not only in the country areas but also in Adelaide. Because a German cold sausage had no real equivalent in English it was called from the earliest times in South Australia, *Fritz*, and there are innumerable stories of how this name originated. Attempts were made during World War I (1914–18) to change the name to Austral, but these were unsuccessful. More successful was the attempt to change the name of the *Berliner Pfannkuchen* (a type of doughnut) to Kitchener, after the British War Minister of that period, Lord Kitchener (1850–1916). However since the arrival of the post-World War II German migrants and the opening of many new German bakeries the *Berliner* has become popular again, this time filled with jam while the Kitchener bun has continued, filled with artificial cream. For well over 100 years every Adelaide suburb and country town has had a least one delicatessen—the deli, copied from similar shops in Germany and being the Anglicised form of *Delikat Essen*—speciality foods. In such shops it has been possible always to buy a wide range of wholemeal, white and rye bread as well as cold meat and German-type sausages. Many delicatessens also functioned as the local sweet shop and milkbar as well as selling their more specialised goods.

While it is possible to buy most German foods at delicatessens in Adelaide a greater variety of such food is still to be found in the country areas of South Australia, particularly in the Barossa Valley, the acknowledged centre of German influence in the state. Here every year since soon after their arrival the local women have displayed their dill gherkins, their *Sandkuchen* (German cake), *Streuselkuchen* (seed cake), *Bienestich* (bee sting) and various other specialities. All like *Fritz* have undergone changes in Australia but still remain distinctively German. Competition to produce the best of any particular variety using traditional recipes, now formalised as part of the Tanunda Show, is as strong as ever. The fear of losing these old recipes, some dating from the Middle Ages, has led to publication in the Barossa and also in the other centre of German influence in South Australia, Hahndorf, of books which include not only recipes but also traditional cures for many ailments.

The early settlers from the eastern areas of nineteenth century Germany came from a countryside that had not been industrialised, indeed which only some 40 years before had thrown off the last remnants of feudalism. They lived in a way that had changed little over the centuries. These Germans brought to Australia therefore not only medieval ways of planning towns and building houses and cooking but also healing. The herbal and white magic cures in the 'Sixth and Seventh Book of Moses' as well as containing such useful advice as which spells and herbs were best for ensnaring husbands or keeping husbands and wives faithful, also contained many useful and age-old remedies for a variety of ailments ranging from the common cold to menstrual pains. The book was looked upon with horror by the Lutheran Church. Many families had it secreted away from the prying eyes of the pastor in a niche behind a loose brick in a wall or a fireplace. The Church considered that trust should be put in God, not in some pagan cure brought to Australia from an era lost in the mists of time. For the same reason the Lutheran Church also disagreed with the concept of homeopathic medicine which began in Germany and had always had a strong following.



A frame which was used to carry a coffin on the shoulders of the mourners. Photo courtesy of the Barossa Archives & Historical Trust Museum



Neck yoke. Used by early German settlers to carry two buckets of water on the end of chains. Photo courtesy of the Barossa Archives & Historical Trust Museum

There were many adherents among the Germany community in South Australia. Today, although many of the various remedies have been forgotten, others that have stood the test of time are still practised.

The medieval influence can also be observed in beliefs approved of by the Lutheran Church. The pristine cleanliness of the farms of people of German descent is due not just to the German concept of *Ordnung*—order—but to the tradition of stewardship. This tradition is a belief held by German-Lutheran farmers which maintains that although they own their farm in a legal sense, in another deeper sense the good earth is only on loan from God for them to nurture and foster while they are alive. On their death it is to be passed to their sons and so on down the generations. The farmers are merely stewards of the land. By nature therefore they are conservationists not exploiters of the land. Land is not something to be bought and sold like a normal commodity but something held in trust for God. In the Barossa Valley and other predominantly German areas of South Australia land has been in the same family since it was originally settled in the 1840s. Even today this tradition shows little sign of weakening.

The love of the land and its trees and forests was not absent from those Germans who settled in Adelaide. A German-born parliamentarian, F.E.H.W. Krichauff was responsible for the passing of the first Australian Woods and Forests Act (1875) to preserve, protect and replant a colony chronically short of timber. The belief in education led another (M.P.F. Basedow) to successfully move for the foundation of the first agricultural college in Australia,

Roseworthy (1879). The love of nature can also be found in the paintings of Hamburg-born, Sir Hans Heysen (1877–1968), who brought an Australian perspective to his work in a medium which was at that time still dominated by European images.

In Adelaide the German craftsmen showed particular skill in silver work. Again the love of nature exhibited itself in their work. The famous silver tree at Broken Hill by Henry Steiner is a fine example of one of the leading exponents of the art, although other well-known naturist silver workers were Julius Schomburgk and Jochim Wendt, whose work has been thought worthy of recent exhibition. The work of other German craftsmen, particularly those who made vernacular nineteenth century furniture in the Barossa Valley, is in high demand in Adelaide today, although the number of fakes is perhaps greater than the number of original pieces.

In conclusion it is necessary to mention one belief held passionately by nineteenth century middle class German immigrants to South Australia that has not survived the test of time. Middle class Germans who arrived before World War I had an almost mystical belief in British justice and British fairplay. Two world wars, the first in particular, in which anti-German feelings were swept along by the paranoia of many British-Australians far from the motherland and vulnerable to internal and external enemies, brought much suffering, heartache and sense of injustice to those of German descent who had considered themselves loyal South Australians. They withdrew into their own communities in country areas in particular, their belief in justice and fair play sorely tried. Only recently is a change of heart apparent. There has been strong demand from local communities that the German language be taught in schools in traditional German areas and these same communities are again looking on their German heritage and folklore with pleasure and pride as something they wish to share with all South Australians. During World War I all things of Germanic origin in the state were suppressed and the rich German heritage of South Australia denied. One most obvious example was the changing of 69 German place names on the map of the State, creating a totally erroneous impression of the origins of the nomenclature of the place names of South Australia.

It is pleasing that the wounds finally have begun to heal and the melding of the folklore and traditions of the early and later waves of German migrants into South Australia are beginning to create an even richer tradition for the German community and for Australia.

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The German Experience in South Australia

Let me begin by quoting a statement made in 1975 by the then Premier of South Australia, Mr Don Dunstan. He said, speaking of minority groups in South Australia, that South Australia's largest minority group, the Germans, had been here for so long that few of them spoke German. The question arises when do you cease to be a German and when do you become an Australian? The people of this large minority group had, 1975, been here for 137 years, so it is one of the dilemmas of the South Australian German that if you are a Lutheran, or more particularly, have an obvious German name, you may still be looked on as not really Australian. Hence, because of a certain characteristic for example your name, some individuals are persuaded by the attitude of society to look upon themselves as German, even though they may not see themselves as such, and of course this can cause an identity crisis.

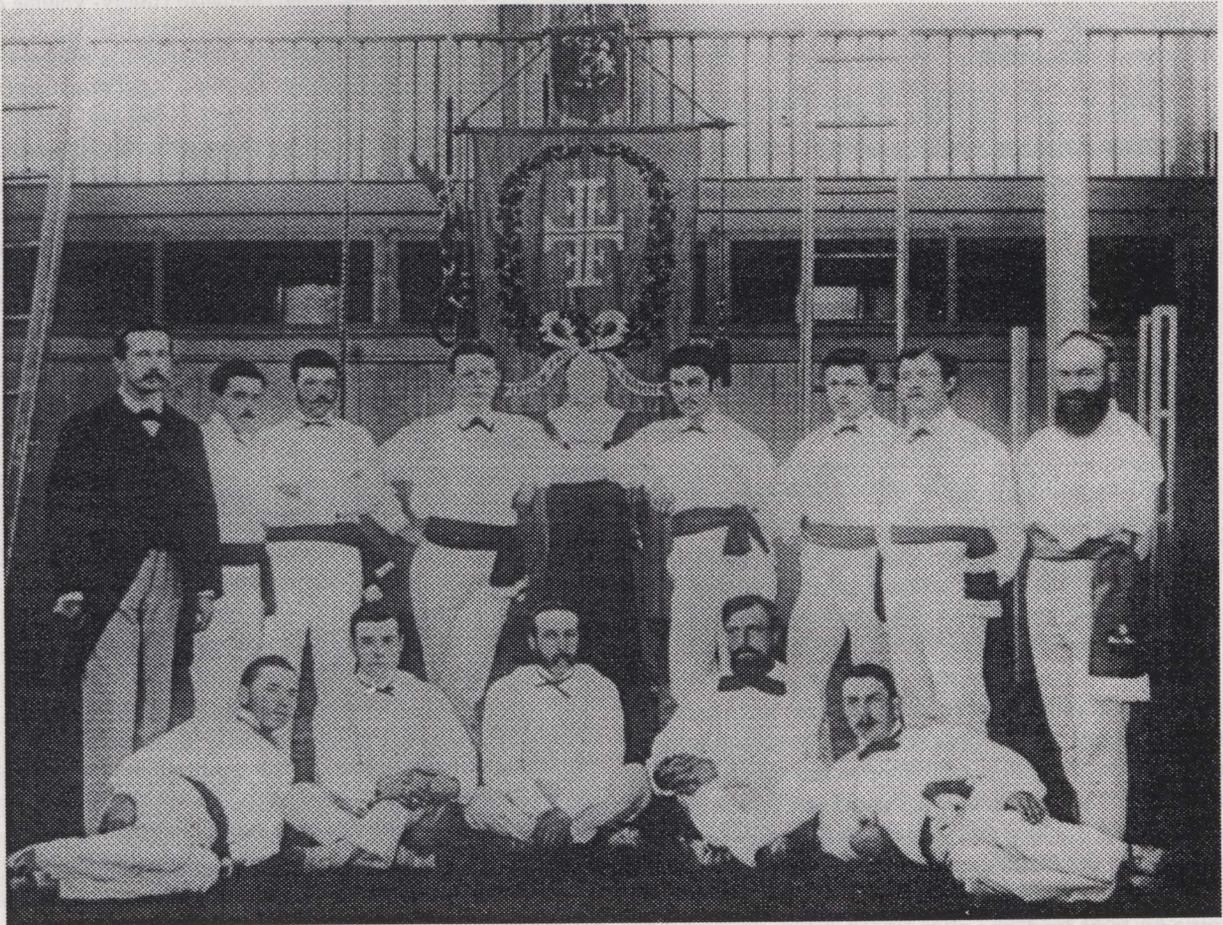
The Germans who arrived here in 1838 came because they were being persecuted for their religion in their homeland in east Germany. It's so far east in fact that it is now in Poland, and it became very stylish during World War II to call yourself a Pole if you had a name for example like Leditschke, as many east German names can sound somewhat Polish. In Germany in the period 1838 and earlier, there was a liturgy put out by the King who wanted a united church throughout the country. It was felt that one nation should have one church. The Old Lutherans objected to this particular form of service and they had three possibilities not to use the new prayer book. They could have gone to the U.S.; they could have gone to Russia, or they could

have gone to South Australia, which popped up very late in the piece as the third alternative. We all know about the millions of Germans who went to the United States and some of the old Lutherans went there as well. However, through connections in Hamburg, George Fife Angus, one of the founding fathers of South Australia, and himself a Baptist and dissenter, came to know of these dissenters in Germany and money was found for some Old Lutherans to migrate to South Australia. That started a chain migration. One of the most important aspects is that of the 18,000 Germans who came to South Australia up until 1900, only 517 left Germany during the time of persecution and a further 200 came because they had already sold all their chattels and really had no option but to come to South Australia. So about 7-800 of the 18,000 therefore left Germany because of religious persecution. The myth today is that all Germans came to South Australia because of persecution.

The Germans took this myth unto themselves, as they saw the freedom of worship and economic freedom that was to hand in Australia, and to some extent the political freedom, as part of what they had gained in coming to Australia. I don't think that Germans on the whole here suffered a great trauma when they left because although they were economically not so badly off, life to them had become intolerable. Old Lutheran pastors were put in gaol; horsemen rode up and down inside the churches life was seen as a gross injustice, so they left. But the persecution stopped in 1840, those who came after, mainly for economic rea-



Half timbered home of German origin. Paechtown near Hahndorf



The Adelaide Gymnastics Group (Turnverein) 1880

price of food down. This is exactly what happened. I'm not demeaning his philanthropic attitude in bringing the Germans here because they were persecuted dissenters but there is also another side to the story. Not only did he make a tidy profit, but also made sure that there were plenty of workers for the gentry who came to South Australia under the Wakefield Scheme. And the second part, competition, initially really didn't happen in South Australia because there was plenty of land and the Germans didn't set up in business on the whole, and if they did, there were not so many of them that they were in competition with the English. The Germans went on the lan, for at this time there plenty of land, and so it was until the turn of the century when two things happened together. First was the Boer War, when the Germans quite clearly tended to side with the Boers. The other was that the land was tending to run out. And so the first conflict situation started to arise between the English settlers and the German settlers. Before I move on to the war of 1914-18 it is necessary to add that the Germans have a very close family group and tended to speak German within the family. This lasted until the 1930s. There were also strong personal ties. If you've seen family histories from two people who arrived in 1840 the minimum number of people you can expect to have in such a family history is about 1,000 and most of them go to about 2,000 relatives. It can almost be said that if you have a German name in South Australia and live in the country,

you can more or less assume that you practically are related to every other German in South Australia. This intermarriage has been brought about, not I think because people wanted to marry other people of German descent, but because they were farmers, and the women understood what a farmer's life was. However perhaps most importantly of all, the Lutheran Church kept the people together.

Then of course there is the work ethic. There were Germans in Adelaide in 1850 about whom it was written that they sat around smoking cigars while the women did all the work. Now these were obviously city Germans, and nobody has ever bothered to do any work on them because they are supposedly unimportant. The church does not acknowledge their existence because they didn't go to church, and any rate it is assumed that most of them in the 1850s went to Victoria and so we were happily rid of those non-religious Germans.

The German work ethic of the clean farms and hard work is often in marked contrast to the many people who came from England and worked on the land but with no experience of it.

The German farmers had been peasant farmers in Germany and so they tended to survive the ups and downs of the economic rises and falls in South Australia better. They had a little bit of wheat and a little bit of grapegrowing; they had their own pigs and vegetables. They were never like the English, dependent upon one crop. By 1860 most of the

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NOTE THE ADDRESS.

Along with the 69 place names changed in World War I were the names of food. There was an attempt to call Fritz 'Austral'. It was considered by many 'patriots' during that war that all signs of German influence should be eradicated in South Australia

Australian-English farmers had gone over to a mono-culture, either growing wheat or barley, but the Germans always had a diversified crop upon which they could call, and if everything collapsed they could just feed their animals and fall back on their own vegetables. The upshot of this is that the Germans were not forced in bad times to sell up their property and move on. They remained on the same piece of land; the closed community continued to remain a closed community, not because they wanted to keep other people out, but just because they had been there so long.

In the First World War, so many of the things that the Germans had held dear were shattered in one blow. I think the whole mentality of the Germans in South Australia was radically affected by this. The most obvious change was the 69 names which were changed in South Australia. The most famous of course is Peterborough, formerly Petersburg. One missed was Adelaide, who was the German wife of King William IV. Whether this was overlooked or thought too big a chestnut to handle I'm not quite sure. Eleven have been changed back including Kaiser Stuhl.

Robert Homburg was born in South Australia and at the time of the First World War, he was attorney-general yet despite this, the police went into his office in Parliament House with the army and tried to put him under arrest. Now to the poor German people who had come here and believed in British justice, believed in a democracy, the trauma of this was unbelievable. The army took out all books which they thought might be subversive, took them away never to be seen again. Homburg was a Liberal member. The Labor party having been absolutely *against* the war when it came, to show how truly British it was, became absolutely *for* the war. Nobody except the Germans said 'I am an Australian'. And to say 'I'm an Australian' was almost treasonable, almost like saying 'I hate Britain'. After all Britain was the mother country—one fought for God, England and Empire, so by calling themselves Australians, (who surely were Australia's first nationalists), were seen as traitors to Aus-

tralia. They were 50 years ahead of their time. That was another traumatic experience. Because the Germans remained loyal to their original culture and liked the German way of life and traditions, people thought they also liked the politics of the new militaristic Germany. John Verran, probably the most uneducated and illiterate Premier we have ever had in South Australia, said he was opposed to any Germans being employed, even if they had been naturalised, and further stated that he would not naturalise any more, that the time had come for the Education Department not to employ people with German names or teach the German language. There was tremendous pressure put on one if one had a German name. One Schubert changed to Stewart and started to wear the kilt to prove that she had become a true blue British subject. Sauerwurst was known as Aberfoyle. What often happened was a name like Wallmann simply became Wallman.

That was the sort of social pressure put on Australian Germans in the First World War. Perhaps the most tragic part of the First World War was Torrens Island and the War Precautions Act. Under this Act people, because of the say-so of another person in the town, were literally taken away. You were plucked out of the field or the paddock where you were ploughing, often not even allowed to go and say goodbye to your wife, and often she was not informed officially that you had even been taken. This happened to people who were born in Australia. Remember that the ancestors of these people only at that stage—one or two generations removed, had come here to find religious freedom and to get away from the oppressive Prussian political military machine. The irony is supreme. This land of opportunity—the land of future promise.

At Torrens Island in 1915 two men, a German and a Swede, were stripped naked and tied to a tree outside the compound for flogging. The guards also used their bayonets freely on the internees and their favourite punishment for offenders was to force-march them around the camp perimeter, those who did not move fast enough for the guards, were prodded with the bayonets. This may be all right after Vietnam and the Second World War but was even before the slaughter on the Somme had started. And what Australians at that time even knew about the British Concentration camps for the Boers in South Africa? More than 25 prisoners at Torrens Island had bayonet wounds, including one man who had seven wounds and another who had a bayonet thrust right through his leg by an over zealous guard. Another group was made to run over barbed wire and was prodded with bayonets by the guards. One case came to me recently where a woman said she couldn't prove her grandfather had been killed trying to escape from Torrens Island. The Authorities had hushed the matter up and so he's just disappeared. Now they can't get the title to the house unless they can actually prove he's dead. So what does it matter that one person has been shot trying to escape—it happens everywhere, and although his three daughters have married people with English names, their German heritage is constantly brought home to them by the injustice which was done by the Australian Government.

It was not until January 1918 that Australian-born internees were acknowledged as being Australian citizens.

So if you were born in this country you were still in the First World War, if you had a German name, looked upon as a German. A letter was sent by a woman to the Minister of Defence of that period: 'Please sir give me back my dear husband and my daughter's father, he will work for himself and for us and we need no help'. The Government wouldn't pay social security benefits if a husband was arrested as a saboteur. Such people were denied all civil rights. Dr. Schulz, who was the principal of the Adelaide Teachers College, once wrote: 'That such an occurrence was possible in the 20th century in such an advanced democracy as that of Australia hardly seems credible, but it is so and it has been registered in Australian history as a chapter which all real Australians will some day heartily wish had been expunged'. And indeed the records of the Torrens Island camp and the Tanunda Police Station have been burnt simply because they reflected badly on Australian history.

Here is another case: A German schoolteacher named Witt was named by an informant for sabotaging the war effort by failing to distribute a sufficient number of tickets for a Red Cross concert. Witt had distributed about three dozen tickets for the concert but another nine dozen were found in his home. His explanation was that he had been too busy to distribute them. The official conclusion was that he was a saboteur. He was sent to Torrens Island. That was the extent of the breakdown of democracy. In this State of South Australia it was the Germans who suffered during this breakdown as they did again in World War II.

That's the background of the Germans, of a people supposedly assimilated. Yet the parents and grandparents of today's generation received such treatment if they had an obvious German name. Where do history teachers find such information for a balanced Australian history? One searches in vain in history books for the migrant experience, that Australia could have ever been unjust, that our society has been anything but lily white. Such matters rarely get into a history book. How do people identify with a country which has turned on their forebears twice within 50 years.

Of course the matter is not helped at all by the fact that one still gets TV plays which make out all the Germans to be either idiots or totally brutal. So children are still called Huns in the school, who are trying to find an identity. It is difficult to know how to get social and economic equality for Germans in South Australia. If one lives on a farm in

the outback one can get social and economic equality within one's small community. If one is in Adelaide it appears that you don't necessarily have to change your name because you've got Heuzenroeders and Homburgs among many other names who have been successful, but what one must do, to become a real success in Adelaide society, is change your religion. So you'll find that most of the successes at PAC and St Peter's College by economically wealthy Germans have resulted from joining the Church of England second best, becoming a Methodist in order to gain social equality.

The war trauma was also at an institutional level. The German schools were shut down in 1917 and one wasn't allowed to speak German. German was virtually forbidden—certainly in government schools. It remained so until the mid-1920s and yet the ethnic tradition of German culture has remained in South Australia. On the one hand, the German tradition of the German Festival at Hahndorf and the Barossa Valley Vintage Festival, the outward signs of tradition; and, the inner signs found in the homes, towns and schools of those of German descent despite two world wars and official government attempts to wipe out Germans lives on, even though the language has in many cases unfortunately been forgotten. Are Germans accepted today? Many of the post-Second World War German migrants have gone overboard to assimilate into the Australian way of life and to try to take on all surface appearances of being a good Australians. But to be a modern South Australian German or a person of German descent is to experience the attitudes with which people view Germans, and because these attitudes are conflicting, the people suffer an identity problem. South Australians think of Nazis and Germans and become somewhat confused on this issue, not knowing whether South Australian Germans were Nazi sympathisers. On the other hand, Germans are seen as hard-working and honest. Finally there is modern Germany with its much admired modern technology and the result of an excellent educational system.

That is the story of the rejection, acceptance/semi-acceptance of the Germans in South Australia. As Dunstan said, 'The largest minority can't speak their language'. The question for people of German descent in South Australia is: when do they cease being a minority and when do they become Australians?, and what is, in the final analysis, given our history, acceptance as 'an Australian'.

Reprinted from *History Forum* 1981

The Germans: State's First Nationalists

'They Did More Than Give us Cakes and Carts'

In this article on the early Germans Adelaide historian, Ian Harmstorf, states his case for correcting the neglect of South Australia's founding settlers.

Mr. Harmstorf says the bitterness of two world wars has been allowed to obscure the major contributions the Germans made to the State.

Following his explosion last week of the myth that SA's German settlers were all fleeing from religious persecution in their homeland, Mr. Harmstorf goes on to expose the unwarranted persecution of World War I.

Along with the Aboriginal, South Australia's Germans have been subjected to a continuous campaign of cultural 'genocide' which is still discernible today.

The choice of words is mine, not Ian Harmstorf's, but I believe it to be a fair summation after viewing the treatment of SA's German community over the past 130 years and the present neglect of this vital part of our heritage.

Far from contributing merely colourful folk customs and institutions to the State—'cake, carts and wine festivals, as Mr. Harmstorf puts it—the Germans, he maintains, were the first Australian nationalists and our first conservationists.

'The Germans were speaking of themselves as Australians about 40 years before anyone else,' he says.

'This was clearly brought out in World War I, when the Germans in SA did not see that Britain having a war with the Kaiser had anything to do with them as Australians.'

'The Germans spoke of themselves as Australians when everyone else was describing themselves as members of the British Empire.'

It was forgotten in the jingoistic, witch-hunting fever of World War I, that many of the later German settlers came here to escape the increasingly oppressive Prussianisation of their homeland, with its compulsory military service.

'Most had no reason to love their old homeland,' says Mr. Harmstorf.

'Because the Germans remained loyal to their original culture or liked the German way of life and traditions,

people thought they liked the politics of the new, militaristic Germany.'

Other South Australians took culture and politics to be synonymous, which they weren't,' he says.

In fact, the Germans managed to keep a kind of dual nationality until World War I, when the whole of their cultural traditions came under attack.

The first German migrants were hard-working, self-sufficient people who were welcomed by the British as model settlers but were otherwise ignored.

'The State of South Australia did absolutely nothing to help assimilation. It just ignored the Germans,' says Mr. Harmstorf.

