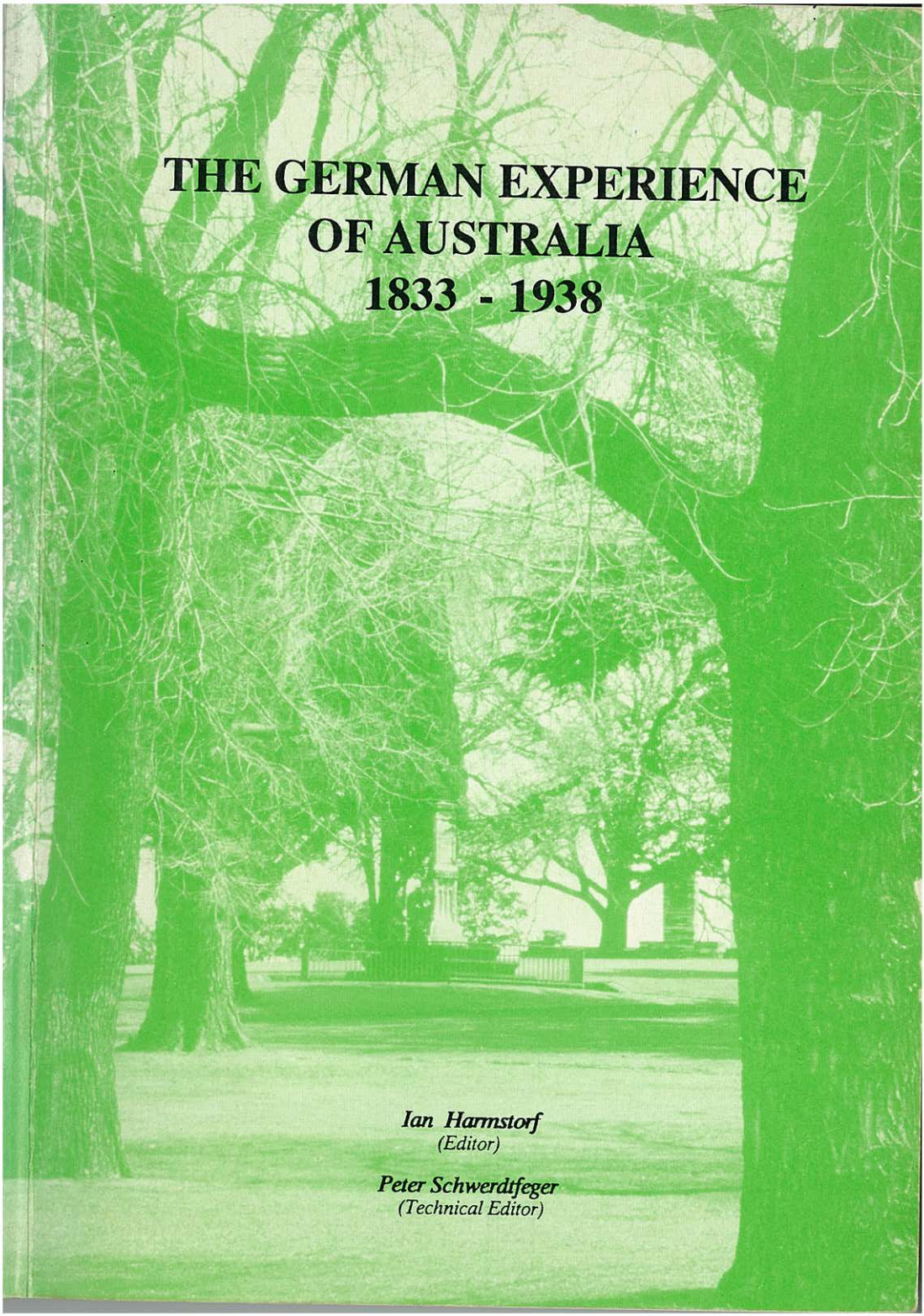
THE GERMAN EXPERIENCE OF AUSTRALIA 1833 - 1938



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(Editor)

Peter Schwerdtfeger
(Technical Editor)

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Published by the Australian Association of von Humboldt Fellows

c/o The Flinders University of South Australia, S.A., 5042

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PREFACE

The celebration of 200 years of European settlement of Australia in this year has awakened a cognizance of the contributions of many cultures which have shaped this land and the life of its people. In the 1970's, a new community-wide welcome of multi-culturalism nurtured a refreshing trend toward historical honesty. In exploring Australia's European links, German names can be associated with important events which even antedate the arrival of the First Fleet in Sydney Cove. Many books and monographs have been written during the last two centuries referring to those of German origin who achieved some prominence as settlers, farmers, explorers, scientists, scholars, or in commerce, education and government in Australia.