About the only concession the Government made was to pay Adelaide's German newspaper, '*Süd Australische Zeitung*,' a pound a week to print public notices in the German language.

Mr Harmstorf points out that this was the age of voluntarism, when anybody worth their salt did things for themselves, and the Germans were commended in Parliament for their self-sufficiency.

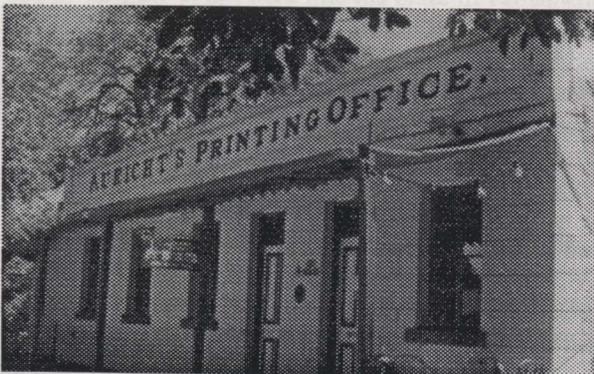
He maintains the Germans were our first conservationists because of their unique attitude towards the land they had bought for themselves in the new colony.

'The English saw farming as a way to make a living rather than as a way of life. The majority of British migrants had a city background and saw farming as a commercial enterprise,' he says.

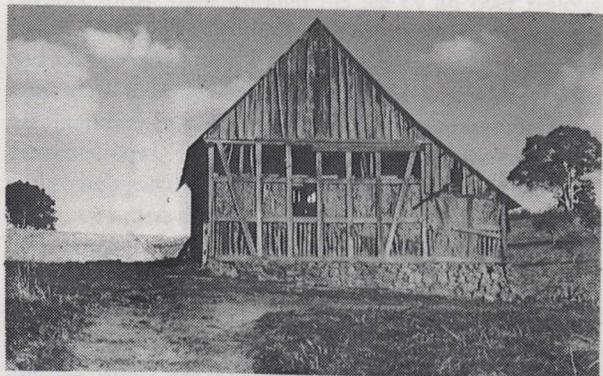
'The Germans, most of whom came from a non-industrial society, regarded their stewardship of the land as being held in trust from God to be passed on to their descendants.'

'The tenure of German farms is longer than that of the British farmers. Many of the German farms established in the 1850s are still owned by the same families today.'

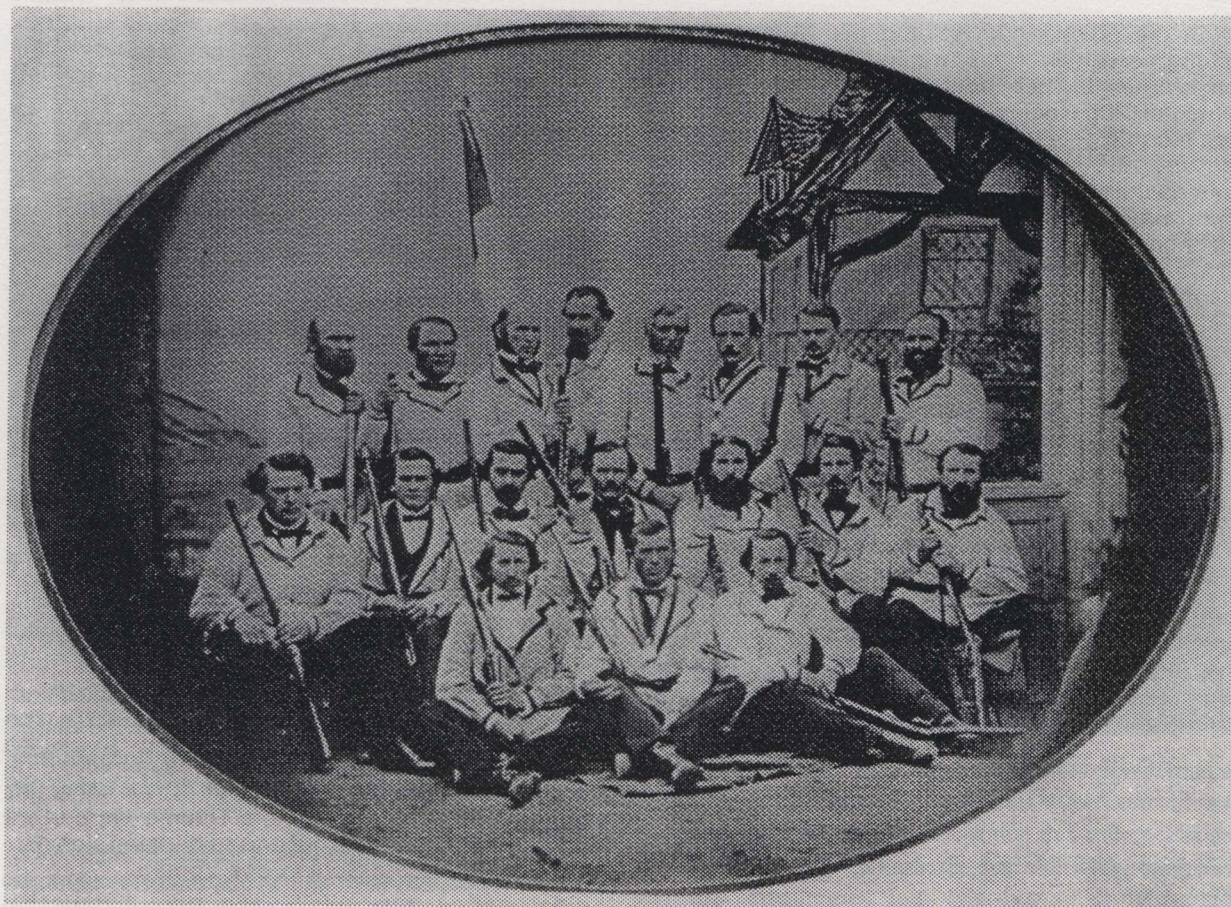
Unlike the British, who usually grew just one type of crop, the German farms were self-sufficient, growing a bit of everything—vegetables, fruit trees, wheat and pasture, as well as supporting livestock.



German newspaper printing office, nineteenth and early twentieth century, Tanunda



German half timbered barn Paechtoun, near Hahndorf. Since this photo the barn has been turned into a home



Shooting Group of the German Club 1862

Thus they were able to survive crop failures and bad weather much easier than the mono-culture farms of their British counterparts.

Rudolph Henning recorded the German attitude for posterity when he told the SA Parliament in 1884: 'The desire in every man's heart is for his own homestead, for himself and his children after him.'

Many people today are unaware of just how strong the German influence in Adelaide was before 1900. Until World War I, it was not even necessary for a German to speak English in SA.

In Adelaide there were German hotels—the King of Hanover (formerly in Rundle Place) and the Hamburg Hotel (now the Walsh Building) in Rundle Street and German coffee shops were a unique feature of the infant city.

There was Kindermann's cafe in Rundle Street (now Sigalas's), where the German menfolk would sit downstairs smoking cigars while their women took coffee upstairs.

It was possible to buy everything in a shop kept by a German.

Hardware could be obtained at H.L. Vosz in Rundle Street; wines from Henry Noltenius in King William Street; saddlery at Bechtel's; tobacco from Armbruster and Uhlmann, in Rundle street.

There was Ehmke's timber yard; Tidemann, the auctioneer; D. Schmidt for engraving; F.A. Kleeman's for carving

and gilding work and, for the sick, the surgeries of Doctors Beyer and Mueller.

Herr Lachmann used to make a type of rocking chair; there was a Bismark lamp to read by and German books were available everywhere.

More important were the prominent Germans of the day who contributed so much to the growing colony but whose work and achievements remain unsung.

Mr Harmstorf believes there has been a 50-year aftermath, following the anti-German feelings engendered by World War I, during which the anniversaries of prominent German settlers have been ignored.

As a result, the names and achievements of people like Menge, Hübbe, Basedow and Krichauff have failed to be perpetuated in monuments, public buildings and city streets and parks.

Virtually overnight, with the declaration of war with Germany in 1914, South Australia's praiseworthy Germans became 'the enemy'.

The incredible bitterness that was whipped up against them often for political or private ends, has to be read in the newspapers of the time to be believed.

German schools were closed, certain Germans placed under house arrest and, at the height of war hysteria, 69 South Australian place names of German origin were changed to English or Aboriginal.

Klemzig became Gaza; Hahndorf, Ambleside; Lobethal, Tweedvale; Hergott Springs changed to Marree; Petersburg,



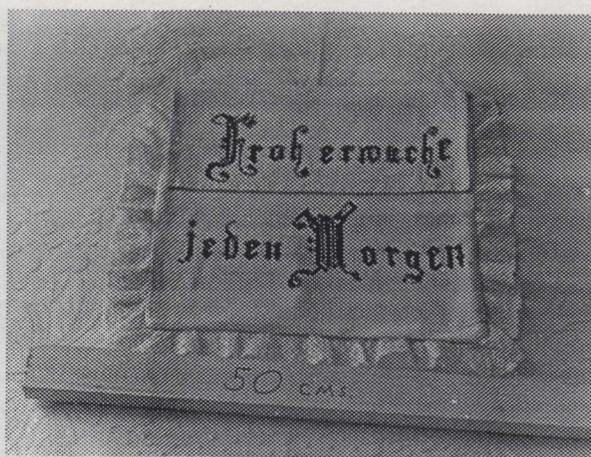
Hand embroidered linen was a favourite gift. Here 'the best wishes for your Birthday' has been framed

Peterborough; Blumberg, Birdwood; Kaiserstuhl, Mount Kitchener.

Speaking at a recruiting rally at Wallaroo in 1915, the Labor Premier of the day, John Verran, said he was opposed to any Germans being employed, even if they had been naturalised, and stated that he would not naturalise any more, and that the time had come for the Education Department not to employ as teachers persons of German origin or German name.

Many people with Germanic names Anglicised them, either voluntarily or under pressure.

'I know of two families of Schubert, one of whom has become Seaton and the other Stewart', says Mr. Harmstorf. 'The women always wear their Stewart tartans to prove how terribly British they are!'



Another example of embroidery. 'Wake Happy every morning' rests as decoration on the bedspread

'The names of people in South Australia are often quite misleading as to the number of people of German descent in the State.

'And if one looks at the gravestones at Tanunda and other German towns, one can see that the Australian Germans were prepared to die fighting for Australia in a war, where in Australia, only volunteers were taken,' he says.

Some of the place names have since been changed back, but the majority have not and Mr Harmstorf is adamant that a great deal of the heritage of the State has been lost by this omission.

'The ones with a strong German link should be changed back.'

'These include Marree, which was originally named after Hergott, a German botanist who was a prominent figure in early South Australia'.

'The Germans in South Australia's history have been forgotten and often deliberately buried because of two world wars'.

'It is time that the Germans in South Australian history became more than the mass of ill-formulated facts which are part of the tourist's junket'.

The above article is an extract from the *Sunday Mail*, 2 October 1977.

True Germans are Patriotic South Australians

South Australian Germans Before 1918

The conventional picture of the Germans in South Australia before the outbreak of World War I in 1914 is of a united, self-contained community, which was sober, hard working, devout and respected. Due to an unhappy twist of fate they found the homeland of their fathers and forefathers fighting against Britain in a war. As a result of this 'Germans' in South Australia suffered what may be seen in retrospect as unjust treatment.

There are three assumptions in the accepted view of South Australian Germans of this period which bear examination. The first is that from a position of universal respect and admiration the Germans were cast into the role of enemy through the fortunes of war.

The second is that South Australia's Germans were passive recipients of injustice, innocent victims caught in world upheaval over which they had no control.

The final assumption is that if the Germans had not been so apart, so separate, if they had assimilated more into the general community and spoken English, they would have avoided many of the unpleasant experiences they were forced to endure in 1914-1918.

Before any discussion of the Germans in South Australia can take place the term German must be examined. Examined rather than defined because the definition depends on the speaker. Cultural Germans arrived first in South Australia in large numbers in 1838, two years after the foundation of the colony as a white settlement, and initially were referred to as Lutherans. They were happy with this appellation for the very first Teutons had arrived in the colony because they were prohibited from using their preferred 'Old Lutheran' liturgy in Prussia. George Fife Angas, one of the founding fathers of South Australia and the man responsible for bringing the Lutherans to South Australia, spoke of them [correctly] as Prussians and [incorrectly] as Silesians for the majority had come from the provinces of Posen and Brandenburg, not Silesia.¹ The village of Klemzig, from which came their leader Pastor August Kavel, lay in the latter. The misunderstanding most likely arose because the centre of the 'Old Lutheran' movement lay in Breslau, the then capital of Silesia.²

The word German gradually replaced the word Prussian and after the unification of Germany in 1871 was the name normally used by British-Australians. However, it was used

as a political-cultural catchall. Anyone with German cultural affinities was loosely referred to as 'German' whether or not he/she was born in Germany. Australians of German descent, or naturalised Germans, were generally much more meticulous in continuing to call themselves Lutheran, if such was the case, and South Australians.

In this article the word German in reference to South Australia will be used to describe persons of German descent as well as those born in Germany.

The first major group of Germans in South Australia arrived in 1838 two years after the foundation of the province as a white settlement. Almost immediately they had declared their loyalty to the English throne³ and most British middle class observers reported favourably on the Germans.⁴ One suspects this favourable report was not only because of the German ability to work hard, but also because the Germans had no intention of altering the class structure of the new province.⁵

Yet there was some criticism levelled at the Germans during their first years in the province. Dutton praised their economic independence⁶ but saw that this independence was seen by some as negating the very reason for the Germans being in the colony, namely to supply labour for the British landowners.⁷ Others refuted this view, pointing out that the Germans contributed economically to the colony because they rented land and were prepared to work as farm hands on an hourly basis for the British.⁸

The Lutheran refusal to marry outside the faith was looked upon initially as more quaint than threatening.⁹ In the very early days of the colony there was the expectation that all nationalities would metamorphose into a new being known as a 'South Australian'.¹⁰ This idealised view of the new society was not of long duration particularly as Darwin's *On the Origin of the Species by Means of Natural Selection* was published in 1859. This encouraged in the nineteenth century mind the idea of a rank order of races. But the mood for the first half century was perhaps best summed up by J. B Neales in the Legislative Council when he said in 1855, 'I know of no difference between yourselves [German] and British subjects. We are mostly of Saxon origin and our meeting here is a re-union of our race'.¹¹

- 1 SAA Angas Letter Book. Angas to McLaren, 30 October 1839 p 240. Angas Letter Book, Angas to McArthur, 9 Feb. 1839, p 191, Angas's knowledge of the area appears to be so scant that in the letter to McArthur he wrote those emigrants are from Silesia in Posen'
- 2 H Lehmann Interview, Adelaide 1980.
- 3 *South Australian Gazette and Colonial Register*, 8 June 1839.
- 4 NRF The Germans at Hhansdorf (sic) in the *South Australian Magazine*, January-February 1842, No VII, pp 255,256.
- 5 *Southern Australian*, 1 May 1839.
- 6 F Dutton, *South Australia and its Mines*, London 1846, pp 133,136.
- 7 *Idem*, p 137
- 8 *Idem*
- 9 James Milne *The Romance of a Pro-Consul*, London 1899, pp 116,119.
- 10 *Adelaide Observer*, 15 September 1855, *Register* 10 November 1866, and a statement by Johann Menge, South Australian Archives 174/L/1224-1227.
- 11 *Adelaide Times* 10 September 1855

In the same year a German expressed the thought that 'There should be no Englishmen, Scotchmen, Irishmen, nor Germans, but all South Australians.'¹

These remarks would appear to have expressed an ideal rather than a reality for two years later in 1857 *The Adelaide Times* considered it necessary to voice the opinion: 'We have no fear that our nationality will depart from us or that John Bull will bid adieu to South Australia, because a few of his German cousins may arrive on a permanent visit...The colony is and ever will be essentially a British land.'²

This is the first intimation that the presence of the German culture in South Australia was looked upon as a danger to the 'Britishness' of the colony.

Four years later in 1861, the *Sued Australische Zeitung* felt it necessary to argue that the German settlers in the colony were not causing harm to the English settlers³ either in an economic⁴ or political-cultural sense.

But for some the fear lingered for many years that not only would the Germans detract from the Britishness of South Australia, but that they could set up at state within a state. Comparisons were made with North America. *The Register* reflected: 'Nor is there any real weight in the argument that the introduction of Mennonites would have led to the founding of an alien community—the building up of an imperium in imperio.'⁵

The 1863 Prussian-Dutch War saw middle class Germans—as reflected in the pages of the *Tanunda Deutsche Zeitung*—for the first time reflecting on their loyalties. Colonial South Australia during this period was viewed by both Briton and German as something that could not be loved. So although patriotism for the Germans lay with Germany,⁶ as patriotism for British-Australians lay with Britain, the Germans acknowledged with gratitude that they lived under the protection of British law and had freedom. This gratitude they tried to show with 'true German faithfulness'.⁷

In 1866, at the time of the Austro-Prussian War, the *Tanunda Deutsche Zeitung* berated its readers for not supplying enough funds to Europe for those adversely affected by the war. The article is stridently pro-German, talking of a new Germany, but clearly the readership is unmoved even by the threat of having the names published of those who did not make donations.⁸ South Australian Germans still saw themselves first as Lutherans and secondly as belonging to a local region of Germany. This was reinforced by the insistence of the Lutheran Church in calling its schools

Lutheran, not German.⁹ The lack of donations from the readers also illustrates the gap between the thinking of the middle class newspaper proprietors and the German farmers.

The middle class British-Australians of Adelaide, as reflected in the pages of *The Register*, also had begun to have some doubts as to the inevitable amalgam of races which would produce the new South Australian. Commenting on a picnic organised by the German Club in St Peters *The Register* wrote: 'If all national distinctions are to be banished here in presence of the pervading genius of fellow countryman-ship it is to be hoped that the event will not occur until we have learnt from the German element at present distinguishable in the population a little of their special talent in the matter of public amusements.'¹⁰

From the German viewpoint the hope that national distinctions would disappear had been dealt a blow in 1854 when the middle class Germans in Adelaide considered it necessary to start their own club for friendship and to uphold German 'high' culture. Conceived at the Maid and Magpie Hotel in Kent Town, the idea became bricks and mortar 21 years later in Pirie Street, Adelaide. The German Club was to survive until 1907 when the assimilation of its membership into the British-Australian society forced its closure through lack of members and funds.

By 1871 pride in Germany was not confined to the middle classes. All Germans felt proud of the new political entity called Germany. A working class German recalled that 'There is no doubt that the Germans here were treated with more respect after 1871 than before.'¹¹

For middle class Germans the unification of their old homeland seemed liked the fulfilment of history¹² and their pride in the achievements of the new Germany knew no bounds.

Although the Lutheran Church was seen by British-Australians and indeed by many Germans as all embracing and all embracing in country areas, this was not the case. The Lutheran Church was failing, in what at least the United Evangelical Lutheran Church of Australia (UELCA) considered fundamental to belief, to maintain the German tongue.¹³

Hebart, the historian for the UELCA, pointed out that when he arrived in South Australia in 1902, the youth had to be constantly reminded to speak German. He rightly claimed that the Church kept the first generation speaking German but that the next had little desire for either the

1 *Adelaide Observer*, 15 September 1855; *Register* 10 November 1866, and a statement by Johann Menge, South

2 *Adelaide Times*, 8 June 1857.

3 *Idem. Sued Australische Zeitung* 6 Feb 1861

4 *Sued Australische Zeitung* 9 February 1861

5 *Register*, 23 January 1878.

6 *Tanunda Deutsche Zeitung*, 24 December 1863.

7 *Idem*

8 *Idem*, 2 November 1866.

9 J Zweck, 'Church and State Relations as they Affected the Lutheran Church and its Schools in South Australia 1838-1900' Unpublished M.Ed thesis, University of Melbourne 1971, pp 221-222.

10 *Register*, 10 November 1866.

11 W Flaeming, *Der Heimat Bild Burg* (no date) p 21.

12 *Tanunda Deutsche Zeitung*, 4 March 1864

13 H Lehmann 'South Australian German Lutherans in the Second Half of the Nineteenth Century: A Case of Rejected Assimilation' in *Journal of Intercultural Studies* Vol 2 No 2 1981 p 33.

German language or German customs.¹ Less than half the expected number of children attended Lutheran schools² to gain even an elementary knowledge of the German language.

Richard Kiliani, the consul general for New South Wales, who visited South Australia in 1913 one year prior to the outbreak of the World War I and submitted detailed reports to Germany, also made the same observation. Kiliani lamented that the German working man was under great pressure from the Australian community. He maintained that middle class Germans by the second generation had usually lost most traces of their 'Germanness'.³ This suggests that the 'Germanness' of the German community and the desire to cling to their customs and language was far less in evidence than perceived by British-Australians.

However the Lutheran tendency to marry within the Church tended to disguise the fact that the German community as a whole was becoming anglicised. Inter-marriage within the German community was frequent. For example to 1914, 14.7% of Lutherans married outside the faith, compared with 20% in 1900 for the Germans in Wisconsin.⁴ But this does not indicate a 'deliberate policy of resistance' to enter the mainstream of South Australian life but rather cultural persistence. Many middle class Germans considered the German tongue undervalued and scorned by other Germans.⁵

Kiliani observed: 'Deutschtum (German language and customs) was slowly disappearing in the city faster than in the country where one found closed communities. but nevertheless it was happening continuously and everywhere'.⁶

The German Consul in Adelaide H C E Muecke came in for particular criticism from Kiliani. 'His house is run like that of an Englishman. A vice consul should be appointed to balance out the Englishness of Muecke'.⁷

Kiliani despaired of a German political movement in South Australia, complaining that the German migrants took part in politics for the 'joy and power seemingly offered to the new comer in this apparent democracy'.⁸

On the other hand he was amazed how the Germans in the country clung to their German customs. He considered this should be rewarded. Despite this praise his real opinion of those Germans who lived in the country is illustrated by

his suggestion that sympathy for Germany should be encouraged by the donation of old books and Bibles. Such small rewards were perhaps all that were called for, for even in the country Kiliani felt it reprehensible that the 'good German way of doing things is being swallowed in this case by the superficial Australian way'.⁹

Kiliani in summing up the Lutheran church in 1913 wrote, 'even when it spoke and felt German one could no longer speak of a German Church'.¹⁰

If British-Australians saw the possibility of the Lutheran Church being disloyal to Australia the official German viewpoint was that it was politically as well as culturally a lost cause.¹¹

The attitude towards the Germans by the British-Australian Adelaide middle and upper classes as reflected in their parliamentary comments and the newspapers, was generally favourable. Not only did the Germans work hard, as working men should, but they made no attempt to alter the status quo. The Lutheran Church proclaimed loudly from the pulpit and taught in their schools that 'The holy script shows in unmistakable terms the more a man searches for outward rewards, the further he is from eternal life'.¹²

with the ultimate result that 'What happened to the rich man in the Gospels? He went to hell and damnation'.¹³

With the Germans the colonial gentry were free of any fears of Jacobinism for Lutherans fervently believed that 'God made them high and lowly, And order'd their estate'.¹⁴

Lutherans were seen as contented¹⁵ and the British believed that 'Complacency is specifically praised. The best Christian is the best patriot, and patriotism appears to mean supporting and preserving the status quo'.¹⁶

The sentiment expressed by a leader of the Lutheran community, C Krichauff, therefore followed logically 'True Germans...are always highly patriotic South Australians'.¹⁷

However what was 'True German' was debatable. Kiliani found the class differences between the Germans in Adelaide extreme: 'Even on German national days the upper class still acted as if the lower classes were not there, completely ignoring their existence'¹⁸—a situation he deplored because he considered that such behaviour would not impress foreigners with the German way of life

1 T Hebart, *Vereinigte Evangelische Lutheranische Kirche in Australien*, Adelaide, 1938, p 469.

2 I Harmstorf *Guests or Fellow-countrymen* Unpublished D Phil thesis Flinders University 1987 pp 105,106,107

3 National Lib. German Ministry of Foreign Affairs. File Australia Material 1887-1944 in Australia, 1 February 1913, p 9.

4 Harmstorf *Guests or Fellow-countrymen* p 106

5 *Australische Zeitung*, 3 January 1900.

6 German Foreign Affairs, p 4.

7 *Idem* p 17

8 *Idem* p 12

9 *Idem* p 13

10 *Idem* pp 15,16

11 *Idem* pp 12-15

12 H Bezel *Die Zehn Gebote Neuendettelsau*, 1920, p 219.

13 L Harms, *Geistlicher Blumenstrauß: Predigten*, Herrmannsburg 1887, p 163.

14 'All Things Bright and Beautiful', Mrs Alexander, 1849, in *Hymns Ancient and Modern*, London, 1924, No 573 v.3.

15 NRF *The Germans in Hhansdorf(sic) in the South Australian Magazine*, January-February 1842, no V II pp 255,256

16 J Hart *Religion and Social Control in the Mid Nineteenth Century in A P Donajtgrodzki, Social Control in Nineteenth Britain*, London, 1977, p 125

17 *Australische Zeitung* 24 June 1896

18 German Foreign Affairs, p 5,



Street Scene, Nuriootpa

Kiliani found too that if the Germans in the country clung to their customs, the situation in the city was quite the reverse. He saw three distinct groups of Germans in Adelaide 'The top class of Germans...prefer the English language and English company' ...sold their birthright for a mess of pottage—their social standing within the British community.²

Although Kiliani criticised this situation' upper class Germans were able to justify their behaviour at least to themselves. 'Germans were often censured for their willingness to adopt English ways. This however was a strength rather than a weakness of the German character for there was in the German soul a basic yearning towards cosmopolitanism.'³

An Englishman was seen in the words of Daniel Defoe as 'A man akin to all the universe'.⁴

In these attitudes lay the seeds of an attitude that was to serve the Germans badly. The internationalist attitudes of the eighteenth century were outmoded in the new imperialistic era of nationalism, as was the belief of the German Lutherans that religion, not nationality, was the touchstone of an individual's identity.

The middle class Adelaide Germans Kiliani considered to be just as deficient in their support of Germany as the upper class. They had a love of the English democratic process and often married Englishwomen. They made little attempt to uphold the German language.⁵

The working class Germans in Adelaide, affronted by the attitudes of the Germans in the higher social orders, started their own club, the Deutsche Verein (German Association) in 1886. The new association was by the 1890s,

in association with the newly born Labor Party. The association was not concerned with high German culture but with folk songs and dancing. It had a social rather than literary orientation

The relationship between the two clubs was vitriolic until 1911 when after the closure of the German Club, the German Association, officially at least, took over the mantle of conservative respectability, having discarded the socialist image.

Kiliani praised the loyalty of German workingmen to the German way of life for he considered they at least made some attempt to resist British influences. 'The German labourer was more sensible, harder working and had a better attitude to his work than Englishmen, who because of their largely mind—deadening sports seemed to know ever less about politics.'⁶

Kiliani understood modern nationalism and attempted to kindle nationalistic desires in those of German heritage. However his encouragement fell on deaf ears and he reported to Germany that although he found some sympathy for the old homeland, the German element in South Australia would not make any form of sacrifice for Germany.⁷ This was a particularly ironic finding in view of the fact that within a year, South Australia's Germans were to be vilified as being pro-German.

At the beginning of the twentieth century the upper and middle class Germans who lived in Adelaide had integrated into the host society. Members of the German Club became members of the prestigious Adelaide Club⁸ and leading figures in the Masonic Lodge,⁹ a lodge considered by the Lutheran church to be antagonistic to the ideals of Christianity.¹⁰ At the laying of the foundation stone of the German Club in 1875, William Townsend M.P. had said that the Germans 'formed an integral part of the colony'.¹¹ By 1900 the Germans believed this themselves. Middle class Germans had striven to be useful in the colony¹² and were taking an active part in all aspects of colonial life, culturally, intellectually, economically and politically. The Germans in Adelaide in particular had striven to bring their cultural interests to the wider community,¹³ one result being that some middle class Germans lamented the fact that their countrymen gave up their 'Germanness' too quickly.¹⁴

Even in the Barossa Valley, centre of German culture, it is suggested that by the turn of the century few German newspapers were read. *The Australische Zeitung* and church papers had given way to English newspapers, primarily *The Chronicle*.¹⁵

1 Idem, pp 4,5.

2 Idem p 5

3 *Australische Zeitung*, 27 July 1904 p 4

4 Idem

5 Idem, pp 8,9

6 Idem, p 9

7 Idem, p 12,14

8 *Adelaide Club 1863-1963*

9 E. Mander Jones *A History of Craft Masonary in South Australia Adelaide 1976* pp 158, 159

10 W Riedel *Lodges Eudunda 1932*

11 *Observer*, 24 August 1878,

12 Idem

13 Harmstorf 'Guests or Fellow-countrymen' Chapter 7

14 *Australische Zeitung*, 16 August 1899

15 Interviews. A Kalleske, W. Rosenzweig, E. Menzel, Tanunda, 1985.

The decline of interest in things German is illustrated by the newly arrived German migrant who complained that in his country area Germans thought it beneath their dignity to send their children to a German school and he bitterly remarked that 'to slavishly follow every English custom is irresponsible to a fault'.¹

The German perception of the Germans in South Australia, therefore, was of a community that was fast losing its separate identity and rapidly becoming assimilated. That this view was not shared by British-Australians became apparent when war broke out in South Africa. The *Australische Zeitung* asked why it was that British-Australians were allowed to question the war but German-Australians were not. The paper then answered its own question. 'Because we, although citizens with equal rights are Germans...that means...keeping our mouths shut'.² The paper argued that to disagree with British government policy was not treasonable. The Germans were deeply angered by the fact that they were being treated as second class citizens and did not have the same rights as those South Australians who had descended from the British Isles.³

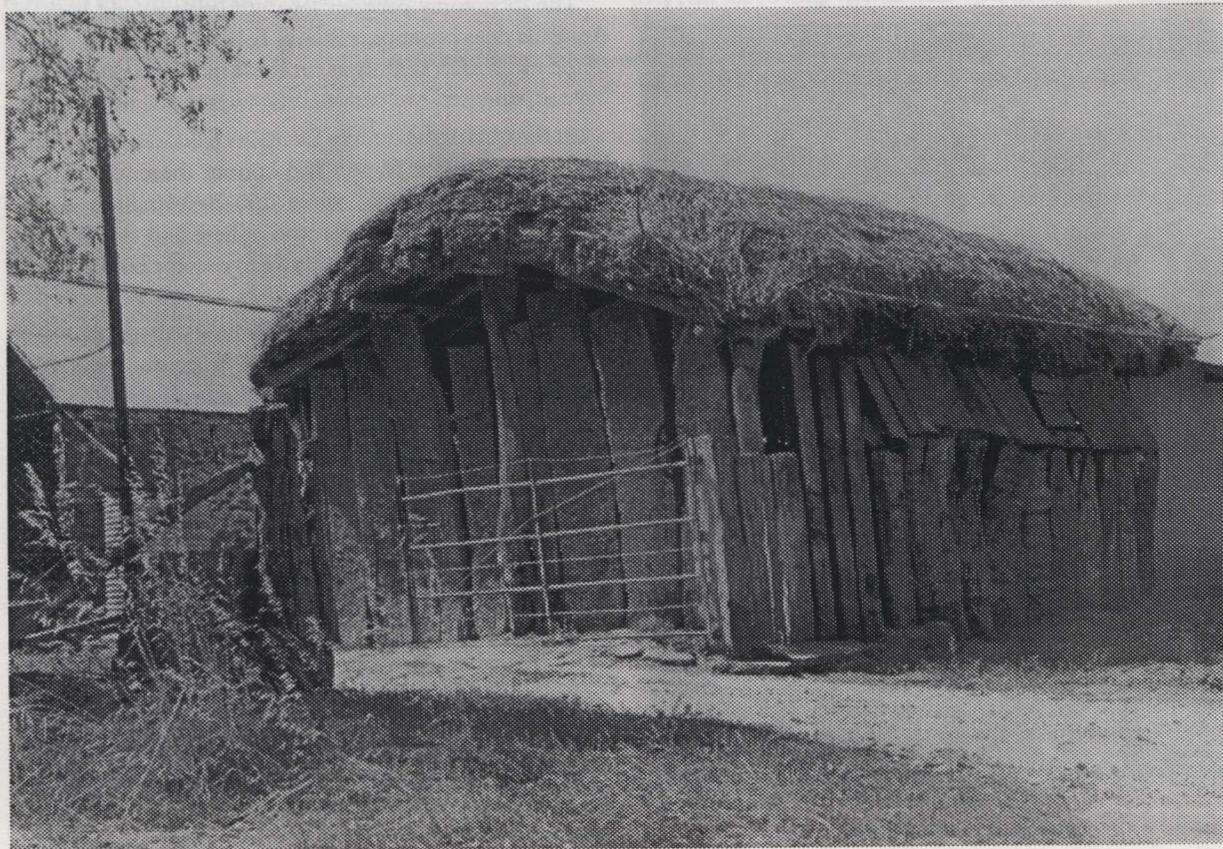
Germans agonised over what was necessary to be accepted as British-Australians. At the turn of the new century

the *Australische Zeitung* ran two soul-searching editorials on the theme of German-Australia. It was appalled by the loss of the German tongue among Germans and saw the knowledge of two languages to be indispensable for a well-educated person.⁴ The paper pointed out the contribution the Germans had made in agriculture and in the wine industry, and commented on the reputation of German craftsmen, labourers and house helps, and the complete identification of the German community with South Australia. However, in spite of this 'Germans were still looked upon as foreigners'.⁵

The editorial then took up a theme first mooted by von Bertouch almost 50 years previously. 'One gains strongly the impression that we are only tolerated here as long as we are humble, diffident and grateful, suppress our views and feelings, keep our place, and don't get ideas above our station in life'.⁶

This complements the views already expressed regarding the Lutheran Church which preached to its predominantly working class congregations that their place was to accept their lot in life.

The paper complained that the Germans were compelled to support everything the British did in South Africa



German slab barn, Bethany, Barossa Valley

1 *Australische Zeitung*, 9 August 1899.

2 *Idem*, 29 November 1899.

3 *Idem*

4 *Australische Zeitung*, 3 January 1900.

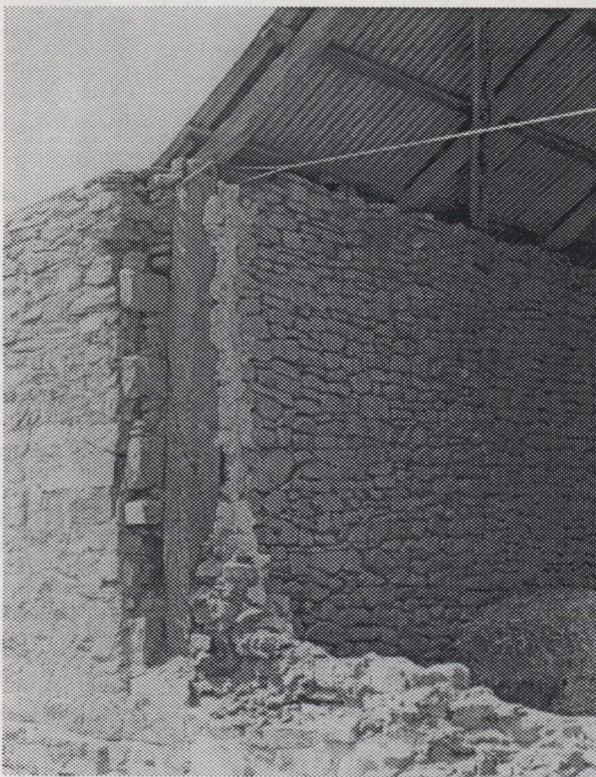
5 *Idem* 10 January, 1900.

6 *Idem*

otherwise they were accused of disloyalty and treason. This was not demanded of South Australians of British descent¹

The writer of the editorial was incensed that German-Australians were compared with the Boers. It was emphasised that Germans were not foreigners but South Australians and had every right to speak their mind. There then followed one of the great German illusions about British law and the British way of life which was to lead to total disillusionment during World War 1. 'The British treasured hardly any other privilege higher—and with justification—than freedom of speech and the press, and yet some small thinking fellow citizens of the greatest nation in the world withhold this equality from us'.²

The original German-Lutherans had come to South Australia for freedom of speech and expression and this belief in British freedom of thought permeated all sections of German society. What the Germans failed to realise and with an idealism born of faith refused to acknowledge, was that this freedom no more existed in the British world in times of perceived national danger than it did in their native Prussia. It existed even less in Australia, a new country, a threatened outpost of empire, which saw its national security directly linked with its loyalty to Britain.



Collapsed stone wall, Bethany, Barossa Valley

Educated Germans had a great fear of being hypocritical³ and held it their sacred duty to speak the truth as they saw it. This belief together with a total faith in British freedom of speech and the press were to be disastrous for the German community in 1914–18. Such was the faith of the Germans in what they believed to be British traditions that the warnings which should have been noticed during the Boer War were ignored. The *Australische Zeitung* wrote that those of German descent had to contend with 'abuse of the worst form, even threats, and we have patiently to accept them as citizens with full legal rights from a nation that rightfully enjoys the reputation of being the freest in the world and promises its members, and that includes us, unrestricted freedom of speech and the press'.⁴

Another issue raised at this time which surfaced again in 1914–1918, was that of unemployment. Unemployment loomed as a spectre for the working classes throughout this period. The *Australische Zeitung* quoted a British-Australian source which maintained that 'Too many Germans had good jobs that ought to have been given to British subjects'.⁵

But the problem of loyalty remained paramount if the logic behind the thinking is somewhat confusing to the modern reader

The dichotomy between love of Germany and love of Australia does not appear to have been as difficult for those in the nineteenth century as for those in the twentieth who have experienced two nationalistic wars in the recent past.

At the turn of the century Germans considered that 'our British countrymen respect and honour those with a true love for the Fatherland'⁶ while British-Australians maintained that 'those foreigners who adhere and cling to the land of their birth will finally prove to become our best and most reliable citizens'.⁷

It is clear from the public pronouncements that the leaders of the German community in South Australia considered that they could be political South Australians and cultural Germans. 'Being British subjects does not hinder us in any way to remain bound to our German fatherland in our hearts and feelings'.⁸

Secure in what they considered the safety of their loyalties the German-Australians regretted the tensions brought about by 'the unparalleled surge in German industry' but considered, despite the warnings of the Boer War, that 'It is certainly a proud feeling to be a German, also for us as good Australians'.⁹

And the illusions remained until the very eve of the outbreak of the war, in spite of the steadily deteriorating relationship between Britain and Germany in the seven years prior to the war. 'We have chosen this country to be our new homeland and we are delighted that here we enjoy

1 Idem

2 Idem

3 Idem. Harmstorf, 'Guests or Fellow-countrymen', p 257.

4 *Australische Zeitung*, 31 January, 1900.

5 Idem, 26 June 1901.

6 Idem, 1 February 1899.

7 Idem

8 Idem, 27 July 1904.

9 Idem, 1 December 1909.

the same rights and the same freedoms, the same privileges as our English fellow citizens'.¹

When war with Germany broke out there were few who expected it to be different from other wars² because the full impact of modern nationalism had not before been experienced. Both the Lutherans and the educated Germans of Adelaide felt secure in the political neutrality of the German culture. However the new nationalism encompassed culture, and the crimes and atrocities purported to have been committed by German soldiers were said to be a direct result of German culture, that same culture that was to have spread a cloak of security over South Australia's Germans. The last refuge had been removed.

The sweeping provisions of the 1914 War Precautions Act removed all the traditional checks and balances within the Australian legal system. Within the German community the Act was used to settle old scores³ between working and middle class Germans. The lack of a unified front by the Lutheran Church⁴ also did little to protect the South Australian German community from those who had for economic, political or cultural reasons always resented it, or who felt that its very existence constituted a possible *imperium in imperio* or should the community assimilate, a threat to the Britishness of South Australia.

There is little to suggest that the Germans in South Australia could have escaped the vilification that was heaped upon them in the period 1914-1918. Because of their inherited cultural interests they were perceived to be much more 'German' than they really were, and this militated against them. Having learnt nothing from the Boer War their continued perception of the British way of life and its reputed fairness, justice and consistency under all circumstances, brought the Germans into headlong confrontation with authority as they continued to act according to their perceptions rather than reality. The lack of unity among the Germans themselves, social, economic and religious, ensured that while they were seen by British-Australians as a monolithic group, they did not act as one. The internal tensions within the community meant that when placed under external pressure each group within the community tended to protect its immediate interests. In this fragmentation lay weakness, for each group was more vulnerable to outside attack.

The treatment of South Australia's Germans in World War I shows that in 1914 South Australia was still a parochial British outpost which had failed to come to terms with the significant non-British minority in its midst. For the Germans, the rose-coloured spectacles through which they had for so long viewed their new home were removed.

Reprinted from the *Journal of the Historical Society of South Australia*, No 17, 1989.

1 Idem, 18 June 1913.

2 V R Berghahn, *Modern Germany*, Cambridge 1982, pp 43,44.

3 Interview F Teusner, Adelaide, 1984 J Moss *The Sound of Trumpets* Adelaide 1985, p 241. Harmstorf 'Guests or Fellow-Countrymen', Note 170 p 360 T Schaefer 'The Treatment of Germans in South Australia 1914-1918' Unpublished B A hon's thesis Uni. of Adelaide 1982 p 43

4 'South Australian German Lutherans' p39

The Trouble With Patriotism

The Issue of Loyalty: South Australian Germans 1838-1990

'True Germans ... are always highly patriotic South Australians'¹ said C. Krichauff in the *Australische Zeitung* (Australian Newspaper) in 1896. Like most Germans—the term Germans is used in the most general sense to include all those of German birth or ethnic affiliation—he considered that a clear distinction could be made between a cultural German and a political South Australian. Three years later the Boer War suggested that this assumption was untrue. World War I confirmed it. This paper attempts to trace the history of the relationship in South Australia between German-Australians and British-Australians.

Under the leadership of Pastor August Kavel, German-Lutherans had initially settled near Adelaide at a place they named Klemzig (after a village situated in the then Prussian province of Brandenburg). A great deal is made of the fact that the German-Lutherans under Pastor Kavel were refugees from religious persecution. However, under a Prussian Cabinet Order of 1834, the possible gaoling and confiscation of the goods of dissident pastors who insisted on using the 'Old Liturgy' had ceased, after only four years in force.² Nonetheless, the ban on the use of the 'Old Liturgy' still existed and as such it could not be used in churches because Lutheranism was a state religion whose pastors were in effect civil servants. As a result, the 'Old Lutherans' who wanted to use the 'Old Liturgy' or 'Old Agenda' were forced to meet in private. A place to worship in peace was sought. Inquiries were made through Hamburg concerning the possibilities of emigration to Russia to join the Germans on the Volga, or the United States of America. Finally the choice fell on the new province of South Australia. The choice was no doubt expedited by the fact that a loan at an appropriate rate of interest was forthcoming for this purpose from the dissident English philanthropist George Fife Angas.

King Frederick William III of Prussia died in 1840 and an end came to the compulsory use of the new Agenda which he had insisted upon. But the migration of Germans to South Australia was not to stop even though at this stage only some 300 had made South Australia their home. For several years after the cessation of the ban on their chosen liturgy, 'Old Lutherans' continued to emigrate, fearing a return of the ban and possible persecution. This led to a subsequent blurring of the distinction between those who had migrated to South Australia because of the persecution and those emigrants who had [at some stage] been in Germany at the time of the persecution. However, after the initial religious migration, reasons other than the fear of religious persecution emerged to account for the continuing emigration to South Australia. The newly arrived migrants, like migrants anywhere, sent the 'letter home', in this case

telling of the good life in the new land. This was to produce a chain migration from the eastern provinces of Germany, that is Brandenburg, Mecklenburg and Silesia, to South Australia. This migration was to continue in fits and starts—primarily according to the economic conditions in both countries—until the outbreak of the First World War.

As a result, almost by accident—the right man being available with money at the right time, a substantial group of non-British people was introduced into a province which was planned as a replica of eighteenth century England. A place where the upper middle classes of the British Isles, unable to afford or socially aspire to the great estates and titles of England, could buy large tracts of land in a colony free from the taint of convicts. What better labourers could the new colonial gentry ask for than landless peasants imported from Germany who were grateful for the chance of work and, under the Wakefield Scheme of land settlement operating in South Australia at that time, be given the opportunity of eventually owning their own piece of land?

The worth of workers and their value to the colony in the nineteenth century was based not on the language spoken but on the fact that they worked hard and knew their place in society. Workers did not try and usurp their place in the God-given order of things by getting above their station in life and demanding better housing, wages or conditions. There was no universal franchise and the colonial gentry's upper middle class pseudo-aristocratic values had no more in common with a German peasant than they did with British working class values. The German peasants were commented favourably upon by their social superiors for they—that is, the social superiors—were recognised as such by the German peasant farmers. 'The male peasant raises his hat as he passes you ... our labouring fellow countrymen ... may well learn one or two valuable lessons',³ commented the *Southern Australian* newspaper when writing of Germans in 1839.

The available evidence suggests that the early German-Lutheran peasant farmers and artisans were not assailed by thoughts of nationality. Their sense of identity was related to their Lutheranism, and any other loyalties they might have had were of a parochial-geographical nature. Political loyalties were of no real interest to them. The peasant nature of the German community in South Australia continued until the late 1840s when, as a result of the revolutions and uncertain times in Germany, a very small group of middle class migrants left for Australia. While these 'forty-eighters' did not have the impact in Australia they had in the United States, there were enough of them in Adelaide to lament the lack of cultural life in the colonial society. They commented that 'while they rejoiced at living in a free country, it was

1 *Australische Zeitung*, 24 June, 1896.

2 Krummweide HW, Reihe: *Theologische Wissenschaft Geschichte des Christentums III. Neuzeit 17-20 Jahrhundert Union und Bekenntnis in Preussen* Stuttgart, Berlin, Köln, Mainz, 1977, p.122.

3 *Southern Australian*, 1 May, 1839.

devilishly boring. Theatre, plays, concerts and the like were of such a standard that one begrudged even the shilling that one had to pay'.¹ This perceived lack of culture was to result in the foundation of the *German Club* in 1854.

A further new dimension was brought by this influx of middle class migrants to the German presence in South Australia. These middle class emigrants with middle class values and aspirations who settled predominantly in Adelaide, had a higher profile in the community than the German peasant farmers which impacted directly on the British ruling class. The aspirations of middle class Germans caused some anxiety amongst the British which was reflected in the pages of the leading newspaper of the day, the *Register*. In reply to German demands that they be allowed to participate in the planned 1857 responsible government, Sexagenarian Briton wrote, 'Our German friends ... (ought) to be grateful and enjoy the liberty they possess quietly'.² To which C. von Bertouch replied that having left their homeland for political reasons, they could hardly be expected not to fight for their rights in their new

home.³ The *Register* wrote, 'We aspire to be a nation. But we cannot invite the world to join us and remain a nation of 'Britons' ... Let us make from the natives of all countries a new political confederation of South Australians. (There is) ... the necessity of abolishing in this colony all political distinctions resulting from class or race'.⁴

The German middle class echoed such sentiments. Again in the same year, 1855, at Lobethal, it was said, 'There should be no Englishmen, Irishmen, nor Germans, but all South Australians'.⁵ This in turn repeated a sentiment expressed as early as 1839 by Johannes Menge, the geologist of the South Australian Company, who had said, 'we shall all become Australians'.⁶

While the notion that all would become South Australians was especially appealing to the Germans, it was somewhat utopian as it flew in the face of the colonial gentry's concept of transplanted Englishmen living in a 'New Britannia'.