Alexander von Humboldt was born during a time when the colonization of Australia was first being planned. His stature as a scientist, scholar and humanitarian was such that, although he was never able to visit Australia, the impacts of his thought, achievements and even his death were so great as to make headlines in Anglo-Australian newspapers. In this century, his name lives on through the Alexander von Humboldt Foundation (Stiftung) which has its headquarters in Bonn, Federal Republic of Germany, with the aims of internationally furthering excellence in research and scholarship. This Foundation has generously enabled well over 200 Australians (as well as thousands of nationals of other lands) to benefit from up to two years of post-doctoral, research or lecturing experience at German host institutions of their own choice, at no cost to their home country.

In 1973, a symposium of past von Humboldt Fellows (of both sexes!) held in Sydney expressed embarrassment and concern at the lack of any Australian reciprocity in these internationally valuable arrangements and the first steps were taken to form an **Australian Association of von Humboldt Fellows** which were consolidated at a further conference at Melbourne University held in 1983. Since that time, the **A.A.v.H.F.** has held biennial meetings in Melbourne in 1985 and Adelaide in 1987. The theme on the latter occasion was to explore some of the lesser known yet demonstrably significant aspects of German contributions to Australia with the aim of nucleating this monograph. The **A.A.v.H.F.** was fortunate in securing the enthusiastic assistance of the well known Australian historian Dr. Ian Harmstorf in interacting with the individual authors and editorially shaping the volume.

The production of this monograph by members of the A.A.v.H.F. has been intended as both a contribution to **Australia's bi-centennial** celebration and simultaneously, an expression of gratitude to the **Alexander von Humboldt Foundation** in Germany, which, through the Fellows it has supported, has influenced Australian scholarship, science and technology, thereby promoting a high profile of international cultural understanding and respect.

Peter Schwerdtfeger
(President, A.A.v.H.F.)

INTRODUCTION

This monograph appears at a timely moment. It is the bi-centenary of the landing of the first white settlers in New South Wales and also the sesqui-centenary of the landing in South Australia of the first large group of Germans on this continent. It is therefore a time for taking stock.

One result of this has been the acknowledgement that Australia is no longer "British". Many would claim that it never has been, and that it was only the false jingoism brought about by two world wars that produced this myth, the reality being that Australia always has been a pluralist society.

The view that Australia is a multi-cultural society has become more accepted during the last ten years. As a result of this the contributions of non-British people to the development of present day Australia is being recognized for the first time. This monograph takes the process a step further by looking at the contributions of a selected group of Germans who settled here, examining their work in detail and reviewing it in an Australian and world context.

A new perspective of ourselves as Australians is presented in this monograph because the authors use and quote extensively from previously untapped German sources. Thus the articles in this monograph interpret Australia from a German perspective, giving a new non-British view of Australia. Dymphna Clark gives us insight into the life, mind and times of Baron von Hügel, while Margaret Rose explores the Australian connection of von Humboldt. John Moses looks at Queensland through the eyes of German bureaucracy in the twentieth century while Carola Robson views Queensland through the experiences of the early German settlers. Bernard O'Neill explores the world of the German scientist Johannes Menge and Pauline Payne delves into the thoughts and experiences of botanist and horticulturalist Richard Schomburgk. Andrew McCredie ranges the German-Australian musical world of South Australia while Ian Harmstorf examines assimilation pressures on Germans in the nineteenth century.

The Chinese concept of history is cyclical rather than lineal. One is drawn to this idea when reading the articles in this monograph. So many of the subjects and problems of the past seem startlingly relevant to our own time.

It is hoped the new German perspectives of Australia portrayed in this monograph will enable Australians to view their country in a new light, giving more objectivity to their perceptions. This should enable the demands of the twenty-first century to be met with greater knowledge and confidence.

Ian Harmstorf
(Editor)

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NOVA HOLLANDIA HUEGELLI

Charles von Hügel:
Journal of a visit to Australia and New Zealand
1833-1834.