In the year responsible government was introduced into South Australia we find the first recorded evidence of a fear that was to plague middle class British-South Australians until the start of the First World War. In 1857 Rudolph Reimer, a German newspaper editor, wrote at length in the *Adelaide Observer* to convince the British readers of the paper that the Germans had no intention of setting up a state within a state, an '*imperium in imperio*', to use the parlance of the day. He said, 'and here I would forestall any possible imputation of seeking to foster a spirit of isolated nationality amongst my fellow countrymen'.⁷

A little later in the same year, the *Adelaide Times* considered it necessary to reassure its readers. 'We have no fear that our nationality will depart from us or that John Bull will bid adieu to South Australia because a few of his German cousins may have arrived on a permanent visit ... The colony is and ever will be essentially a British land'.⁸

At that time British-Australians saw the Germans as being absorbed into British-Australian life. There were no thoughts of cultural pluralism, let alone multi culturalism. In 1857, the *Adelaide Times* saw, 'the immutable laws of nature are working to achieve this amalgamation and time ... will see ... (two nations) blend as one people'.⁹

But however immutable the laws of nature might be, it was considered wise to remind the readers of the Adelaide English-language newspapers that the Germans were good settlers for reasons other than their obvious hard work and pious industry. In 1858, the *Adelaide Observer* wrote, 'the great argument used in favour of the Germans is that they are South Australians: they do not seek to establish an '*imperium in imperio*' but to conform to the institutions and usages of the colony in which they live'.¹⁰



War Memorial, Tanunda

- 1 *Australische Zeitung*, 27 July, 1904.
- 2 *Adelaide Observer*, 8 September, 1855.
- 3 *Adelaide Observer*, 8 September, 1855.
- 4 *Register*, 3 September, 1855.
- 5 *Adelaide Observer*, 15 September, 1855. Spoken by a Mr Kramer at a meeting in Lobethal.
- 6 South Australian Archives, PRG 174/1/1390-1393.
- 7 *Adelaide Observer*, 18 April, 1857.
- 8 *Adelaide Times*, 8 June, 1857.
- 9 *Adelaide Times*, 8 June, 1857.
- 10 *Adelaide Observer*, 15 August, 1857.

Three years later the Germans supported these arguments in their own newspaper. The *Süd Australische Zeitung* of 1861 wrote, 'There was absolutely no basis for the frequently voiced fear that the introduction ... of Germans ... could be damaging to English settlers or even introduce political changes which could be dangerous to the colony'.¹

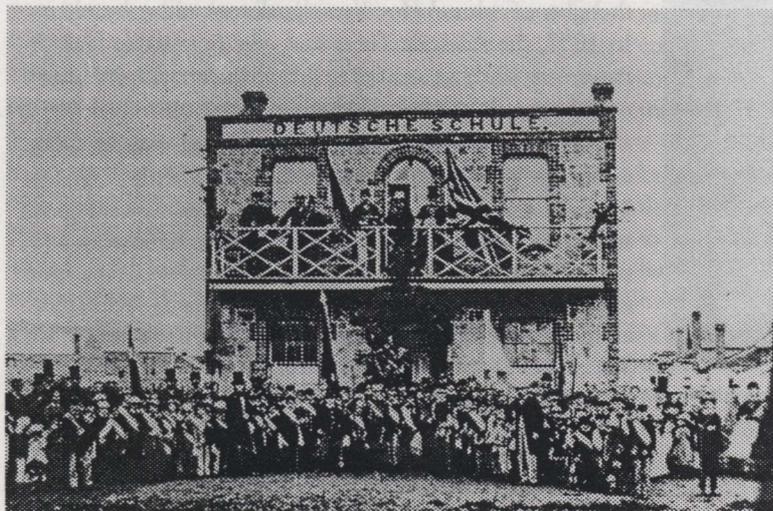
One assumes that 'damaging to the English settlers' meant to their economic or commercial success. From the very first days of the colony there had been criticism of the Germans because they had worked their own small plots of land and had not been content to be just day-labourers for the English landlords, the specific reason for which they had been invited to South Australia. Perhaps more importantly, the latter half of the statement suggesting the possibility of political changes points to the fear that the cultural impact of the middle class Germans could change the British way of life. We also see in the above statement the dilemma of the Germans. While not accused of setting up an '*imperium in imperio*' they were accused, by amalgamating with the British, of introducing changes to the British way of life, a serious charge in nineteenth century British eyes. The Germans were thus caught in an impossible dilemma; damned if they did, damned if they didn't.

The irony of this fear that the British way of life would be changed for the worse by the middle class Germans is that even while it was being expressed by some factions in society, other factions were positively embracing German ideas. In 1857 Ulrich Hübbe had been the motivating intellectual force behind the South Australian Torrens Title (Real Property) Act which was based on a similar system in force in the Hansa cities of Europe. It was later copied by the other Australian colonies. German input into the colony through parliament was to continue for the next 60 years. One has only to mention Friedrich Krichauff's first forestry department in the Australian colonies, Carl Linger's 'Song of Australia', Richard Schomburgk in the Ade-

laide Botanic Gardens, or Martin Basedow as the prime mover in the foundation of Roseworthy Agricultural College, as more obvious examples that the fears that society would be changed for the worse by non-British migrants were seriously misplaced.

It should be emphasised that the changes that were taking place in people's perceptions of the world for the most part did not impinge on the German-Lutherans in the country. Modern nationalism which started to develop in a recognisable form in the second half of the nineteenth century passed them by. They had no previous experience of it in their homeland and their isolation from the British community in South Australia (both intellectually and physically) ensured that they were untouched by the changing ideas in society. As an illustration of this, it is worth noting that prior to 1914, only 14.7% of Lutherans in South Australia married outside their faith.² In comparison, in 1900 some 20% of Lutherans in the very German state of Wisconsin in the United States had married outside their faith.³ In the eyes of middle class British-Australians in Adelaide, the virtue that the German-Lutherans in the country areas possessed was that of patriotism. Carl Krichauff said in the latter half of the nineteenth century, 'True Germans ... are always highly patriotic South Australians', a statement which would appear to be highly contradictory until it is realised that a part of the Christian doctrine taught to the working classes of the day stated that, 'complacency is specifically praised. The best Christian is the best patriot, and patriotism appears to mean supporting and preserving the status quo'.⁴

In this preservation of the status quo the German-Lutherans in the country areas had no difficulty. They were clearly and specifically taught by their pastors to accept their lot in life. They were grateful for their blessings and asked for nothing except God's grace.



The German School, Grenfell St 1880's. Since demolished. German and Lutheran schools were seen as a threat to the British way of life and as they kept alive the German language and culture. As a result they were closed in 1917 during the First World War

1 *Süd Australische Zeitung*, 6 February, 1861.

2 Harmstorf I, 'Guests or Fellow-countrymen'. Ph.D. thesis, (unpubl.) Flinders University of SA, 1987, p.106.

3 Nesbitt R, *The History of Wisconsin*, Vol 111, Wisconsin, 1985, p.264.

4 Hart J, Religion and Social Control in the Mid-nineteenth Century, in Donajtgrodzki AP, *Social Control in Nineteenth Century Britain*, London, 1977, p.125.

However, the Lutheran farmers and artisans in the country had little in common with the middle class Germans in Adelaide except for the language. This factionalism was to increase further in the 1880s with the arrival of working class urban Germans with ideas of socialism.

Relations between working and middle class Germans in Adelaide reached boiling point towards the end of the 1880s when a German Association was set up in 1886 in opposition to the long-standing middle class German Club. The German Association was formed by working men from the cities of Germany, many of whom had been forced to leave that country when trade unions were banned for several years during the eighties. The feeling between the two clubs was vitriolic. The older more-established members of the German Club saw the socialist leanings of the German Association destroying the good name of the Germans which they had built up in Adelaide. They considered the German Association as a den of communism.¹

In South Australia prior to the 1914-18 war social class was the ultimate determining factor for acceptability and respectability; whether one was of German or British extraction was for most South Australians of little or no consequence in such an assessment. Indeed, as Smolicz has pointed out, a tolerant open society leads to social and cultural monism; that is, to a conformity with the dominant group.² Smolicz considers that the effect of such tolerance 'would be to encourage the cultural engulfing of the members of the minority group'.³

This is certainly the case of the middle class Adelaide Germans whose ethnic identity and need for structural support was so diminished by 1907 that the German Club had ceased to exist. Many of its members had become so anglicised that they had joined the elitist Adelaide Club while others had disappeared into the general mainstream of British-Australian life. While some of the ex-German Club members may have possessed an 'internal cultural pluralism' for a time, this was certainly lost to their children who became Anglo-conformist without difficulty or guilt.

However, two groups in the German community clung as best they could to their German traditions and, as a result, were caught up in the events of 1900-1914. The first group consisted of the working class men of Adelaide belonging to the German Association. They tended to sing folk songs, dance and keep social traditions that were non-threatening to the British. The second and more significant group from the point of ethnic relations were those of the educated, articulate, middle class who, although having done well financially in the Anglo-Australian community, still tried to keep German language, literature and intellectual customs alive. It was these people who were the leaders of the German community and by whom German

attitudes were most often judged. M.P.F. Basedow, the proprietor of the *Australische Zeitung*, was the most important of this group. None were members of the working class German Association. All saw themselves as politically loyal South Australians.

The Boer War raised questions of citizenship that had previously lain dormant. The *Australische Zeitung* was particularly vehement that Australians of British descent could criticise the war with impunity while if German-born Australians did the same thing, they were accused of being traitors. Basedow lamented in the columns of his newspaper 'because we, although citizens, with equal rights, are Germans (helots)? and therefore must 'down boy' (as to a dog)'.⁴

The paper proclaimed that German-Australians were not foreigners but were born in South Australia or were naturalised and fully identified with their new home. The bitterness felt by the Germans at this time was to be a precursor of what was to happen in the First World War. For German-Australians had an unmatched and unparalleled faith in British justice and were sure that this would triumph.⁵ Their disillusionment was to be deep and lasting. However, the Boer War and the increasing antagonism between England and Germany did give rise to many articles in the *Australische Zeitung* with such titles as 'On Being a German-Australian'.⁶ The Germans complained that they were not accepted as equals by their British counterparts. Often, as in the United States, this feeling of rejection led to an intense feeling of identity with the old homeland, and in the case of the new, powerful and rich Germany, this identification gave a boost to the immigrants' self esteem. Added to that was the universal belief at the time, 'that being British subjects does not hinder us in anyway to remain bound to our German fatherland in our hearts and feelings'.⁷ Consul Mücke summarised this in 1909 when he said, 'To remain strong genuine Germans, that means to treasure the richness of the German language, the language of poets and thinkers, as well as German customs and good habits, but at the same time to remain faithful to the English king'.⁸ In other words, to be culturally German but politically British.

In the increasing antagonism between Germany and England, the articulate middle class Germans in South Australia tried desperately to sit on the fence. They were convinced that the personal relations between the two monarchs would save the day. As we all know, it did not, although the *Australische Zeitung* was perceptive enough in 1909 to point out that if there was a war, it would have nothing to do with the growing German fleet but with the growing German percentage of world trade.⁹

1 *Australische Zeitung*, 22 September, 1897.

2 Smolicz JJ, 'Meanings and Values in Cross Cultural Contacts', in *Ethnic and Racial Studies*, Vol 6, No 1, January, 1983, p.42.

3 Smolicz JJ, 'Meanings and Values in Cross Cultural Contacts', in *Ethnic and Racial Studies*, Vol 6, No 1, January, 1983, p.42.

4 *Australische Zeitung*, 29 November, 1899.

5 *Australische Zeitung*, 10 January, 1900.

6 *Australische Zeitung*, 29 November, 1899.

7 *Australische Zeitung*, 27 July, 1904.

8 *Australische Zeitung*, 1 September, 1909.

9 *Australische Zeitung*, 26 May, 1909.

It would take too long here to detail the injustices suffered by the German community during World War 1, but a comment by McKernan in his book *The Australian People in the Great War* is appropriate. 'The German-Australians became the scapegoats from Australia's fanatical, innocent embrace of the war'.¹

It would be tedious to talk about imprisonment without trial or the lack of the right of appeal, of arrest by unsubstantiated statement and loss of franchise, but a few observations are in order. The Germans added to their own troubles during the war in two ways. The first was their lack of unity. They were never able to present a united front. Both the German workers and the middle classes found the War Precautions Act a convenient means of settling old scores while a mere world war did nothing to convince the two Lutheran Churches to settle their doctrinal differences. More seriously, the city Germans in particular clung to their belief in English justice and fairplay in spite of their experiences during the Boer War. Just before 1914, Consul Mücke said 'Every German who comes to Australia enjoys the same freedom and rights as an English citizen'.²

Immediately after the outbreak of the First World War, the Chairman of the District Council of Tanunda, Adolph Schulz, proudly stated, 'Although England was at war with Germany, they still had a perfect right to speak the German language. Those were some of the freedoms granted to them under the great and glorious British flag which stood for freedom and liberty which all so highly appreciated'.³ In conclusion, he asked them all to remain calm as under the British flag they would be protected. To transpose the words of the well known American writer, Kathleen Conzen, about the Germans in the United States to South Australia, 'The Germans were an essential part of South Australia and

they knew it'.⁴ They knew how much they had contributed both economically and socially to the colony and state since their arrival. The Lutheran Church expressed the view of most Germans in stating that 'above all, the maintenance of the German language and culture ... had nothing to do with the political goals of Imperial Germany'.⁵

This calculation, the separation of culture and politics, was to prove the German Achilles heel because it was exactly this cultural inheritance of which the Germans were so proud, that was said to be the cause of the so-called German atrocities which were so carefully manufactured and marketed by the British Ministry of War. The very thing that was supposed to protect the Germans, namely their emphasis on German culture rather than politics, proved to be their worst enemy. Protest was useless. The British world was convinced the only good German was a dead German.

In the interim, a determined effort was made to remove German culture from South Australia. Sixty-nine German place names were changed and hundreds of people, some voluntarily, some involuntarily if they were in the public service, changed their names to one sounding more British. In some cases the German side of the family was never spoken of again, which has caused some difficulties for genealogists trying to trace family trees.

The fear of the Germans in South Australia was probably as great as anywhere in the Commonwealth owing to the large percentage of Germans in the state, some 10% as opposed to 3-4% in other states. This fear, that German-Australians might prove loyal to Germany, is ironic in the face of two reports sent to Germany from South Australia by the consul general in Sydney, Richard Kiliani, in 1913, the year before the outbreak of the war. After his fact-finding tour of South Australia he wrote that the German working



German and Lutheran schools imported many of their books from the USA. Here a 'copy book' to develop perfect handwriting in the difficult German script writing has been imported from Missouri. This book was in use in 1915 before the closure of German-Lutheran schools in 1917

1 McKernan M, *The Australian People in the Great War*, Melbourne, 1980.

2 *Australische Zeitung*, 8 March, 1911.

3 *Chronicle*, 22 August, 1914.

4 Conzen K, *Immigrant Milwaukee 1836-1880, 'Accommodation and Community in a Frontier City*, Harvard', 1976, p.225.

5 Luebke F, *Bonds of Loyalty*, Dekalb Illinois, 1974, p.41.

man was under great pressure from the Australian community to drop his German customs and language.¹ However, the amount of pressure necessary for the German language and customs to be dropped is arguable. Prior to the outbreak of the Boer War in 1899, the *Australische Zeitung* had lamented the fact that Germans felt, 'that it was their mission in life to get rid of everything German'² an accusation that had been raised as early as 1854. A similar attitude was to be found in the United States.³ The newspaper lamented the fact that Germans felt it necessary to forget their German in order to learn English. It was even said that the German consul in South Australia, H.C.E. Mücke, only spoke English at home.⁴

Kiliani also maintained that middle class Germans had usually lost most traces of their Germanness by the second generation, a situation again mirrored in the United States,⁵ and that in the country areas the Lutheran Church was practically in a state of collapse as there were strong pressures everywhere to use the English language. These statements suggest that the British perception of German-Australians clinging strongly to everything German was quite different from how the Germans perceived the situation.

The rise of Hitler in Germany did not alienate those of British descent in the South Australian community from those of German descent: just the opposite. Even a cursory examination of the *Adelaide Advertiser* prior to World War II leaves no doubt as to the newspaper's strong sympathy for the regime in Germany. For example, in 1933 just after Hitler had come to power, the *Advertiser* considered Hitler good for law and order and the violence just part of a revolutionary fervour rather than an instrument of government.⁶ Two years later, the paper saw Hitler as democratic and the violence due to inexperience.⁷ In 1938, the *Advertiser* still saw the Hitler regime's treatment of the Jews as an 'administrative oversight'.⁸ Less we be too hard on the *Advertiser*, let us not forget that in 1938, Robert Gordon Menzies praised young Germans for their unselfish service to their state.⁹

The outbreak of World War II did not produce the same hatred as World War I. Those of German descent were

another generation removed from the land of their forefathers and there had been practically no new German blood introduced to Australia between the wars. Equally important, there was a definite distinction made between Germans and Nazis. Injustices were again perpetrated by a paranoid bureaucracy but not on the same scale as during the previous war. Australian-Germans were patently not interested in Hitler. German records indicate that in 1935 there were only 77 members of the Nazi Party in Australia and only 24 of those were from South Australia.¹⁰

The period after World War II produced another great influx of Germans and it cannot be said that they had an easy time of it, particularly their children in the schools. No sooner had these new immigrants become established than the various television series about the war began with their interminable re-runs, Germans always appeared as idiots or barbarians.

A different attitude began to appear with the publication of the Galbally Report in 1978, although it would be wrong to think that there had been no acceptance of German-Australians prior to this. The SchHztenfest for example, which had enjoyed a great popularity in many South Australian towns prior to 1914, had been re-established in Hahndorf in 1963. But Galbally did give an intellectual, social and moral justification to the possibility, indeed advisability, of having an admixture of cultures in our society. In this, the Germans were able to play a leading part. As an ethnic group, they had been here the longest, their clubs and ethnic schools were the oldest in the state, and in terms of descendants they were the most numerous. One could also add they had suffered the most and survived as loyal, if somewhat disillusioned, Australians. From the German perspective, the road to acceptance has not always been easy, but with German the most popular foreign language in South Australian schools, the German areas of the state being prime tourist attractions and the restoration of many German place names which had been altered in 1918, it can perhaps be said that Germans and their descendants have finally regained the respectability and place they once had in the wider South Australian community.

Reprinted from the *Proceedings of the Third Biennial Conference of the Australian Association of Von Humboldt Fellows*, Flinders University, 1989.

1 German Foreign Affairs, 9 April, 1913, pp.17-18.

2 *Australische Zeitung*, 9 January, 1895.

3 Conzen K, *Amerika und die Deutschen*, Bestandsaufnahme einer 300-j hrigen Geschichte Sonderdruck, Westdeutscher Verlag, Opladen, 1986.

4 German Ministry of Foreign Affairs, file material 1887-1944 in Australia, 1 February, 1913, p.177.

5 Conzen K, *Amerika und die Deutschen*, Bestandsaufnahme einer 300-j hrigen Geschichte Sonderdruck, Westdeutscher Verlag, Opladen, 1986.

6 *Advertiser*, 19 July, 1933, in Ms Regan 'Australian Perceptions of Nazism. A study of some press and parliamentary reactions to Hitler 1933-1938'. BA thesis (unpubl.), Flinders University of SA, 1971.

7 *Advertiser*, 27 February, 1935.

8 *Advertiser*, 21 June, 1938.

9 Com. Parl. Deb., 1 September, 1938 (156/120).

10 German Foreign Office Files, Micro Film Tin 391.

Australians or Aliens

How Safe are the Democratic Rights of Australians of Non-British Descent?

Prelude To Persecution

The first large group of Germans arrived in South Australia as religious refugees in 1838, only two years after the proclamation of the colony. Their homeland had been in the eastern part of Germany (this area is now part of Poland) and they had suffered persecution because of their refusal to use a new prayer book. Although the persecutions were soon to stop, letters written back to Germany told of the economic, religious and political freedom to be found in South Australia and a 'chain migration' was soon in motion. Soon, not only Lutheran congregations were emigrating to the new colony but all types of people from towns and cities as well as villages. By 1900 over 18,000 Germans had come to South Australia.

When war on Germany was declared on 4 August, 1914 there was a general feeling in the more educated sections of the community that the loyalty of German settlers should not be discussed or questioned. It was considered that it should be taken for granted. Premier Peake said shortly after

the outbreak of hostilities 'There would be nothing of racial animosity in this State.'

The German settlers in South Australia had built up a vast store of goodwill. Queen Victoria had been married to a German, and Germans were looked upon as thrifty, practical and hard-working—a people noted for their morality and law-abiding nature. George Fife Angas, one of the State's founding fathers, had praised the Germans during the Victorian gold rushes of the 1850s, pointing out that of all his farmers, the Germans alone had stuck to the soil. In the soil lay the wealth of South Australia. Prosperous and industrious, getting ahead by their own efforts, the Germans were seen as excellent examples of one of the principal foundation stones on which the colony was built—self help. Even Germany's support for the Boers during the South African war had not changed this view. 'A strong fusion of the Teutonic element has invaded every department of public life. Germans have taken up high positions in the learned professions, industrial and commercial enterprises, and also in the political world.' So wrote H.T. Burgess in the 'Cyclopaedia of South Australia' in 1907. Not only was the German influence visible in Adelaide with German music shops, tobacconists, bakeries, concerts, plays and even street bands, but also in Parliament where German concepts of education and worker protection found ready acceptance among the more liberal minded. In many parts of rural South Australia the German influence was even more noticeable, with areas being like small replicas of Germany. Brought about by the accident of geographical isolation, it was to lead to distrust during the First World War.



Lutheran Tombstone, Barossa Valley

World War One

There had always been a close relationship between the Liberal Union and the German community. Many people of German descent had held important positions in Government when the Liberal Union was in power. The Labor Party, initially against the war, no doubt felt after war was declared, that they had to redeem themselves. Two members of the party in particular, Verran, who was Premier from 1910 to 1913, and Ponder, made a great deal of political capital out of the anti-German feeling created by the outbreak of war. Two attempts were made to disenfranchise naturalised persons in South Australia but these were unsuccessful. Labor had also sound political reasons for supporting the anti-German bandwagon. If Germans, as was often suggested, were thrown out of all government jobs, many positions would become vacant—always a vote catcher in times of high unemployment. German financial success was also envied and as a person with a German name could be arrested on the accusation of an English-Australian, it was a fine time to settle old scores. Australian-born citizens of German descent were arbitrarily denied

their democratic rights as the rule of law became inapplicable to 10% of the State's population.

The Attorney General: A German Spy?

In 1914 Mr Hermann Homburg was Attorney General for the State of South Australia. Shortly after the declaration of war two military officers entered his office with fixed bayonets. Their commanding officer demanded the right to search. They were told they could take only those things to which they were legally entitled. Representations were made to the Minister of Defence but no assurances were obtained that the incident would not be repeated. The Premier alone made an apology. Mr Homburg was born in South Australia and had never set foot outside the State. He was the king's legal adviser in the State of South Australia. This incident suggests that in times of war, Australia has the potential to become a military dictatorship where the rule of law ceases to exist.

The Lutheran Church: A Subversive Organisation?

The following extract is from a letter written to the Prime Minister, Andrew Fisher, by the president of the Evangelical Synod in Australia, Pastor T. Nickel, and published in the 'Register' on 24 December 1914, a few months after the commencement of World War I. 'Sir, We are well aware, as Lutherans and Australians, of our duty towards our beloved King and our Government. The Synod in Australia stands in no connection, whatsoever, with any of the State

church in Germany. In no congregation the name of a German prince has ever been mentioned. Although the German language is still used in the service of our congregations, we do not want to be regarded as a German church. Our private schools are not German but parochial (parish) schools, the main objective of which is not to teach German but to give religious instruction. Religion and German excepted, the whole curriculum is in the English language...'

In January 1915 Pastor Nickel was interned on Torrens Island. On 30 June 1917 all schools run by the Lutheran Church and German communities in South Australia were shut. The Church had always considered that to keep the Lutheran faith pure, it was necessary to keep the German language. As a result the Church came under suspicion from people who would not or could not understand the difference between religious and political loyalties.

Torrens Island: Concentration Camp

The site of the present Torrens Island power station was once a concentration camp. Between October 1914 and August 1915 some 300 Germans were interned behind barbed wire on this island in the Port River. They were later transferred to N.S.W. because according to the newspapers of the time, 'the camp has the worst reputation in this country among those who are qualified to know'. Although systematic torture did not take place on Torrens Island there are well documented cases of shooting, flogging naked bodies, being made to run over barbed wire and being pricked with bayonets until blood flowed.

Under the infamous War Precautions Act anyone could be arrested at any time and kept in gaol indefinitely without trial, not even knowing what they were accused of. Many of the internees had been born in Australia. The War Precautions Act turned Australia into a nation of informers, into a nation spying on itself, into a police state. Could this happen again?

Changing The Map

As the war continued and the casualty lists of Australians who had died in battles like the Somme and Ypres grew longer, anti-German hysteria grew. It was decided to eradicate every German name from the map of South Australia. Originally it was hoped to change most of the German names to Aboriginal names, but it was thought these would be too hard to spell. On 10 January 1918, after 18 months of discussion, 69 German place names in South Australia were changed. Interestingly, Adelaide—named after Queen Adelaide, the German wife of William IV, was not changed.

In 1935 the names of Lobethal, Hahndorf and Klemzig were restored to mark the pioneer work of the German settlers in the State's centenary year of 1936. Forty years later Siegersdorf, Kaiserstuhl, Krondorf, Neukirch, Scjhrieberau, Langmeil, Grunsberg and Hoffnungsthal were also restored. As Australia has now recognised itself as a multi-cultural society, should the remaining names, or at least most of them, be changed back to their original German on the occasion of the State's 150th birthday in 1986?



Pastor Kavel Memorial Langmeil cemetery Tanunda



German Orchestra of Carl Engel, Adelaide 1906

World War Two

In 1939 with the outbreak of the Second World War, South Australia initially saw a repeat of what had happened in 1914. Civil liberties were again suspended and Australian-born citizens of German descent were again arrested on the say so of an informer—who was sometimes a business competitor—and taken off to some form of internment without trial. Soldiers were sent to 'foreign' places like Hahndorf and the Barossa Valley to search for Nazis. Because one man, Johannes Becker, had proclaimed himself a Nazi in South Australia all Germans and people of German descent came under suspicion. The paranoia that had gripped the country some 25 years before was again evident. Although the extreme excuses of the early days of the war moderated to some degree, house arrest of Australian-born citizens was commonplace. For the second time in our short history many Australians had shown that in time of crisis, they react with a lack of compassion and a complete disdain for the rule of law and order which is supposedly so much a part of British heritage.

The Aftermath

The bitterness caused by the First World War has still not been eradicated. German immigrants had worked hard to find a place in the Australian sun. A sizeable number had migrated to avoid Prussian militarism. All appreciated the social, political and economic freedom of Australia, yet between 1914 and 1918 all these good works were to be forgotten and they found themselves back in a police state, hounded for their religion and persecution for not being militaristic enough. As a final insult Australia—which in many cases was the land of their birth—turned against them, rejected them without legal or moral reason to the point of internment, merely because of their German heritage.

Today, German towns and festivals are one of our main tourist attractions, but one might ask how deep is this acceptance after the experience of the two world wars? How accepting of other attitudes and ideas are Australians really? Are we really a multi-cultural society?

Exhibition: Speakers Corner, Constitutional Museum, Adelaide 1984.

A Trust Betrayed

South Australia's Germans in World War I

The census of 1911 showed that 6.8% of the population of South Australia were Lutherans—26,281 people.¹ The State with the next highest number of Lutherans was Queensland with 24,235, 4.1% of the population.² The greater absolute and relative numbers in South Australia, together with the concentration of Germans into specific country areas³, made South Australians of British descent keenly aware of the Germans in their midst. In Queensland the Germans were spread more widely throughout the countryside⁴ and in Victoria were more assimilated.⁵

Historians generally agree that the lot of Germans and their descendants in Australia during the First World War was not a happy one. In South Australia the high public profile of the Germans rendered the situation especially delicate. McKernan in his *The Australian People and the Great War* says of the Germans:

In South Australia in particular they [the Germans] had won a leading position in the political, commercial and cultural life of the community. They had been admired and respected. But the Australians, so heavily committed to the war emotionally, needed to manufacture a war dose at hand lest their knitting and their fund-raising be their only war experience. The German-Australians became the scapegoats for Australia's fanatical, innocent embrace of the war.⁶

The Germans were caught in a situation where because of the prevailing ideas of Empire, protestations of loyalty meant little. Jenny Tilby Stock writes:

The concept of a distinctive Australian nationalism was yet to develop: to be an Australian was to be British and from this category citizens of German descent were excluded.⁷

She continues:

Germans felt rebuffed and under hostile scrutiny. As attacks of their language, schools, public men and culture (though not religion) increased, and denied a legitimate role in a land at war with their 'homeland' most turned inward to find what comfort they could within their own communities.⁸

For the Germans the change of status must have been frightening: 'Prior to World War 1, South Australia's Germans enjoyed a high degree of social esteem,⁹ a theme echoed by Brian Lewis in *Our War*.

At the beginning of August 1914 the Germans were the most respected group in the community, even more respected than the Scots. By the end of August they were the most despised and hated,¹⁰

And Bill Gammage in *The Broken Years* maintains: 'Germans and aliens in Australia did not escape the malice and misanthropy hurled against the foes of democracy'.¹¹

Robson in *The First A.I.F.* writes that the Germans in Australia were the subject of violent attacks throughout the European conflict.¹² Both Patsy Adam-Smith in *The Anzacs*¹³ and Tilby Stock¹⁴ write of the harassment of the Germans during the war. Tilby Stock speaks of the 'petty and serious harassment by their [the Germans] patriotic neighbours',¹⁵ but this could never have taken place without official encouragement and support and this was not found wanting at either the state or federal level. It was considered that 'the foreigners posed a potential threat to national security'¹⁶ even though as McKernan points out in retrospect 'in no real sense could the German-Australians be seen as a threat to Australia's security'.¹⁷

Again 'no evidence of German disloyalty or treachery emerged during the war years'.¹⁸

Moreover 'all the evidence suggests [the German ethnic group] was 'loyal' even in the sternest sense of that word'.¹⁹

Despite this many saw German spy networks everywhere²⁰ and as the Federal Government sought to remove any danger of German subversive activities many members of the South Australian Parliament were determined to remove all traces of German culture in their state.

The first move against the Germans in South Australia was when House of Assembly member Ponder moved that the German names of towns, counties and hundreds be

1 J. Tilby Stock 'South Australia's German Vote' in *Journal of History and Politics*, Vol. 28, No. 2 1982, p. 250.

2 Idem. State census returns. For the census year 1911 Lutherans formed 6.9% of the population of South Australia. In Queensland the proportion was 4.1%, in Victoria, 0.9%, and in New South Wales 1.4%.

3 Idem. Harmstorf, *Germans in the South Australian Parliament*, p. 118 Appendix K.

4 Tilby Stock, 'South Australia's German Vote' p. 250.

5 Idem

6 M. McKernan, *The Australian People in the Great War*, Melbourne, 1980, p. 263.

7 Tilby Stock, 'South Australia's German Vote', p. 263.

8 Idem

9 Idem

10 Brian Lewis, *Our War*, Melbourne, 1980 p. 58.

11 Bill Gammage, *The Broken Years*, Canberra, 1974 p. 18.

12 L.L. Robson *The First AIF*, Melbourne, 1970 p. 156

13 P. Adam-Smith *The Anzacs* Melbourne, 1978, p. 303

14 Tilby Stock *South Australia's German Vote* p. 251.

15 Idem

16 B. Hodge, *The Last Shilling*, Sydney, 1974, p. 25.

17 McKernan, *Australia in the Great War*, p. 151.

18 Idem, p. 174

19 J.W. Selleck, 'The Trouble With My Looking Glass; A study of the attitudes to Germans during the Great War' in *Journal of Australian Studies*, No. 6, June 1980, p. 13.

20 Robson, *The Last Shilling*, pp. 152-155. McKernan, *Australia in the Great War*, pp. 158-161, Lewis, *Our War*, pp. 77-81.

changed throughout the state.¹ The matter was dropped for two reasons. The members thought it would be an insult to pioneer German settlers who had contributed so much to the early days of the colony, but perhaps more importantly because the elected members of the House admitted to an utter confusion as to what was an Aboriginal and what was a German name.²

The first official Act by the State Parliament against Germans was assented to in October 1915 which thereby rendered all contracts with Germany null and void.³ This was followed in December of the same year by an Act which forbade all trading with enemy aliens and the payment of money to any such persons, no matter in which country they lived.⁴ This effectively stopped any trading by non-naturalised Germans in South Australia.

In November of 1915, Verran a Labor member, made his first attempt to disenfranchise naturalised Germans in state elections.⁵ At this stage of the war the motion was defeated 20 to 5.⁶ In 1916 Ponder reintroduced his Bill to change place names of enemy origin in South Australia. The Bill was carried but the report was only tabled as the Bill was not ready.⁷ In November of 1916 an Act was passed

which started as a motion to limit the teaching of German in schools but in its final form closed Lutheran schools throughout the state.⁸

In the same year Verran again tried to disenfranchise naturalised Germans. The Bill was defeated eleven to 20.⁹ A Bill was introduced to disqualify any person of enemy origin from being a Justice of the Peace.¹⁰ In 1917 Verran again moved for the disenfranchisement of 'all persons of German origin or birth excepting those who or whose sons have offered their services and been accepted for military service abroad'. The Bill was passed 19 to 13 in the lower house and was thought likely to affect 4,000 people in South Australia,¹¹ but it was defeated in the upper house. In 1917 the Nomenclature Bill again was introduced to change German place names in the state. It was passed without any real opposition and was gazetted on 10 January 1918 changing 69 place names in South Australia.¹² This was 76% of such name changes made in Australia during the war.¹³

With the passing of the bill to change the place names the attack on the German culture in South Australia seemed to have run its course. There was little left to attack. Verran still feared German was being taught at Saturday schools¹⁴



German drystone wall on the Kaiserstuhl overlooking the Barossa Valley

- 1 SAPD 1914, p. 533.
- 2 Idem, pp 536-537.
- 3 Georg IIV Regis, No. 1193.
- 4 Georg IIV Regis, No. 1211.
- 5 SAPD 1915, p. 2143.
- 6 Idem, p. 2645.
- 7 Idem, 1916, p. 532.
- 8 Idem, Education Act Amendment. Assented to 16 November 1916 p. XXXII
- 9 Idem, 1916, p. 1532. Assent 27 September 1916.
- 10 Idem, 1916, p. 1143.
- 11 Idem, p 970.
- 12 Idem 1917 Introduced p. 248 Passed p. 633, *South Australian Government Gazette*, 1918, p. 37. For a list of the recommended as opposed to the final names see SAPP, 1916, No. 166.
- 13 Gammage, *The Broken Years*. Gammage writes: 'by 1918 91 Australian towns had been altered to remove the Teutonic stain' p. 18.
- 14 SAPD 1917, p. 245.

and Ponder asked why the *Petersburg Times* was still called just that and not the Peterborough Times.¹ But the mood of Parliament seems better summed up by Butler who, reflecting on the moves against the Germans in South Australia and the possible injustices caused, asked in his Address in Reply speech 'I would like to know what is the definition of a German?'² but the main interest of the elected members seemed to be in whether the 'German' vote was Labor or Liberal and hence their chance of future election.

If the State Government's attack was concerned primarily with German culture, that of the Commonwealth was against civil liberties. The main instrument used against the Germans was the War Precautions Act.³ This was 'An Act to enable the Governor General to make regulations and orders for the safety of the Commonwealth during the present state of war'.⁴ The Act resulted in a series of regulations published in the Commonwealth Gazette which covered a vast range of subjects, but among others gave the military or their agents under the concept of 'public safety' the power to arrest, search or detain any suspected person, that is any person who was disaffected or disloyal.⁵ This virtually gave the military unlimited powers. Internment was without trial and suspects often were not given any reason for their internment.⁶ In some cases the apparent knowledge about why they had been interned and the inability to gain a satisfactory answer from government officials caused severe personal suffering.⁷ Naturalised Germans were denied even a say in their own future for in the conscription of 1917 they were denied the vote. McKernan writes,

The restriction on the franchise denied the German-Australians one of the fundamental rights of citizenship and indicated to them that they had been effectively banished from membership of the Australian community.⁸

while the all-encompassing powers of the War Precautions Act ensured that naturalised Germans realised that the law gave them very little protection.⁹ In 1911 there were 74,508 in Australia.¹⁰ By the end of the war there were just over 3,000 people in the internment camps,¹¹ although some Irish must be included among this number. It does not represent the total number that passed through the camps which Hodge in *The Last Shilling* states was 6,890.¹² McKernan is of the opinion that German-Australians were the first Australian victims of the war.¹³

Regulations gazetted under the War Precautions Act gave employers the right to dismiss any person with enemy origin, or allowed fellow workers the right to refuse to work with such people.¹⁴ As a result, by 1916 the problem of unemployed Germans had become so significant that it was raised at the state premiers' conference.¹⁵ If the Germans were denied their legal rights the cultural attack was equally significant for under the Act all German publications were forbidden. Speaking of the Victorian Lutheran school situation and the wish of the Lutheran pastors to give instruction in German, Selleck writes:

That language held the key to the culture through which they [the Germans who considered German essential to their religion] had first interpreted the world...the permanent denial of the opportunity to use German was a threat to their personal identity.¹⁶

However the advent of the 'New Imperialism' in the 1870s and the unification of Germany following close on the writings of Gobineau and Darwin, created not only a new political situation but a new philosophical attitude towards nationalism and race.

The Lutheran Church was vaguely aware of changed circumstances but was firmly entrenched in attitudes stemming from its forced migration. It still adhered to a doctrine of the strict separation of church and state—render unto Caesar the things that are Caesar's, render unto God the things that are God's—and this, combined with the unworldly pietism of many in the Lutheran Church, led to a general lack of understanding of how the world had changed. The Lutheran Church had arrived in South Australia well before modern nationalism was evident in Germany and its traditions did not prepare it for anything beyond a love of country: simple patriotism. The members of the Church were loyal South Australians, but cultural German-Lutherans. As in the united States of America, Australian-Lutherans thought

above all, the maintenance of German language and culture among the church people had nothing whatever to do with the political goals of Imperial Germany.¹⁷

The system of modern nationalism which did not recognise a difference between the cultural and political was totally foreign to the experience of the Church. The Church clung to the belief that if it taught its congregations to obey those placed in authority over them in a secular sense, then it would be left to worship God in its own way. This search for religious liberty had brought them under the protection

1 SAPD, 1918, p. 11.

2 Idem, 1917, p. 116.

3 *Commonwealth of Australia Senate Journals*, No. 10, 1914. Assented to 29 October 1914.

4 Idem, p. 43.

5 *Commonwealth of Australia Government Gazette*, 26 June 1915, No. 161, pp 1183-1184.

6 Barr Smith *German Settlers in South Australia*. Library Miscellaneous Papers 1776-1964. Contents compiled by I Harmstorf

7 McKernan, *Australia and the Great War*, p. 167

8 Idem, p. 156.

9 Idem, p. 151.

10 Idem, p. 174.

11 Idem

12 Hodge, *The Last Shilling*, p. 25.

13 McKernan, *Australia and the Great War*, p.174.

14 Tilby Stock, 'South Australia's German Vote', p. 254.

15 Idem. See also a report of the Premier's Conference, SAPP, 1916, No. 28 pp 51-53

16 Selleck, *The Trouble with my Looking Glass*, p. 19.

17 F Luebke, *Bonds of Loyalty*, Dekalb Illinois, 1974, p. 41.

of the British Crown where the latter's promise of freedom of worship was dutifully realised. The Lutheran Church was not prepared for, nor could be prepared for, the experiences of 1914-18.

For the Germans in Adelaide the situation was somewhat different. Just prior to the war the middle class Mücke was to echo the words of von Bertouch some 59 years earlier: 'Every German who comes to Australia enjoys the same freedom and rights as an English citizen'.¹

The conviction that they were South Australians is basic to any understanding of the trauma suffered by the German community after 1914. Kathleen Conzen has said of Milwaukee: 'The Germans were an essential part of Milwaukee and they knew it'.²

This was also the feeling of the Germans in South Australia even if their relative numbers were somewhat smaller than in Milwaukee.³ It was difficult for them emotionally or intellectually to envisage any situation where they would not be accepted as South Australians. While their expectations in this respect were more or less realised in the first stages of the war, feeling against them gradually grew as the war continued until finally they were caught in the dilemma so aptly expressed by Pat Gibson. She said of the Germans in South Australia that

any stand taken by a German was likely to be misconstrued and used against him...the wisest thing to do was to emulate Brer Rabbit and say nothing.⁴

They also came to realise as the war progressed that it was not wise to protest or retaliate,

probably realising that any such attempt could only make their position worse.⁵

For

if they protest their loyalty, people say they are talking too much. If they keep quiet they say they are disloyal because there is no assertion of their loyalty.⁶

This was not the initial German reaction to the war however. The evidence suggests that at least in its first stages the Germans thought that they had as much right to express their opinion as the next man. They believed in justice for all under the British Crown although this belief was no longer tenable after the passing of the War Precautions Act in 1915.

German reaction to the war fell into three categories, dictated by background and class. The working class reaction was direct. The *Register* reported that in Currie Street, Adelaide

A few glasses of beer in a west end hotel, heated arguments between Germans and Australians about the war, and the utterance of Teutonic defiance were sufficient to precipitate a melee...one of the Germans remarked that he could "take on any number of Britishers". Instandy there was general uproar...The landlady affirmed that "her German customers were quiet inoffensive fellows". "They talk a great deal about the war in their own language...but of course we don't know what they are saying"... "I am a German" protested the owner of the lodging house, "but I am a working man, and this is the Kaiser's war".⁷

Another type of reaction came from middle class Germans. They wanted to be seen as loyal South Australians but they also wanted their predicament to be understood. On the 12 August 1914, immediately after the war started, the *Australische Zeitung* reminded its readers in an editorial:

In these difficult times it is the duty of all Germans who have become Australian citizens to remember that even if they have father, or mother, brother or sister or any other relative in the old homeland, they now, where they have given King George the oath of allegiance, must hold to the new homeland that they have so much to thank for, and in which they were so readily accepted.⁸

Within days similar statements of loyalty came from many German quarters. The German Association passed a resolution of loyalty which said:

they thankfully acknowledged the freedom they enjoyed as Australians under British rule.⁹

The Wakefield Street, Adelaide, Lutheran Church stated: 'the deepest gratitude to that Government...we have always enjoyed protection and liberty,...but above all liberty, which is to Lutherans the most precious boon, the liberty of conscience'.¹⁰

Country districts consisting primarily of Germans hastened to proclaim their loyalty. In Tanunda the chairman of the district council, Adolph Schulz, stated:

Although England was at war with Germany they still had a perfect right to speak the German language. Those were some of the liberties granted to them under the great and glorious British flag which stood for freedom and liberty which all so highly appreciated. In conclusion he asked them to remain calm as under the British flag they would be protected.¹¹

In city German areas the same attitude was adopted. Duhst, a Councillor in the St Peters Corporation and the sitting member for Wooroona, who had been in South Australia for 26 years after emigrating from Hamburg, said in reply to a loyalty pledge by the Mayor that

They were a mixed community in Australia, but no matter what stock they may have come from originally they were all permeated with the thought to assist the great Motherland to uphold her glorious traditions of liberty, humanity and justice...All their fellow citizens whether of foreign descent, but born under the Union Jack, or naturalised subjects of the King, appreciated to the fullest extent the privileges

1 *Australische Zeitung*, 8 March 1911.

2 K. Conzen, *Immigrant Milwaukee 1836-1880 Accommodation and Community in a Frontier City*. Harvard, 1976 p. 225.

3 In 1850 the German born were 12.5% of the population of Wisconsin (Nesbitt, *The History of Wisconsin*, p. 263). In South Australia the German born were 10.5% of the population in 1851 and 1.8% in 1891.

4 P. Gibson, 'The Conscription Issue in South Australia 1916-17', Unpublished B.A.Hons. thesis, University of Adelaide, 1959, p. 60.

5 *Idem*, p. 68.

6 SAPD House of Assembly, 1916, p. 542 Mr Allen, Member for Yorke Peninsula. Similar speeches by Vaughan in *Idem* p 538. Quoted in S.J. Carmichael, 'The Call to Duty', unpublished B A Hons. thesis, University of Adelaide, 1976, p. 109.

7 *Register*, 7 September 1914.

8 *Australische Zeitung*, 12 August 1914.

9 *Chronicle*, 15 August 1914.

10 *Idem*

11 *Chronicle*, 22 August, 1914 p. 48.

which had been granted to them out here and would rally round the grand old flag which had given them their privileges...their whole interests centred in this country...The most absolute reliance could be placed on their devotion to their home under the Southern Cross.¹

Loyalty to the Southern Cross for British-Australians also meant loyalty to England. However, the Germans lacked the emotional and intellectual attachment to England felt by most British-Australians.

Another German member of the Council, Alderman, Heinemann, while expressing his loyalty, touched on the second attitude adopted by middle class Germans at the start of the war. Heinemann said: 'Their German fellow citizens deserved a great deal of sympathy at a time such as the present'.²

This appeal for understanding was doubtless based on the belief in British liberty, humanity and justice mentioned by Duhst.

The same theme was taken up by Elkan in a letter to the *Register* in September of the same year. Elkan wrote: '...but before I would take up arms against the country of my birth I would rather put a bullet through my head.'³

This statement is said by some historians to be a turning-point in the attitude of British-South Australians to German-South Australians. The feeling of toleration was replaced by antagonism.⁴ Scott maintains that during the nineteenth century 'there was never any hostility between the two races'⁵ although Borrie offers a modified view by writing that the open sympathy Germans had for things German was 'not a serious cause of friction...real difficulties began to arise...1892-1899'.⁶

The evidence suggests however that there was always a small but real undercurrent against the Germans⁷ which the war allowed into the open. Elkan's letter provided the excuse for this show of hostility rather than being the reason. This hostility was able to take a more tangible form after the passing of the War Precautions Act in 1915. But the main reason for Elkan's letter was similar to that of Heinemann's: he wished people to understand and if possible sympathise with his predicament.

We German-Australians with very rare exceptions, do not belong to the gentry. We came out here to better our positions—not so much from a financial point of view as from the point of view of freedom...We wanted free air to breathe, and more elbow room. Australia...offered us our opportunity. We had complete faith in the British sanctuary offered to all nations as long as they submitted cheerfully to the laws and usages of their adopted country. Nobody could ever say the German-Australians have not made excellent settlers. By their industry, thoroughness, and economy they have always been an example to everyone. They have been made to feel at home...My wife

is an Australian. My children and grandchildren are Australians. I have been thirty years here...Our hearts are torn asunder. We did not start the war. We had no hand in it. Our protestations are powerless and we could not stop it. We have to look on, helpless, and agitated by emotions, to which Tantalus's tortures are nothing.⁸

On 6 August 1914 the *Register* had as its lead editorial 'Fair Play Britons'. In the article the newspaper said that British-Australians should accept at face value the pledges of loyalty given by German-Australians. The article continued:

German-born Australians and Australian-born German-Australians will fight with them (British-Australians) shoulder to shoulder... British-Australians...will play the game as they would like the game to be played with them...Such bitterness as was shown during the Boer War fourteen years ago was confined to a comparatively few irreconcilables.⁹

This statement would suggest that in part at least the tensions during the Boer War have often been underestimated by some historians.¹⁰ But this new war was to be more than a game and the irreconcilables were to grow in number and sweep aside British notions of justice and fair play in which the German-Australians had placed their hopes.