Dymphna Clark

Karl Alexander Anselm Freiherr von Hügel (1795-1867) is one of the more shadowy figures associated with the history of science in Australia, yet in his own lifetime he was a most colourful and resplendent character, highly honoured and celebrated internationally. He spent almost a year (November 1833 - October 1834) travelling, collecting and observing with a very sharp eye in the colonies of Western Australia, Van Diemen's Land, New South Wales, New Zealand and Norfolk Island. Apart from the thousands of specimens he sent and brought home to Wien (Vienna), he left a voluminous edited diary, 2000 pages of handwritten German text in Gothic script. This manuscript, in the hand of an amanuensis, has never been published. It has reposed - one might almost say mouldered, in the recesses of the Mitchell Library in Sydney for 60 years, almost completely ignored and unused.

Several years ago Dr. Sophie Ducker of the School of Botany at Melbourne University persuaded the authorities at the Mitchell Library that this Journal should be translated into English and she and I have now completed a working translation of Volume 1 (Western Australia, November 1833-January 1834; Tasmania, January-February 1834) and of Volume III (New South Wales, April-October 1834). Volume II (Sydney, New Zealand and Norfolk Island, February-April 1834) had been translated earlier by R.A. Lochore of New Zealand. With the assistance of the Melbourne University Botany School, a typescript copy of this translation is now available in the Mitchell Library in Sydney. An edited version is listed for publication in book form by McPhee Gribble of Melbourne early in 1989.

Who was Baron Charles von Hügel? For an assessment of his contribution to the natural sciences I must refer you to Dr. Sophie Ducker. Here we are concerned mainly with von Hügel the man in his historical setting and the perspective from which he viewed our forebears more than 150 years ago.

Let us think back to Sydney in 1834, to the one great day of the social year, to the King's Birthday on May 28th, celebrated by a great levee and ball in the little Old Government House. At eleven in the morning everyone who was anyone - all the men, that is - had crowded into the one stuffy little reception room in Government House for the levee. The officials and the officers filed past the receiving line. All the old squatters had come in from the bush in their ancient frock-coats smelling of moth-balls. One after another, they completely ignored the Governor, General Sir Richard Bourke. Instead, they came to a halt, scraped the floor and made obeisance before the resplendent figure of Baron Karl Alexander Anselm von Hügel in the tall helmet, the dress uniform with sabre and all of a Captain of the Imperial Austrian Hussars. This is our man.

But we are also talking about a man who, after riding alone all day through bushranger country, clambering up and down gorges or driving a hired gig along the old convict road up and over the Blue Mountains - would come to a stop at the only inn or shanty on the road. Wet and cold he would have to wait while Mrs. Carey cleared the saloon of all the wild Irish Paddys and drunken Biddies - Mother Carey's chickens they were called - while she mopped the liquor-sloshed floor, lit a fire to dry the tell-tale wet patches on walls and ceiling, and served him a meal. Then, with the sounds of ribaldry penetrating from the next room, the stars shining in through gaps in the shingle roof and the freezing wind whistling in between the slabs of the wall, he would spend the evening sorting and packing his 'booty' - the specimens, mostly new plants, he had collected during the day - until at last Mother Carey's chickens pushed each other out through the door one by one and fell flat on their faces outside. Then there was quiet. He too is our man.

One must not be seduced into spending too much time on the Baron's career before and after his sojourn - nearly a year - in and around New Holland. But the cloak and dagger aspects and the Scarlet Pimpernel touches are tempting.

Hügel's family came from Koblenz in the Rhineland, and were very Catholic and conservative. His father was a high official of the old Holy Roman Empire. The constitutional tumults of the French Revolution and the Napoleonic era drove the family back from the Rhineland, first to Regensburg, where Karl was born in 1795, and finally to Wien (Vienna), where the von Hügels remained firmly enmeshed in the Hapsburg Court and the reactionary imperial politics of Prince Metternich. Karl and his brother were taught by tutors till Karl enrolled at 15 as a law student at Heidelberg University. The very next year he went off as a soldier to what his side of politics called the Wars of Liberation against Napoleon. So Karl never received a systematic education. After the battle of Waterloo he was sent all over Europe as an Austrian

diplomat till he settled as a gentleman of means on the family estate at Hietzing, just outside Wien. Here he privately studied natural science and developed his vast gardens and hothouses into 'a scene of beauty fairy-like in its loveliness', filled with exotic plants, including dozens of the then very fashionable 'New Holland plants' - banksias, grevilleas, acacias and the rest.