The third group to respond to the war was the Lutheran Church, and its response was different again. As we have already noted, the Lutheran churches of the United States like the Lutheran churches in Australia believed that for their members

his [German] cultural heritage created no special loyalty for the German Imperial Government, nor did it inhibit his capacity for patriotic citizenship in his adopted homeland.¹¹

But, as Lehmann points out, there were different points of view even within the various synods of the church. The Australian synod (ELSA) through its president Pastor Nickel issued a statement of loyalty, the Immanuel Synod (UELCA) did not.¹² However, the general feeling in both churches was no different from that held by most members of denominations of the Christian faith which had their origins in England, namely that the war was a punishment for the sins and evils of man and that it should be viewed also as a cleansing. Indeed this point of view was put forward by Elkan at the end of his letter:

Sacrifices are the great factors to make one love the home which bred and reared us. The greater the sacrifice, the dearer it becomes. This war, dreadful though it is, will be the real birth of the Australian nation.¹³

At the outbreak of the war *Der Lutherische Kirchenbote*—the Lutheran Church News—of the Australian synod stated

1 *Register*, 7 August 1914.

2 *Idem*

3 *Idem*, 7 September 1914.

4 D. Davies 'Australian-Britons and German-Australians'. Unpublished B.A.Hons. thesis University of Adelaide 1975, p. 67.

5 E. Scott, *Official History of Australia in the War 1914-1918*, Vol. XI, Sydney, 1936 p. 152 in Davies 'Australian-Britons and German-Australians' p. 9.

6 W.D. Borrie, *Italians and Germans in Australia*, Melbourne, 1954, pp 208,209.

7 The concept of 'imperium in imperio' on the one hand or integration and the alteration of British society on the other.

8 *Register*, 7 September 1914.

9 *Idem*, 6 August 1914.

10 A. P. Haydon 'South Australia's First War' in *Historical Studies Australia and New Zealand*, Vol 11, 1964, p. 232.

11 Luebke, *Bonds of Loyalty*, p. 51.

12 H Lehmann 'South Australian German Lutherans in the Second Half of the Nineteenth Century: A Case of Rejected Assimilation' in *Journal of Intercultural Studies*, Vol 2, No. 2, 1981, p. 39.

13 *Register*, 7 September 1914.

in its leading article that the war was brought about by man's sins and that Europe had denied the word of God. 'However we had all participated in the sins that had brought about the war'.¹ In the remaining issues before the paper was banned, the war was not mentioned.

On 1 September 1914 the *Kirchen und Missions-Zeitung*—Church and Missions Newspaper—run by the Immanuel synod, reported the fighting between German and Russian troops. There was no further comment on the war or the morality of the war.² McKernan points out that clergymen

...presumed to see God's hand directing this momentous event in human history...Howard, a fiery Methodist preacher in Adelaide ... regretted aspects of Australian life. Its intemperance, uncleanness, mutual distrust, commercial dishonesty and political chicanery which war would help reform...This became the standard and early theme with Australian clergymen...God was using the war to call nations, and Australia in particular back to the paths of righteousness...Clergymen everywhere spoke of the cleansing effect of sacrifice. Indeed they postulated that as nations only achieved greatness through sacrifice, the war was Australia's opportunity to become a nation.

Elkan's words and those of the Lutheran Church concerning sacrifice would appear to be echoing the prevailing ethos about war, at least at its beginning, where the blood of the lamb had to be shed as a sacrifice for righteousness and nationhood. While seeing the war as part of God's plan some authors believed the churches were a little less than Christian in carrying out their duty on a human level:

...the Australian churches'...response to war that was shallow, emotional and, eventually deeply divisive. As a whole, the churches failed to provide Christian leadership, to protect war victims such as German-Australians, to influence the troops, or to restrain the excesses of war hysteria.⁴

Other reactions to the war were more innocent and/or confused:

Australians...greeted the declaration of war... with the naivete and innocence of a people with no experience of suffering and large scale disruption.⁵

Patsy Adam-Smith wrote in *The Anzacs*:

The people didn't know what to do', my father answered when, as a child, I questioned him about the ill-treatment of a German in his town. 'We hadn't had a war before this.'⁶

Yet if people didn't know how to react to every situation they knew where their loyalties were supposed to be:

In 1914 we spoke of England as "home"—not Scotland, Ireland, Wales or Australia, but England—and we dreamed of going there.⁷

Certainly the groundwork for calling England home had been well and truly laid:

Australians of this generation had been taught by British teachers from British textbooks and home, school and university and in general social life had absorbed those values which made them feel at home when they visited Britain.⁸

The history of England...formed the staple of history courses from at least the 1870s and remained so...until 1945.⁹

Of university lecturers in history it was said that 'they returned to Australia...imbued with teaching the glories of Whiggish English history and winning the Empire'.¹⁰ This in turn was passed on to the teachers and through them to the pupils in the schools.

During the war, as in the United States,

'Patriotism, heroism and sacrifice' were made the themes of the suggested study plan for elementary school children. Americans fought, teachers were urged to explain, to protect the victimised peoples of France and Belgium, burned and murdered in their homes, and "to keep the German soldiers from coming to our country and treating us the same way".¹¹

In 1909 two measures were introduced to reinforce the values of Empire with young people. The first was the introduction of Empire Day which was gazetted in that year in South Australia with minimal explanation.¹² The following year the aims and activities for Empire Day were spelt out very clearly emphasising Australia's ties to the mother country and her place in the great empire scheme.¹³

The other innovation reinforcing imperial values was that of compulsory service for all British males aged between 12 and 26 years. As Gammage points out:

By 1914 most young Australians had thoroughly learnt an adherence to war, race and glory, and to two nations separated by the world.¹⁴

The propaganda created during the war left no one in doubt about what their feelings should be towards the enemy. In the long term the restraint urged at the start of the war towards German-Australians was lost in the horrors that flowed from the war itself.

Brian Lewis has written of World War I that 'at the beginning we (Australians) believed everything that we were told; at the end we believed nothing'.¹⁵

The naivete of Australians played into the hands of those who wanted to bind Australia closer to Britain:

Australia had not resolved her status within the Empire, because she had never weightily contributed to Empire defence. Now she could realise her hopes for partnership.¹⁶

1 *Der Lutherische Kirchenbote*, 20 August 1914, pp. 129,130.

2 *Kirchen und Missions-Zeitung*, 1 September 1914.

3 McKernan, *Australia and the Great War*, p. 18.

4 M McKernan, *The Australian Churches at War*, Sydney & Melbourne, 1980, pp 3,4.

5 McKernan, *Australia and the Great War*, p. 1.

6 Adam-Smith, *The Anzacs*, p. 2.

7 Lewis, *Our War*, Preface, p. 2.

8 Selleck, *The Trouble with my Looking Glass*, p. 24.

9 F.B. Smith 'British History in Australia' in *Melbourne Studies in Education*, 1981, p. 4.

10 Idem, p 44

11 D. Kennedy, *Over Here*, New York, 1980, p. 55.

12 *Education Gazette*, South Australia, 1309 p. 79,93.

13 Idem, 1910, p. 79,114,115.

14 Gammage, *The Broken Years*, p. 3. See also J. Barrett, *Falling In*, Sydney, 1979, pp 254,255.

15 Lewis, *Our War*, Preface, p. 2.

16 Gammage, *The Broken Years*, p. 4.

British writers have commented on the effect of propaganda during the war,¹ and as most Australian propaganda was drawn from British sources, it is relevant to quote from the British:

Evoked repeatedly by Allied propagandists during the First World War the British stereotype of the 'Hun' ...came to personify a particular perception of the quintessential immorality of 'Prussian Militarism'...They...pictorialised a German society based upon militarist principles in order to bring home the terrifying consequences of defeat and thereby sustain the will to continue the struggle until victory was secured.²

More importantly, from the point of view of German-Australians

Rudyard Kipling more succinctly caught the flavour of popular mythology about Germany when he wrote: 'However the world pretends to divide itself, there are only two divisions in the world today—human and Germans'.³

Out of this type of thinking arose for the Germans guilt by association. As was said of America:

Even the most assimilated, if they bore names like Schulz or Schwartz, could not always escape the consequences of being identified with Germany or Germanophic neighbours.⁴

The South Australian politician Verran was breathtaking in the sweep of his accusations against Germans as he proclaimed loudly from the floor of the House:

The German people have tried to monopolise the best land in Australia.⁵

They have German names and a German is a German. I know some German born in the State and they are as bitter as hell against the British nation.⁶

A German is a German always, and you cannot alter his nationality. Blood is thicker than water.⁷

This last thought echoed his colleague James:

but he has got German blood in him, once a German always a German.⁸

Schaefer suggests that the treatment of Germans 'usually turned on the question of loyalty, and not of race'.⁹ But this was official action not public sentiment. Tilby Stock wrote that city and suburban dwellers were more harassed by their neighbours than those in isolated rural German communities.¹⁰ The evidence presented suggests that Schaefer's view is open to question. Tilby Stock's argument is more convincing.¹¹

Verran was the most extreme of the parliamentarians, most of whom tried to mix patriotism with humanity and commonsense, but he was supported by a small band who saw all 'Germans' as the embodiment of evil. The German defence that they were interested only in culture and not in politics made them doubly damned, for it was the culture of the Germans that was held responsible for the war and the reported German atrocities. The cultural interests that the Germans had hoped would be their protection became an Achilles heel.

All Germans came under suspicion particularly if they spoke German, were Lutheran and of course because of their names. The position of those in the Church was particularly difficult. Pastors found themselves in the invidious position of having to follow their religious beliefs in the face of a populace that in general saw no distinction between politics and culture:

I think that I was at that time (1914-18) the most hated man in the district, not because I did anything unlawful or provocative, but simply because I had come from Germany and, as it still was my duty, preached in the German language...I had to keep a straight face when youngsters in the street called after me, 'Kaiser Bill'.¹²

If the use of the German language was only one of the criteria thought to indicate pro-Germanness and there were still considerable differences in how individuals were affected. In Adelaide it was best simply not to speak German at all. Even in Tanunda one had to be extremely careful for this often was taken as a sign of being a German sympathiser.¹³ Yet in Springton (in a valley neighbouring the Barossa) during the war German was spoken openly the whole time, even shouted across the main street. There was no English policeman and the very few English families in the district did not care or take any notice.¹⁴ A similar situation occurred on isolated farms where German was spoken freely and even the war was discussed so long as no one from a British background was present.

Those of British descent seemed to take names as a particular affront. Once again the spectre of '*imperium in imperio*' loomed. Ponder, supporting the proposal that German place names be changed in South Australia, said 'We are going to retain Australia for the British and we should see that Australian names are substituted for those of German origin'.¹⁵

1 M. Sanders & P. Taylor, *British Propaganda During the First World War 1914-18*, London, 1982.

G. Haste, *Keep the Home Fires Burning, Propaganda in the First World War*, London, 1977. Most Australian books dealing with World War I deal with the subject of propaganda inter alia.

2 Sanders & Taylor, *British Propaganda*, p. 137.

3 G. Haste, *Keep the Home Fires Burning: Propaganda in the First World War*, London, 1977, p. 81.

4 R. Billigmeier, *Americans from Germany*, Santa Barbara, 1974, p. 141.

5 SAPD, 1917, p. 928.

6 Ibid, 1915, p. 2407.

7 Ibid, 1917, p. 927.

8 Ibid, 1915, p. 2633.

9 T. Schaefer, 'The Treatment of Germans in South Australia 1914-1918'. Unpublished B.A. Hons. thesis, University of Adelaide, 1982, p 2.

10 Tilby Stock, 'South Australia's German Vote', p. 251.

11 See economic influences. Ref. 95,96.

12 Riedel Papers, p. 57—The district referred to is that around the town of Waikerie on the River Murray in South Australia.

13 Kalleske interview, Tanunda, 1985.

14 Idem

15 SAPD 1916, p. 535.

Peake, the Liberal Premier in the first part of the war, argued strongly against rabid anti-German sentiment on the basis that it would destroy the unity of the state.¹ However it would be wrong to think that moderates were only to be found in the more conservative side of the House. Some Labor members were most outspoken in their defence of the German minority.² As a result of his attitude Peake's government was branded pro-German. Yet Peake also supported the name changes on the grounds that their retention would negatively affect the unity of the state.³ Again the spectre of a non-British Australia emerges, a theme which has been observed practically since the day of the arrival of the first Germans in South Australia. 'We have to make this a British community',⁴ intoned Peake, and continued: '...anything that will perpetuate racial feeling, such as the preservation of these names, it is our bounden duty to resist'.⁵

Vaughan, the then Premier, perhaps more accurately reflected the view of the populace and parliamentarians when he said that by changing the German names on the map of South Australia: 'We are now endeavouring to remove from South Australia any record of association of what might be termed 'German Kultur' by altering place names'.⁶

There was to be no visible evidence to the outside world that South Australia had ever been anything but a British colony with a British culture. The Lutheran church schools had been closed in 1917 to stop what the British saw as the propagation of German culture.⁷ As well as the German town names being changed⁸ many individuals gazetted their name changes. Others did so unofficially. Some situations were farcical. Paul Schubert, head teacher of Sturt Primary School in Adelaide, was told that his position in the South Australian Education Department was in danger under the provisions of the War Precautions Act if he kept his name. He changed it to Stuart in 1916. Subsequently when asked his name he said in his heavy German accent, 'Shtooarrt'. Often people did not quite understand him and asked him to repeat it. Having done so they would reply 'Oh I'm sorry I should have recognised the Scottish accent'.⁹

Meanwhile his daughter Ida was employed as the first female bank teller in the Bank of Adelaide. She was asked by the manager in a semi-serious way: 'Tell me Miss Schubert, do you get down and worship the Kaiser every night?'

To which she replied 'Don't be ridiculous sir'. The matter was never mentioned again and her career was unaffected.¹⁰

However, the fate of teacher Oscar Witt at Tanunda was not so fortunate. He was regarded as a possible danger to the state and was transferred to one of the more remote areas of South Australia.¹¹

What talent was lost to Australia through intolerance of those with German names can only be guessed. Lyall Fenner tells the story of his brother, Charles, who was later to become Director General of Education in South Australia. Fenner, from Victoria, was interviewed by the then Director during the course of the war. As an opening gambit he was harangued with a lecture on the hated Hun and how the Director would never have one on his staff as his son had been killed. Fenner informed the Director that although his name was not obviously German his father had been born in Germany. He then told the Director that his brother had been killed the week before on the western front. The Director replied, 'We're equal then', and gave Fenner the job.¹²

A changed name seemed for many British-Australians to be an act of atonement that with this outward and visible sign there came an inward and invisible grace. The outward renunciation of a German name was taken as a denial of all things German, a termination of the last shreds of anything to do with the despised German culture. Name-changing gained official blessing when the Royal House of Saxe-Coburg Gotha changed its name to Windsor and the King's cousin felt obliged to change Battenberg to Mountbatten. In most cases the name change forestalled the anger and hostility from the community, particularly as most of those who changed their names were either no longer or never had been members of the Lutheran Church. In the period 1914-1918 one hundred and fifty-nine people changed their names to those with a British sound and spelling¹³ for, as Tilby Stock points out, the German minority was readily identified by its surnames'.¹⁴

The importance of names is clearly demonstrated in an editorial in the *Australian Christian Commonwealth*, a Methodist weekly published in Adelaide. The editor noted enthusiastically that at Ardrossan the Methodist Minister, the Rev. Charles Schneider, had changed his name to Taylor (a direct translation). In an editorial headed 'What's in a Name' the paper proclaimed:

1 P.V. Wallace, 'Parliamentary Attitudes towards the German Population in S.A. 1914-1918'. Unpublished B.A.Hons. thesis, Flinders University, 1972, pp 62,74.

2 SAPD 1915, pp 2633,2624. Speech by Thomas Ryan during the Franchise to Foreigners Bill.

3 Kay Quardy *The Liberal Union in Power The Peake Government 1912-1915* Unpublished B.A.Hons. thesis, University of Adelaide 1966 p 153

4 SAPD 1916, p. 539.

5 Idem

6 Idem, p. 538

7 Schaefer, 'The Treatment of Germans in South Australia' pp 52,53. Proclaimed 30 June 1917.

8 *South Australian Government Gazette*, 10 January 1918, p. 37. See Ref. 32.

9 Thorpe interview Adelaide 1983

10 Idem

11 Schaefer, 'The Treatment of Germans in South Australia', p. 36.

12 L. Fenner interview, Highgate, Adelaide, September 1985.

13 A. Peak, 'Deed Poll Name Changes in South Australia in the Early Twentieth Century' in *The South Australian Genealogist*, October 1968, Vol. 13, No. 4 pp 167-172.

14 Tilby Stock, 'South Australia's German Vote' p. 250.

It may make little difference with a rose, but with a man, circumstances alter the case. 'Schneider' could never look attractive to English eyes and at times like these its manifest German origin is offensive. To men who are more than Australian, who are British in all their loves and ideals, it seems the natural course that they should change their names from the German to English equivalents of it. Others hesitate over the trouble and expense...His maternal grandparents were of the most godly sort of peace-loving Saxons who left Germany sixty odd years ago in disgust of the militarism that today has reached such fiendish proportions. This anglicising of their name cuts the last thread of the Prussianism they abhor. We sincerely hope a goodly number will follow this example.¹

Ironically those with Anglo-Saxon names such as Bolt, Lang, Blank, Stock, Struck, Starr or similar English-looking words, were spared the worst of the suspicion and distrust mounted against those with names of a more obviously Teutonic flavour.

Vaughan summed up the feeling of the year 1916 when in diplomatic language he said

I am sure we all agree that it is desirable that a system of isolation which has been encouraged in the past should absolutely cease, and that we should induce the German-Australians in our midst to become a Britisher in language thought and sentiment²

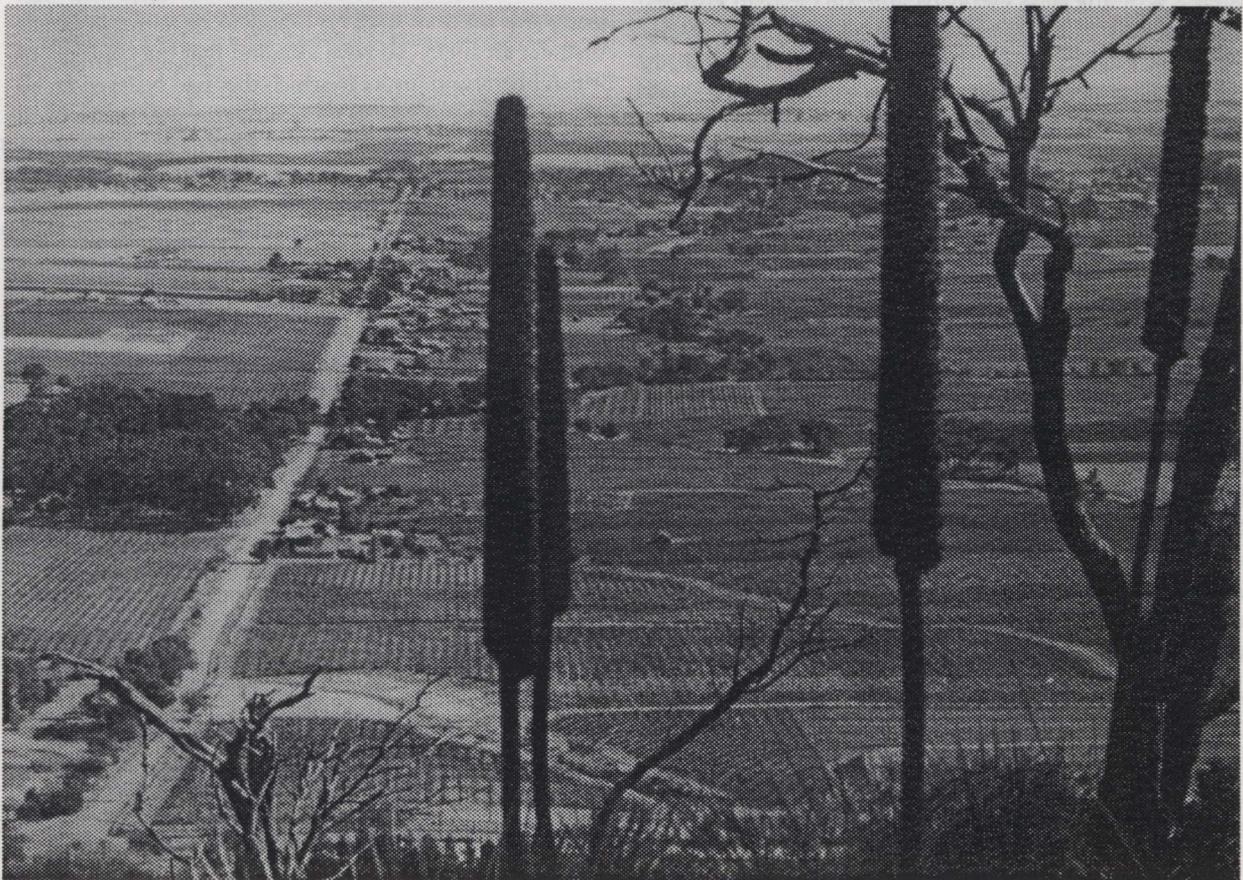
German-Australians were to become British-Australians. Total assimilation was the only acceptable path. Any

suggestion of a tolerated cultural '*imperium in imperio*' was not to be countenanced. South Australia was to be British. The state, with its large, distinctive and at least to British-Australian eyes, closed German communities, had grappled with the problem of national unity and the concept of '*imperium in imperio*' for over three quarters of a century. The matter was now to be resolved forever in the case of German-Australians. Yet ironically the preoccupation of British-Australians with the concept of '*imperium in imperio*' was not to leave South Australia. Almost 50 years later the then Leader of the Opposition in the House of Assembly was to argue during the debate on the Maralinga Tjarutja Land Rights Bill:

we have to find the means to allow people with markedly different values, traditions, beliefs and cultures to co-exist within our State in a way...which promotes widespread harmony. There must be no state within a state.³

For various reasons, among which age and sex were perhaps predominant, not all British-Australians could participate directly in the war. They had to find other ways to feel part of the national consciousness. Patsy Adam Smith wrote: 'War knows no fury like a non combatant'.⁴

Brian Lewis commented:



Bethany, Barossa Valley

- 1 A.D. Hunt, *Methodism Militant 1914-1918*, Methodist Historical Society, 1975. Quote in the *Australian Christian Commonwealth*, 4 August 1916.
- 2 SAPD 1916 p. 1965.
- 3 Idem, 1983, p. 2063, Mr John Olsen.
- 4 Adam-Smith, *The Anzacs*, p. 297.

It was very disappointing that we were in this important war and yet nothing was happening here. At least we had spies. Maybe not so many as in England, but we were sure we had some if only we find them.¹

The War Precautions Act gave free reign to the spy hunters and Colonel Blimps. Yet the implementation of the act would appear to have been most erratic and dependent very much on local factors

The most extensive coverage of the reasons for internment of Germans in World War I can be found in Schaefer,² and the conditions of internment in the Torrens Island camp in particular in Harmstorf.³ Schaefer makes the point that in Eudunda the zeal of the local policeman had a great deal to do with the unhappy relations between the British and German-Australians in that town.⁴

The same point was made by Anna Kalleske, who said that in Tanunda the local policeman at the time, Miller, would listen to any type of gossip in an attempt to obtain a conviction.⁵ She said that class differences also were most important in Tanunda. For example middle class Germans who had married Englishwomen considered themselves superior because of their wealth and British connections. They would speak only English even when addressed in German 'that is when they bothered to answer which was rarely'. Working class Germans and the German farmers called these middle class Germans 'mongrels'.⁶ Kalleske said a few English 'hated' the Germans,⁷ but it is difficult to know how much of this perception was personal or how much it reflected the attitudes of the wider society.

The fickleness inherent in the War Precautions Act meant that what was viewed as treasonable depended very much on where one lived and to whom one spoke. Emma Menzel said that throughout the war she always went shopping for cloth at Sheard's in Gawler. In the shop they were always spoken to quite openly in German by a woman assistant called Schultz who always finished by saying *Kommen Sie noch mal wieder hier kaufen, Frau Mattner* ('Come and buy here again Mrs Mattner'), and of course Mrs Mattner did.⁸

Walter Pfeiffer told how his mother, his father having died, ran a large bakery and green grocer shop throughout the war on the corner of Stephen Terrace and Paynham Road at St Peters, an inner suburb of Adelaide. 'Pfeiffer' was written in large letters above the shop. Not once was a window broken, the shop defaced or any offensive remark passed to either Pfeiffer or his mother. Based on his experience Pfeiffer considered that the only people in Adelaide

who were interned were those recent arrivals who were genuine German sympathisers who stated their position openly, or 'loud mouths' and people who got drunk in pubs and forgot to keep a still tongue in their heads.⁹

Certainly some of the internees in Tanunda fell into the latter category, being physically taken from their farms without even the chance to say goodbye to their families after spending the previous night in the pub.¹⁰ This perhaps explains why so many of the internees claimed they did not know what they had done. A chance remark was all that was needed if the right person were listening to report the conversation.¹¹ Pfeiffer also claimed a third type of German who was interned, what he called the 'arrogant Prussian', all of whom were members of the middle class. Hermann Homburg for example was completely dogmatic that as a free British subject born in Australia he had the right to say what he liked and would do so.¹² Pfeiffer maintained this 'Prussian' stubbornness was manifest in many army and police interrogations. It was doubtless a contributing factor in tipping the scales against doubtful cases.¹³

Other Germans were more circumspect and 'one was very careful what one said, and this was particularly true of the pastors who spoke only German'.¹⁴

The Germans found it difficult to comprehend that liberty and freedom were no longer to be found in South Australia for them. To have to admit that the concepts of British liberty and justice in which they had believed for so long no longer existed was something many Germans of all classes could not or would not do, for it negated one of the basic reasons why they had embarked on the trauma of emigration to a foreign land.

The unselective way in which internment took place suggests other factors at work. Schaefer gives an example of an incident in Mannum in the Riverland where an agent of a wheat buying firm was most careful to fly a perfect Union Jack as

he was afraid that any rip in the flag would bring charges of disloyalty from his rival in the wheat business, J Darling and Son, agent, who would have greatly benefited from his absence in an internment camp.¹⁵

Although Schaefer does not generalise from this example the economic situation either locally, state-wide or nationally played an important part in the variations of intensity in anti-German feeling. When the war broke out the unemployment situation in Australia was serious. Both the Adelaide

1 Lewis, *Our War*, p. 88.

2 Schaefer, 'The Treatment of Germans in South Australia'.

3 *Sunday Mail*, 2 February 1979. Reprinted in I Harmstorf. *Some Information on South Australian Germans*. South Australian College of Advanced Education, Adelaide. 1985. pp 28,29.

4 Schaefer, 'The Treatment of Germans in South Australia'.

5 Kalleske interview

6 Idem

7 Idem

8 Menzel interview, Tanunda, 1985.

9 Pfeiffer interview Adelaide 1985

10 Tanunda police records (private collection).

11 Pfeiffer interview

12 Idem

13 C. Thiele in *The Seed's Inheritance*. Adelaide 1986. Thiele makes the point several times about the stubbornness of the Germans. See inter alia pp 213,220,256.

14 Kalleske interview, Australia p 43.

15 Schaefer, 'The Treatment of Germans in South Australia', p. 43.

daily newspapers had articles on what to do with the problem of the unemployed, 1914 been a year of drought,¹ while by 1916-17 'their (the German farmers) very well being became an affront to the prejudiced or less fortunate'.²

The War Precautions Act later created a pool of unemployed Germans.³ In Port Adelaide waterside workers refused to work with 'Germans'.⁴ In other working class areas trouble occurred particularly when secure government jobs were at issue. Throughout the war there was constant trouble at Petersburg (now Peterborough) a railway town with secure Government jobs being held by people with German names. German street name signs were smashed and the windows of the local Lutheran Church were constant targets for the rock throwers.⁵

The prospect of getting jobs for working class 'British' Australians would appear to be behind the patriotic questions asked by some Labour politicians in the House of Assembly. Verran the Member for the working class area of Pt. Adelaide asked:

Will the Premier give the House assurance, that for the duration of the war only British citizens would be appointed to responsible positions in the government service.⁶

Is it true that two men at Pt. Adelaide, one a Dane and the other a German were put to work while Britishers were out of work?⁷

What number of those who were working on the railway at Petersburg have enlisted and... is it true a number of Germans have been taken on to fill the vacancies.⁸

On the other hand some Germans who felt a strong animosity towards their employers had no hesitation in reporting them. The anti-unionist Schrapel at Tanunda was interned on the complaint of two of his German employees who considered that this was the least they could do as Schrapel had consistently sacked any man who was found to be a member of a union.⁹

The pursuance by some members of the Labor Party to remove all Germans from government employ was based on the fact that there were few votes to be lost and many gained, while at the same time the party could appear most patriotic. As has been already noted the relatively few Germans in Adelaide in working-class districts were fairly widely distributed except for the concentration in the area of East Adelaide.¹⁰ Those in country areas with few exceptions were solidly Lib-

eral. While the Liberals struggled to find a mid-point between loyalty to their German voters and patriotism, the Labor Party suffered no such constraints.¹¹ However the defeat of the Peake Government in 1915 was blamed to some extent on the German connection of the Liberals.¹² Labor member Verran saw the situation differently.

The majority of the Germans have always been conservative but this time they voted Labour for their own protection.¹³

The Liberals then turned their backs with a vengeance on their German supporters.¹⁴

The Liberals new anti-German attitude was made easier by the stance taken by the Governor of South Australia Sir Lionel Galway:

The British bureaucrats thought Galway's influence on his ministers quite pernicious in some respects...he became morbid emotionally...He grew especially hysterical about the thousands of South Australians of German origin or descent...Yet even when acknowledging that some had made the supreme sacrifice in Gallipoli or France, Galway asserted that 'it is not easy to discriminate between the sheep and the goats...in a State possessing a German population of over 30,000'.¹⁵

Howell says that Galway led the thrust to change the 69 German place names in South Australia, to have instruction in German abolished and accepted the resignation of Attorney General Homburg without demur. The Colonial Office, writes Howell, 'regretted that in South Australia the Governor was heading the tide of unreason, instead of trying to restrain it'.¹⁶

Premier Vaughan tried to show qualities of leadership. In refusing the German request to re-open Lutheran schools the Premier stated:

What they needed in Australia today was citizens who regarded the country as their own, and who would not segregate themselves into little sections but be citizens of a full and free democracy.¹⁷

From the British-Australian point of view this was a sound argument for it neatly encapsulated the idea of not allowing any type of 'imperium in imperio' while at the same time appealing to the new sense of Australian unity brought about by federation.

Vaughan's drastic action meant the elimination of extrinsic ethnicity. Outward signs of 'Germanness' had to go. In some places this was taken literally. In Edithburgh the

1 Tilby Stock, 'South Australians German Vote' p. 252.

2 Idem, p. 254.

3 SAPP Report of Premiers Conference 1916, No. 28, pp 51-53.

4 J. Moss, *The Sound of Trumpets*, Adelaide, 1985, p. 241. The writer's grandfather, Ernst Harmstorf, worked in Port Adelaide at this time as a horse cab proprietor. He was on more than one occasion knocked to the ground when he was head of the cab rank and his place taken by others while he was forced to the end. The economic consequences were on occasions quite serious to his family.

5 Fran Knight interview, Adelaide, 25 May 1986.

6 SAPD 1915, p. 3224.

7 Idem, p. 425.

8 Idem p 1516. Other questions by Verran re employment and the war can be found in SAPD. 1915. p. cvii.

9 Teusner interview, Adelaide, 1984.

10 SAPP 1902, No. 74 C, pp 377,388. East Adelaide had the second highest number of Germans after East Torrens.

11 Quartley, *The Liberal Union in Power*, p. 155

12 Idem, pp 152,153. Partly quoted in Wallace, *Parliamentary Attitudes Towards the German Population*, p. 13.

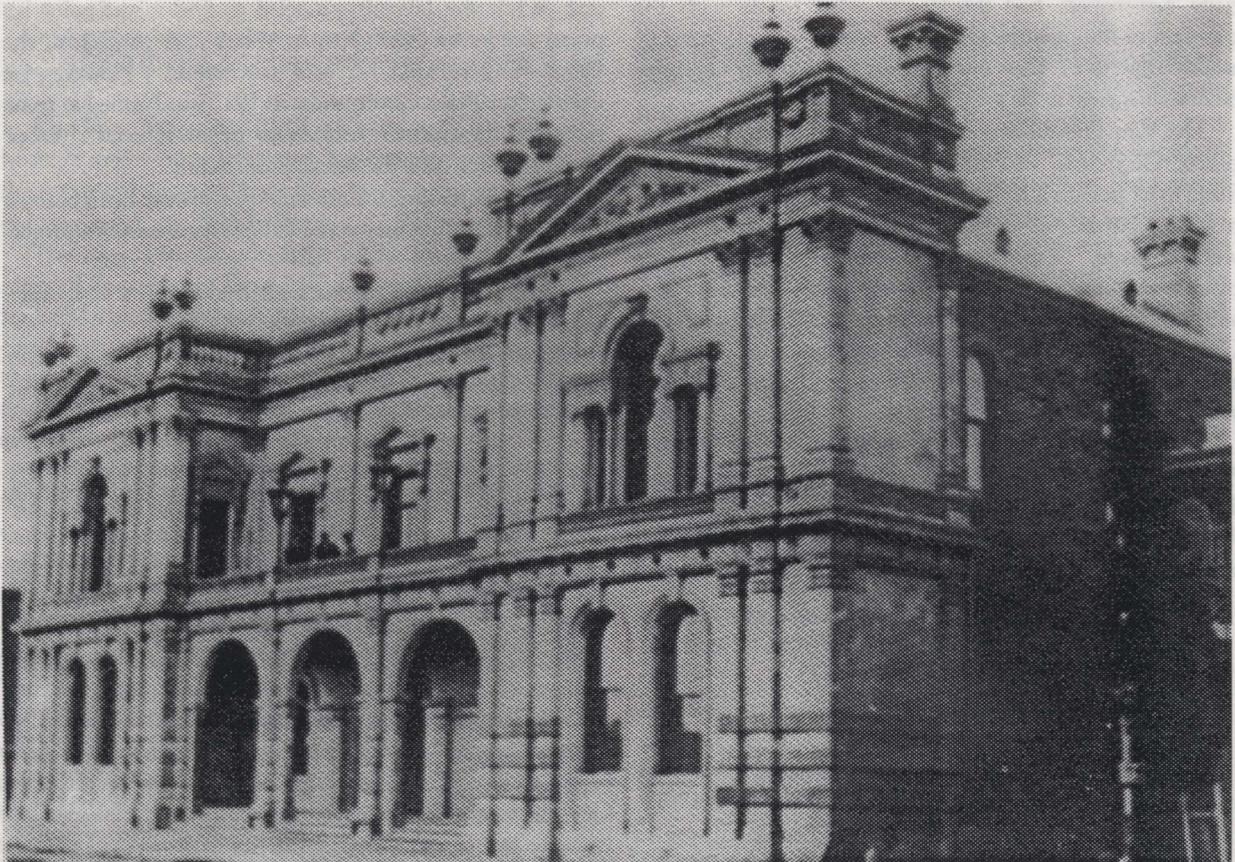
13 SAPD 1917, p. 928.

14 Gibson, *The Conscription Issue in South Australia*, p. 67. D Hopgood, 'A Psephological examination of the South Australian Labor Party from World War I to the Depression'. Unpublished Ph.D thesis, Flinders University, 1973, pp 8,9. J Tilby Stock, 'South Australia's German Vote in World War I' in *Australian Journal of History and Politics*, Vol. 28, No. 2, 1982, p. 264.

15 P. A. Howell, 'More Varieties of Vice Regal Life' in *Journal of the Historical Society of South Australia*, No. 9, 1981. pp 16, 17.

16 Idem, p. 17. Homburg's story in H. Homburg, *S.A. Lutherans and War Time Rumours*, Adelaide, 1947.

17 *Advertiser*, 21 March, 1917.



The German Club in Pirie St at the turn of the twentieth century

Lutheran church was burnt to the ground.¹ Attempts at arson were made on other Lutheran churches.² Luebke wrote of the United States:

Hostility and intolerance caused most Germans to perceive their ethnicity as a source of social deprivation or discomfort,³

while *The Lutherans in North America* claimed:

No self-devised program could have hastened the divorce of Lutheranism from their former cultural loyalties as rapidly as did this antagonism from the superpatriots.⁴

The drift into the British-Australian world which, as we have indicated, was gathering momentum by 1900 was thus given a dramatic if traumatic surge forward by the events of

1914–18. What had been happening naturally over a period of years was to be telescoped for the German-Australians into four painful years. A German-Australian culture had ceased to exist. The threat of an '*imperium in imperio*' was removed on the one hand and on the other, a German subculture which by acculturation may have been strong enough to alter substantially the dominant British culture, was demolished.

In the House of Assembly Ponder had argued for the changing of the German place names in South Australia. He had proclaimed 'We live in a British community'.⁵

The war had achieved that objective.

Reprinted from 'Guests or Fellow Countrymen', Ph.D. thesis, Flinders University 1987

1 McKernan, *Australia and the Great War*, p. 160.

2 Pastor P. Scherer interview, Adelaide, May, 1987.

3 Luebke, *Bonds of Loyalty*, Preface XV.

4 E Clifford, *The Lutherans in North America*, Nelson (ed), Philadelphia, 1980, p. 397.

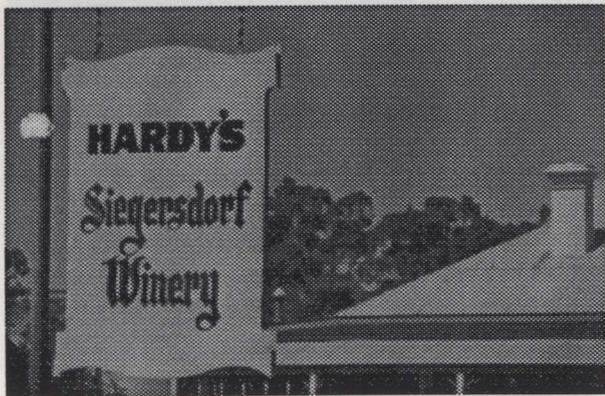
5 SAPD 1916, p. 534.

South Australia's Germans in World War II

The experience of South Australia's Germans during World War II, although unpleasant, was in most cases not as traumatic as during the Great War of 1914–1918.

The reason for this was twofold. First, those of German descent, and these constitute the vast majority in the catch-all phrase 'South Australia's Germans', were another generation removed from the land of their forefathers. This together with the disruption suffered to South Australian German cultural and linguistic traditions during the First World War had severely weakened ties to the old homeland. Perhaps the immediate threat to the British-Australians also appeared less. German-born in South Australia had dropped from 2% of the population in 1911 to 0.4% in 1933. Numerically from almost 5,000 to just over 2,000 and one can safely assume, given the lack of German migration between the wars, considerably aged. The number of Lutherans had remained virtually constant at 26,000–27,000, but as a percentage of the total South Australian population had dropped from 6.8% in 1911 to 4.5% in 1933, although it is improbable that the actual number of German descendants, as opposed to Lutherans, would have shown such a dramatic decline as the Lutheran figures suggest.

Second, the press in particular had long made it a practice of distinguishing between the Nazi administration of Germany and the German people. As a result slogans popular in the First World War such as 'the only good German is a dead German', or images of the 'dreaded Hun' dripping the blood of innocent children from his salivating heavy jowls, were not in vogue.



Winery Sign, Barossa Valley. The name *Sieger*, *victor*, commemorates the Christian belief of Christ's victory over death

Present day historical writings suggest that by the end of World War I in 1918 the vitriolic hatred of all things German in Australia in most quarters had burnt itself out.¹ The rehabilitation of the Germans in South Australia had advanced by 1935—in preparation for the state centenary in 1936—to the stage where the names of Ambleside, Gaza and Tweedvale were returned to their old names of Hahndorf, Klemzig and Lobethal, although the name changes had been mooted as early as 1928.² But even these few name changes, 3 out of the 69 changed in 1918, were not achieved without some opposition, as the correspondence columns of contemporary newspapers clearly show.³

In a 1971 Flinders University thesis M.S. Regan looked at 'Australian Perceptions of Nazism 1933–1939' examining the attitudes towards Nazism by various Australian newspapers, including the *Advertiser*. The point is made very clearly that Australians, including South Australians, had a most distorted view of Nazism. Nazism was examined by observers who were philosophically liberal and saw everything from that perspective. The *Advertiser* in 1933 considered Hitler as good for law and order⁴ and the violence of the regime was seen as being part of a revolutionary fervour rather than an instrument of government.⁵ Two years later, in 1935, the *Advertiser* saw Hitler as operating within a democratic framework, although the violence was then attributed to inexperience.⁶ Yet in apparent contradiction to the above the *Advertiser* as early as 1933 differentiated between the German Government and the German people.⁷ Although the *Advertiser* viewed the annexation of Austria as immoral⁸ the newspaper failed to understand that war was an instrument of Nazi policy. It was firmly believed that if the German people knew all the facts then Hitler would be forced to change his policies.⁹ In the same year, 1938, the *Advertiser* was still excusing the German Government's treatment of the Jews as an 'administrative oversight'.¹⁰

Similarly, at government level there was much praise of Germany. One need only mention the well-known statement by Robert Gordon Menzies in the Australian Parliament when in a laudatory address on Germany, he commented

There is a good deal of really spiritual quality in the willingness of young Germans to devote themselves to the service and well-being of the state.¹¹

- 1 Brian Lewis, *Our War* Melbourne, 1980, pp 311,312. M McKernan, *The Australian People and the Great War*, Melbourne, 1980, p. 9.
- 2 Lutheran Vertical File. Germans in Australia Archives, German Place Names No.2.
- 3 Idem
- 4 *Advertiser*, 19 July 1933, in M.S. Regan, 'Australian Perceptions of Nazism: a study of some press and parliamentary reactions to Hitler 1933–1939'. Unpublished B.A. Hons thesis Flinders University, 1971. p 13.
- 5 *Advertiser*, 19 July 1933 in Regan, 'Australian Perceptions', p. 21.
- 6 *Advertiser*, 27 February 1935, in Idem, p. 50.
- 7 *Advertiser*, 28 June 1933, in Idem, p. 58.
- 8 *Advertiser*, 13 March 1937 in Idem, p 24
- 9 *Advertiser*, 28 June 1938, in Idem, p. 58.
- 10 *Advertiser*, 21 June 1938, in Idem, p. 29.
- 11 CPD, 1 September 1938, 156/120, in Idem, p. 34.

Thus the years of Fascism in Germany had no adverse ramifications for the Germans in South Australia. Until virtually the eve of the war Hitler was perceived as a reasonable personality who aired just grievances on behalf of his nation.¹ The *Advertiser* even explained away his more obvious excesses with the argument that at times he was manipulated by others.² South Australians of German descent were able to bask in the knowledge as well as reflected glory, that in the new Germany under Hitler law and order had been restored and communist insurgents crushed. Germany had once again become 'respectable', at least in the eyes of conservative western governments.

The declaration of war against Germany produced in the Adelaide papers neither tirades against Germany nor warnings about the dangers of Germans in our, that is South Australia's, midst. On 4 September 1939 the *Advertiser* stated in its editorial that 'each democratic nation must decide for itself how it will meet the Nazi challenge'.³ On 13 September 1939 the *Advertiser* editorial stated 'the enemies of the threatened world plague of Hitlerism must press on to victory'.⁴ Two days later the newspaper wrote about the evils that were being perpetrated in the name of the



German wagon, Barossa Valley. No springs and used for everything

German people by the Hitler administration.⁵ Clearly a difference was made between the German people and the Nazi administration. Generally in South Australia in World War II, unlike World War I, to have a German name did not immediately make one's patriotism suspect or brand one as a potential traitor.

Perhaps the best illustration of this is the number of South Australians with German names who anglicised their names. In World War I, according to a survey done by Andrew Peake and published in the *South Australian Genealogist*,⁶ 179 people changed their name by deed poll from German to Anglo-Celtic. Included are forbears of the present State Governor who changed their name from Kollosche to Dunstan.⁷ Added to these were others whose names do not appear in any lists, particularly those who just dropped one letter of the alphabet, n, from the double n in mann. Two instances must suffice, Wallman and Homan, but many more can be found on a perusal of the Adelaide telephone directory. A search of the *South Australian Government Gazette* reveals that only three people changed their German surnames in South Australia in World War II: one in 1941, another in 1943 and the last in 1945, although another dropped an n from the name Hartmann.⁸

In contrast to the years of World War I those of German descent in South Australia rate barely a mention in the State Parliament. Early in 1940 Herbert Michael, the Member for Light, in the Address in Reply debate had depreciated statements in the press which reflected on the loyalty of the descendants of Germans who had come to South Australia in the last century. He particularly defended the Lutheran Church against what he considered the unfair charges that had been made against it.⁹ Again in the Address in Reply the member for Gawler, Duncan, praised the contribution of those of German descent:

In the Boer War we had examples of pro-German attitudes; in the Great War we had sporadic outbursts of national pride in the Fatherland, but today I see a vast difference and a complete change...The outlook is precisely that of over a century ago. Lovers of Luther cannot and will not subscribe to a shattering of those truths such has been embarked upon by Hitler and his satellites.¹⁰

There were no further statements about South Australians of German descent for over a year until 8 October 1941, when the member for Prospect, Mr Whittle, introduced the second reading of the Nomenclature Bill into the House to change the name of Klemzig back to Gaza.¹¹ It was a private member's Bill and Whittle intimated during his speech that as such and without government support, it was almost certainly doomed to failure. However he considered it his duty to introduce the Bill on behalf of 408 petitioners in his electorate. His plea to members to con-

1 *Advertiser*, 21 June 1938, in *Idem*, p. 29.

2 Regan, 'Australian Perceptions', p. 51.

3 *Advertiser*, 4 September 1939.

4 *Advertiser*, 13 September 1939.

5 *Advertiser*, 15 September 1939.

6 A.G. Peake, 'Deed Poll Name Changes in South Australia' in *The South Australian Genealogist*, Vol. 13, No. 4, October 1986, pp 167-172.

7 *Idem*, p. 168.

8 SAGG, 6 February 1941.

9 SAPD 1940, pp 122,123.

10 *Idem*, p 210.

11 *Idem*, 1941, p .910.

sider changing the name Klemzig to Gaza was less than convincing in that he spent much of his time praising the pioneering efforts of the early German settlers.

There is no suggestion in my remarks or any desire on the part of the people of Klemzig to do other than honour to the German people who have played such a remarkable part in the development of South Australia. I have already commended them as an inspiration to many another settler.¹

Whittle had prefaced these remarks earlier by giving a short history of Klemzig in which he said of the early settlers:

Their industry and perseverance were an inspiration to others. Within a very short period they were supplying Adelaide with much needed and appreciated vegetables, milk and butter.²

A remarkable testimonial from a man who ostensibly wanted the name, Klemzig, a name commemorating the early German settlers, removed from the map. There were no other speakers. The Bill lapsed. The difference in tone and attitude when contrasted with the vitriolic debate during the Nomenclature Bill of 1917 is therefore dramatic. Another difference was that no Lutheran churches were burnt down in South Australia and Lutheran Schools were not closed as in World War I.



Street sign, Tanunda

But if the State Government of South Australia had learned to live with those of German descent as part of the community in a time of war then the Federal Government had not. On 9 September 1939 the National Security Bill became law. This Act was substantially the same as the War Precautions Act of World War I which gave the Government of the day practically unlimited executive powers. As John Curtin pointed out in the debate on the Bill it

asks Parliament to transfer to the Executive the whole of the law making authority over its activities while the war is on.³

The dangers inherent in the Act were clearly understood.⁴ Menzies spoke of its dangers when administered by the 'rigid official mind'⁵ and Rosevear warned of the excesses which had happened under the War Precautions Act of 1914-1918.⁶ However Menzies assured the nation that there would be

as little interference with individual rights as is consistent with national safety.⁷

Despite these fine words the miscarriages of justice, although perhaps not as many as in the previous war, were just as hurtful and damaging to the individuals concerned, and again demonstrates, as in World War I, the lack of civil rights and concepts of common justice which seem to operate in Australia in times of perceived crisis.

People who were thought to have offended under one of the multiple regulations that had been promulgated under the National Security Act had no redress through normal legal channels. Until 1941 there was not even the right of appeal. The accused were taken before a tribunal and interrogated. The nature of these interrogations is well illustrated by a verbatim report of one such interrogation which appeared in the Commonwealth Parliamentary debates in 1946 and was explained by Dr H.V. Evatt. The accused asked,

'I should like to know what the case is against me' to which the Chairman replied,

I am not allowed to say what it is

Evatt concluded

'Reading the documents one has a feeling of utter despair at the lack of not only humanity but also common sense'⁸

At their best the tribunals had an Alice in Wonderland quality about them; at their worst they could have come straight from Kafka. As Archie Cameron pointed out in the Commonwealth Parliament in the same year, Australian-born citizens had been held for four to five years without any charge being brought against them.⁹

There is no disputing the fact that genuine Nazi sympathisers were interned during the war,¹⁰ and that there were

1 Idem p 911
 2 Idem p 920
 3 CAD, 1939, p. 167.
 4 Idem pp 173-175
 5 Idem, p. 176.
 6 Idem, p. 173.
 7 Advertiser, 11 September 1939.
 8 CAD, 1946, p. 391.
 9 Idem, p. 334.
 10 Riedel Memoirs (private ossession)

such people is not surprising given the generally favourable political climate towards Nazism prior to the war. But the way in which the Act was enforced, was, as in the First World War, most arbitrary. Generally there was no proper investigation and frequently 'suspects' were brought to the notice of the military or police by anonymous letters. As in the previous war this proved an ideal method in which to settle old scores. Most accusations brought against an accused were therefore on hearsay and the burden of proving his or her innocence lay on the shoulders of the accused—again quite contrary to normal notions of British justice, doubly so when in most cases the nature of the accusation was unknown.

A few examples must suffice. Because of their prominent position and relative wealth in the South Australian society, as well as their leading position in the South Australian German community, the Homburg family was a target of much jealousy. Seemingly because of his connections Fritz Homburg at least was allowed to know the nature of the charges brought against him.¹ He was also accused of making disloyal statements in a Tanunda hotel on a certain date. He was able to show that he was in Adelaide on that date. He was accused of inviting the German adventurer Count Felix von Luckner to Tanunda and wining and dining him at the council's expense. Incredibly he was able to argue that he had been asked to invite von Luckner by one of the members of the tribunal sitting in front of him and that he, Homburg, had refused the latter's request that the Tanunda Council bear the expenses.² He was acquitted, but we do gain some indication of the almost unbelievable lack of preparation and the questionable quality of the tribunals.

Fritz's relative, Hermann Homburg was not so lucky. Speaking to him in 1959 I had the strong impression that even then he did not know who had brought the accusa-



German house with room for animals, Hahndorf

tions of disloyalty against him. Information that has become available since indicates that the accusations were levelled by a distant female relative with a grudge who had reported on conversations held at family gatherings.³ The nature of his crime was that he had made statements such as 'Not everything is bad in Germany'. The real nature of his crime however was that he was arguably the leading South Australian of German descent. Homburg assured me that the interrogating military officer was most polite and that they virtually had played word games with each other until the officer finally had said, 'Well, Mr Homburg with a man in your position we have to do something about you'.⁴

After being put under house arrest in Victoria for some 18 months—at his own expense—he was allowed to return to South Australia.⁵

The case of South Australian born J.F.W. Schulz also bears examining. His case has been examined in some detail in a thesis called fittingly 'Guilty till Proven Innocent' by Elizabeth Schulz at the Salisbury campus of the South Australian College of Advanced Education. She indicates that Schulz was guilty by association. He knew Dr Johannes Becker socially and Becker was one of the leading Nazis in Australia. Schulz also was involved in the arrangements with von Luckner, whom Australian security considered was sent here as a subversive element. Specific charges were never brought against Schulz. Nor could he clear his name after the war.⁶

Also of interest is the case of Pastor Riedel. A fervent anti-mason, he had written books against masonry in the 1930s. Again no charges were brought against him and he found himself in Loveday Internment Camp without really knowing why.⁷ The consensus of opinion both then and now is that he had in the provincial Adelaide of the time offended too many people with his anti-masonic crusade and the war gave the injured parties a chance to settle old scores, especially when among those who considered themselves insulted and attacked was a high ranking army officer.⁸

Many other South Australians of German descent had their houses searched by the military looking for incriminating evidence.⁹ The pattern was invariably similar. The army would arrive unexpectedly having been given a 'tipoff' and the house was searched from top to bottom with little care paid to the contents. The late Dr Max Lohe, one-time President of the Lutheran Church of Australia, told me that he did not know whether to laugh or cry when the military arrived at his family home. His father's library was examined but only by looking at the wording on the spines of the books. Such was the ignorance of the army officers conducting the search that translations of books by Goethe were

1 Pastor P. Scherer Adelaide interview, 7 September 1987.

2 Idem

3 Homburg papers

4 H Homburg Adelaide interview, June 1959.

5 Idem. Homburg put many of his thoughts into print after the war in a booklet entitled *South Australian Germans and War Time Rumours*, Adelaide 1947

6 E. Schulz, 'Guilty Till Proven Innocent' B.Ed. thesis, SACAE, Salisbury 1987.

7 Riedel memoirs

8 Scherer interview.

9 Ron Praise Adelaide interview, 9 September 1987, Pastor J Lohe, Adelaide interview, May 1974.

confiscated as being seditious literature, while books not unfavourable to Germany in the 1930s were ignored because of their innocuous titles.¹

However it cannot be concluded that all those in the transit camps at Keswick and Wayville or interned in Tatura, Victoria, or Loveday near Barmera in South Australia, were innocent. Of the just under 100 South Australians interned in Tatura in 1940–1941 several were known Nazis including names well known to the South Australian public today in media, political and medical circles.² It is perhaps best to leave this chapter closed as the sins of the fathers should not be visited upon the sons. Kaukas indicates that most Australians of German descent were interned in either Loveday or Tatura. He writes that at the height of the war in November 1942 there were 4,814 people interned at Loveday of which 678 were German and of these 196 were what he terms local Germans—born in Australia. At Tatura there were at the same date 3,246 internees of which 1,916 were Germans, 839 being local.³

The extent of the Nazi influence in South Australia prior to Price writing in *German Settlers in South Australia* just after the war suggest that the efforts to subvert South Australian Germans to the Nazism were extensive and that over one thousand fell prey to the Nazi cause.⁴ However he recognises that his numbers are but estimates based on Lutheran figures. In the light of our present day knowledge of multi-culturalism we are able to make a clearer distinction, which he could not, between cultural and political loyalties, which in turn suggests that Price's figures might be inflated.

But the Nazi policy of Kultur-Politik—cultural politics—did try to blur the distinctions between culture and politics. By 1936–1937 the leadership of the South Australian German Association had been taken over by Nazis, although this cannot be taken to mean that every member of the Association was a Nazi. Nevertheless the political views held by the Association were so obvious that many members failed to renew their membership.⁵ Total membership of the Association was about 400.⁶ The S.A. German Historical Society (which set about but never succeeded in writing a book on the contribution made by those of

German descent in South Australia) and the German Australian Centenary Committee (which was responsible for the Carl Linger memorial in the West Terrace Cemetery and the memorial at the Klemzig Cemetery), also had active Nazis among their members, but neither could be classified as either Nazi or a Nazi front organisations.⁷

German Foreign Office records show that in 1934 there was in Tanunda a *Hitlerbund*, a Hitler Club, which had as its goal 'togetherness' with Germany.⁸ *The Bund des Deutschtums in Australien* (The Group for German language and customs in Australia), in 1935 had as its aim the furthering among German descendants of German customs, manners, language and culture.⁹ The South Australian German Association was associated with this group, which could best be described as a front organisation.¹⁰ There was also a society for further study which had 35 members in South Australia.¹¹ In 1935 the last year for which figures from German Foreign Office files are available there were 77 members of the Nazi Party in the whole of Australia¹² of which 12 were in Tanunda which was designated as a *Stützpunkt*—support point—and a further 12 in Adelaide.¹³ The well known Dr Johannes Becker was the leader at this time for the whole of Australia as well as for Adelaide. By 1938 the leadership of the groups had been taken over by the consuls.¹⁴ If official members of the Nazi Party are taken as a guide then the threat to South Australia from within does not appear to have been significant.

In conclusion it is possible to say that although those arrested were not subjected to brutality or mistreatment, the negation of common justice possible under the regulations of the National Security Act ensured that miscarriages of justice occurred that should not have occurred in a democratic society. Despite the fact that there was no sweeping condemnation of Germans or their descendants the long held fear in South Australia of an '*imperium in imperio*', a state within a state,¹⁵ helped foster a denial of natural justice. In World War II South Australians of German descent again perceived themselves to be betrayed by the very concepts of British justice which in the nineteenth century had been a reason for their migration and with which they had been so proud to be associated at that time.¹⁶

Paper delivered at a *Symposium on World War II*, Constitutional Museum, Adelaide 1987

- 1 Prison lists in the possession of Mr Ron Praise, Unley Sth.Aust
- 2 Lone Interview
- 3 A Kaukas, 'The Internment of German nationals living in Australia, in Particular Those Living in South Australia', unpublished B.A. Hons thesis, University of Adelaide, 1983, p. 3.
- 4 C A Price *German Settlers in South Australia* Melbourne 1946 pp 74,76
- 5 Praise interview.
- 6 I. Harmstorf, 'A Short History of the German Association', in *One Hundred Years SAADV*, Adelaide, 1984.
- 7 *German Settlers in South Australia 1776–1964*, 'Special Collection Barr Smith Library'. University of Adelaide. Contents compiled by I.A. Harmstorf.
- 8 NLA German Foreign Office files Microfilm Tin 386.
- 9 *Idem* 391
- 10 *Idem*
- 11 *Idem*
- 12 *Idem*
- 13 *Idem*
- 14 *Idem*, 386.
- 15 I. Harmstorf, 'Guests or Fellow countrymen', Unpublished Ph.D. thesis, Flinders University, 1987, p. 64 inter alia.
- 16 *Idem*, pp 325,344 inter alia.

Resource Material on South Australian Germans

Compiled by the Author

Manuscript

- | | |
|------------------|---|
| Ey, Anna | Memoirs (written circa 1900-1907) |
| Geue, Johann | Memoirs (written 1923) |
| Homann, Louise | Memoirs 'Journal of a Life of Many Moves', translated Adelaide 1965 |
| Peltz, Friedrich | Memoirs (written 1989) |
| Schedlich, Carl | Memoirs (written circa 1900) |

The above are held in the Mortlock Library. Other memoirs are added to the library's collection as they are donated.

Early Books

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|-------------------|---|
| Bergmann, A. | <i>Lebenslauf des ehemaligen Lehrers Adolf Bergmann</i> Adelaide 1912 |
| Bergmann, A. | <i>Humoristische Beschreibung der Australischen Kolonie</i> Tanunda 1895 |
| Bergmann, A. | <i>Samenkorn in die Herzen von Jung und Alt</i> Light's Pass 1889 |
| Cawthorne, W.A. | <i>Menge the Mineralogist</i> Adelaide 1859 |
| Dieseldorff, J.P. | <i>Wegweiser nach Süd-Australien</i> Hamburg 1849 |
| Doeger, George | <i>Auswanderer nach Süd-Australien. Ein Rathgeber</i> Tangermünde 1849 |
| Gerstäcker, F. | <i>Gesammelte Schriften</i> Bd. 1-3, Jena 1872 |
| Gerstäcker, F. | <i>Nord- und Süd-Australien: ein Handbuch für Auswanderer</i>
Dresden and Leipzig 1849 |
| Gerstäcker, F. | <i>Im Busch: australische Erzählung</i> Jena and Leipzig 1864 |
| Heising, A. | <i>Die Deutschen in Australien</i> Berlin 1853 |
| Hunckel, C. | <i>Berichte deutscher Ansiedler in Süd-Australien</i> Bremen 1845 |
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| Kauvlers, E. | <i>Seereise nach Süd-Australien am 15. August 1848 von Hamburg</i>
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Berlin 1851 |
| Reimer, R. (ed) | <i>Süd-Australien. Ein Beitrag zur Deutschen</i> Berlin 1851 |

Books

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| Bodie, L. et al. (eds) | <i>The German Connection. Sesquicentenary Essays on German-Victorian Cross Currents 1835-1985</i> Victoria 1987 |
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- Borrie, W.D. *Italians and Germans in Australia* Melbourne 1954
- Brauer, A. *Under the Southern Cross* Adelaide 1956
- Buchhorn, Martin (ed) *Emigrants to Hahndorf: A Remarkable Voyage from Altona to Port Adelaide, South Australia. The diary of Captain Hahn of the Zebra. Translated with commentary by Lee Kersten, Lutheran Publishing House, Adelaide 1989*
- Butler, E. *Cork Elms and Controversy at Hahndorf* National Trust, Hahndorf 1985
- Fox, A.L. *Hahndorf* Fox Publishing, Hahndorf 1977
- Harmstorf, I./Cigler, M. *The Germans in Australia* Melbourne 1985
- Harmstorf, I./Schwerdtfeger, P.(eds) *The German Experience of Australia 1833-1938* Flinders University of S.A. 1988
- Homann, L. *Journal of a Life of Many Moves* Adelaide 1956
- Homburg, H. *S.A. Lutherans and Wartime Rumours* Adelaide 1947
- Iwan, W. *Um des Glaubens Willen nach Australien* Breslau 1931
- Lodewyckx, A. *Die Deutschen in Australien* Stuttgart 1932
- Lodewyckx, A. *Die Deutschen in der australischen Wirtschaft* Stuttgart 1938
- Lyng, J. *Non-Britishers in Australia* Melbourne 1927
- Nielsen, George. *In Search of Home: The Wends (Sorbs on the Australian and Texas Frontier* Birmingham Slavonic Monograph No 1, Birmingham 1978
- Price, C.A. *German Settlers in South Australia* Melbourne 1945
- Renner, H. *Hahndorf. A German Village Under the Southern Cross* Hahndorf 1988
- Schubert, D. *Kavel's People* Adelaide 1985
- Sinthern, Peter S.J. *53 Jahre Osterreichische Jesuiten-Mission in Australien* Wien 1924
- Shemmeld, J.W. *Kruger Jars 'n' Fencing Wire* unknown, circa 1983
- Tampke, J.(ed) *Wunderbar Country. Germans Look at Australia 1850-1914* Sydney 1982
- Thiele, C. *Barossa Sketchbook* Adelaide 1968
- Thiele, C. *Heysen's Early Hahndorf* Adelaide 1976
- Vondra, J. *German Speaking Settlers in Australia* Melbourne 1981
- Voigt, J. *Australia-Germany: Two Hundred Years of Contacts. Relations and Connections Inter Nationes, Bonn 1987*
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- Fischer, G. 'A Great Independent Australian Reich and Nation', Carl Muecke and the 'Forty-Eighters' of the German-Australian Community of South Australia' in *Journal of Australian Studies* No 25, Nov 1989
- Gemmel, N.G. 'Some Notes on Ferdinand von Mueller and the Early Settlement of the Bugle Ranges' in *South Australian Naturalist* Vol 49 No 4, June 1975
- Grope, L.B. 'The Story of Klemzig, South Australia' in *Year Book of the Lutheran Church Adelaide 1975*
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- Harmstorf, I.A. 'The Trouble with Patriotism. The issue of Loyalty: South Australian Germans 1838-1900' in *Proceedings of the Third Biennial Conference of the Australian Association of von Humboldt Fellows* Flinders University, Adelaide 1890
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- McCredie, A.D. 'German Musical Traditions in South Australia' in Harmstorf, I /Schwerdtfeger, P.(eds) *The German Experience of South Australia 1833-1938* Flinders University 1988
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- Watts, D.J.B. 'Captain D.M.Hahn and the First Special Survey' in *South Australiana* Vol. 20 No. 1 1981. This edition also carries two further unacknowledged articles: 'Letters to G.F. Angas by D. McLaren, J. Menge, C. Flaxman and A.L.C. Kavel 1838-1839', and 'German Colonists as seen by the Press 1839', *South Australian Colonial Register*
- Woodburn, S. 'Heinicke's Grand Orchestra: The Reminiscences of Herrmann Heinicke' in *South Australiana* Vol. 22, 1983.

Some of the older articles will be difficult to obtain but have been listed in case of special interests.

Unpublished Theses

- Bishop, L. 'Blood is Thicker Than Water'. Perception of the German Threat in South Australia During World War I' B.A. Hons. thesis, University of Adelaide 1988
- Brasse, L. 'German Colonial Architecture in South Australia', S.A. Institute of Technology, Department of Architecture, thesis 1975
- Carmichael, L. 'Government Sponsored Immigration - a Comparison of Two Major Periods of German Migration to South Australia, 1836-1906 and 1947-1971, Torrens College of Advanced Education 1973. (Now the University of South Australia, Underdale)
- Davies, D. 'Australian-Britons and German-Australians; Public attitudes to German Settlers in South Australia 1970-1914, B.A. Hons., University of Adelaide 1975
- Ferguson, B.A. 'Patriotism in a Country Town: Mt. Gambier in the period of the Great War', B.A. Hons, Adelaide 1973. Chapter 5 on the position of the local German-Australian community.
- Harmstorf, I.A. 'Germans in the South Australian Parliament 1857-1900' B.A.Hons University of Adelaide 1959
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- Pech, B. 'Augustus Kavel 1798-1860' B.A. Hons University of Adelaide 1967
- Krips, M.J. 'A History of Music in South Australia before 1900', B.A. Hons. University of Adelaide 1973 (stresses the contribution of the German settlers)
- Paul, P. 'Das Barossa Deutsche' M.A. University of Adelaide 1965
- Sabel, A. 'Immanuel College at Point Pass; the Foundation years 1895 -1922' Murray Park College of Advanced Education 1973 (now the University of South Australia Magill)
- Schaefer, T. 'The Treatment of Germans in South Australia:1914-1918' B.A. Hons Flinders University 1972
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- Wallace, P.V. 'Parliamentary Attitudes towards the German Population in SA 1914-1918' B.A. Hons Flinders University 1972
- Zweck, J. 'Church and State Relationships as they Affected the Lutheran Church and its Schools in South Australia', M.Ed., University of Melbourne 1971 (available through the University of Adelaide)

The theses listed above are those which deal specifically with the Germans in South Australia with the exception of music theses. These are of a highly specialised nature but information on them can be obtained through the Music Department of the University of Adelaide. Other theses, especially those dealing with World War I, usually have references to South Australian Germans as do many books on the subject. Pointers to additional sources of information on specific aspects of the Germans in South Australia may be found in either the references or the bibliographies in some of the theses listed above.

Miscellaneous

There are articles about individual Germans in the *Australian Dictionary of Biography*.

Other than those mentioned above there are numerous articles about various aspects of Lutheran life in early South Australia in the Year Books of the Lutheran Church of Australia.

In the Mortlock Library there is a large selection of family histories, many of which have been written by people of German descent. The standard of historical accuracy varies but all contain extensive and accurate genealogical tables. The German newspapers published in South Australia are also held on microfilm in this library as well as the University of Adelaide. The 'South Australiana Source Sheet No.12', also held in the Mortlock, is an excellent guide to the published sources on Germans held in the Mortlock and Bray Library Collections.

The Adelaide Hills Tourist Information Centre, 64 Main St., Hahndorf has various books about Germans in South Australia including *Barossa Bibliography* by Reg Butler (Hahndorf 1992). This

book contains references to many smaller works about towns in the Barossa as well as a more general bibliography.

There have from time to time also been articles about Germans in the popular press. Among these are:

'They Worked Hard and Prayed Long', *The Bulletin* Sydney 10/7/76.

'Pride of the Princess', *Advertiser* Adelaide 2/12/89. (The story of the ship *Princess Louise*)

There are many books, both descriptive and novels, written about local areas in which Germans settled. This is particularly true of Hahndorf and the Barossa Valley. These books are readily available in their local areas although some can be purchased through the Open Book store in Gawler Place, Adelaide. Of these books the novels by Colin Thiele are the best known. Neither the descriptive books nor novels have been included in this survey.

Author's Note: Although there is some overlap in some of the articles and even, occasionally, repetition, each article has a different thrust and centres around a different theme. Both the History and German Teachers Associations have been kind enough to overview the articles for their relevance to South Australian Certificate of Education topics within the respective disciplines. I should particularly like to thank Dr Tony Stimson and Mr Geoff Howe of Eynesbury College for their help in the initial selection of articles.

The Author

Ian Harmstorf graduated with a B.A. from the University of Adelaide and after a stint at journalism left for Europe where he carried out further research in Hamburg, the birthplace of his grandfather. Returning to Australia he received first his M.A. and then the Ph.D., both of which were concerned with the migration, settlement and assimilation of Germans into South Australia. Dr Harmstorf is a senior lecturer in the Department of Education at the University of Adelaide.

HISTORICAL SOCIETY OF SA PUBLICATIONS

Journal

The *Journal of the Historical Society of South Australia* has appeared annually since 1975, with the exception of 1978 and 1980 when there were two issues. Back issues of all numbers except 1, 4, 9 and 10 are available at \$12.00 each (postage included). *Note however that stocks of some issues are running low.*

The contents of each journal are listed in the 'South Australian History in Journals' guidesheets included in Newsletters No's 77 (July 1988) and 79 (November 1988).

Newsletter

Back issues of more recent years' issues are available at \$1.00 each.

Guidesheets

These leaflets are made available gratis by the Society as a community service to promote history beyond its membership. They are issued as supplements to its Newsletters and additional copies are normally available in the Mortlock Library, the History Trust head office and the State History Centre.

- No. 1 South Australian Local History 1. Guides, Indexes & Bibliographies (1978, out of print)
- No. 2 Good Reading in South Australian History (Revised edition 1987)
- No. 3 South Australian History in Journals—A Select List of Articles (1981)
- No. 4 Making History (1988)
- No. 5 South Australian History in Journals—2. A Select List of Articles (1988)
- No. 6 More Good Reading in South Australian History (1992)

Occasional Paper

E.J. & J.R. Robbins *A Glossary of Local Government Areas in South Australia 1840–1985* (1987) \$3.00 + \$1.00 postage

Joint Publications

- S. Marsden & R. Nicol (eds) *The Politics of Heritage* (1990) [with the History Trust of S.A.] \$7.50 + \$1 postage. (out of print)
- various *South Australian Gazette and Colonial Register* A facsimile reproduction of volume 1, 18 June 1836 to 29 December 1838. (1988) [in association with the S.A. Government Printer] \$35 (limp) or \$75 (hard back). Available direct from the Government Printer and selected Adelaide bookshops.

'Insights' Series

- R. Nicol & B. Samuels (eds) *Insights into South Australian History volume one: Selected articles from the Journal of the Historical Society of South Australia* (1992) \$14 postage paid. \$12 for orders of 5 or more.
- Ian A. Harmstorf *Insights into South Australian History volume two: South Australia's German History and Heritage* (1994) \$12 postage paid. \$10 for orders of 5 or more.