And then romantic tragedy stepped in. Hügel was betrothed to the Countess Melanie Zichy Ferraris, of the legendary Esterhazy family. Oral tradition relates that he himself introduced her to the Imperial Chancellor, Prince Metternich, who was then almost 60. Soon the engagement was broken off and within a few months the Countess Melanie became the third Princess Metternich. Hügel's dreams of domestic bliss in his idyllic villa were shattered and he was heart-broken. But his zeal in the cause of natural science did not flag and the Emperor interceded to obtain for him a place as guest scientist, first on a French naval vessel which in 1830 took him to the Near East, Egypt, India and Ceylon, and then on the British naval frigate "Alligator" (Commander: Captain Lambert) which brought him in turn to the Swan River Colony, to King George's Sound, to Hobart Town and then to Sydney, New Zealand, Norfolk Island and even to Twofold Bay.

After travelling indefatigably over practically the whole of the inhabited parts of New South Wales, collecting thousands of specimens and covering thousands of pages of diaries, he set sail on October 6th 1834 for the Philippines, China and back to India. He visited the remote valleys of the Himalayas in Afghanistan and Kashmir and eventually returned to Wien in 1836. In all he brought or sent back 12,000 pages of diary notes and more than 34,000 specimens, from tiny insects to huge images of idols.

The next few years were spent as a writer on scientific matters, a soldier and a diplomat, but above all as a world-famous horticulturist. He was showered with international honours, including an honorary doctorate from the University of Oxford and the patron's Medal "ob Terras reclusas" of the British Royal Geographical Society, the same as that held by Ludwig Leichhardt. Hügel's award was for his 4-volume work: Kaschmir und das Reich der Siekh (later translated into English: Kashmir and the Kingdom of the Sikhs) and for research 'elsewhere'. In 1847, at 52, he became engaged to Elizabeth Farquharson, the teenage daughter of a British general. But it was to be a long engagement before they lived happily ever after - history stepped in again.

In 1848 when Europe was convulsed by nationalist uprisings, the mob in Wien called for Chancellor Metternich's blood. The Prince resigned and had to flee. And although it was he, Metternich, who had shattered Hügel's life and dreams 18 years before, it was none other than that

'gentil, parfit knight' Baron Karl von Hügel, who managed to spirit Metternich and his wife - Hugel's own former betrothed - out of Wien 'in a common fiacre'; first to the castle of Felsberg belonging to Prince Liechtenstein and then by a circuitous route to England. Metternich's money chest had proved almost empty, so it was naturally Hügel who handed him, for the expenses of the journey, a packet of 10,000 florins which he had just received. For 10 days and 10 nights Hügel did not once take off his clothes, till they reached the English Channel and safety.

After the 1848 troubles Hügel never lived at Hietzing again. He had lost half his fortune in the turmoil and his paradise was sold, first in 1851 to the Duke of Brunswick and later to the Duke of Cumberland, who conformed to the Baron's own idea of the British character by selling off the whole lot for suburban development. Now there is nothing left of the villa, the glasshouses, the splashing fountains - or of the banksias and the grevilleas - only a bust put up in his honour by the Viennese "Gartenbaugesellschaft" which he founded in 1837.

But we must rejoin Hügel on the Swan River in Western Australia, in November 1833. The colony there was just four years old when Captain Lambert finally brought the "Alligator" into Fremantle Harbour. Hügel was astounded at the privations and the courage of the settlers amid those arid sands; by the optimism and pessimism, the unreality and the isolation. 'With but one exception', he comments, 'I found the women living under such difficulties more reconciled to their situation than their husbands. I cannot decide whether they were better actors or of greater character'.

He travelled with the Surveyor, John Septimus Roe, up the Swan River as far as the Guildford of today. He wandered over the off-shore islands and was almost lost among the coastal sand-dunes. It was here that he first found a rich harvest of new plants. 'As in many things', he writes, 'New Holland is in this the opposite to other places in the world, for the richest and most colourful vegetation is found in the poorest soil, in the sandiest spot'.

Joyfully he greets as old friends some of the 'New Holland plants' growing in his own garden at Hietzing, like the Blue Rottnest Island Daisy which he calls 'the friendly blue face of "Huegelia"' greeting him as it reached up out of the sand. Actually this flower was not really a daisy and is no longer called "Huegelia" after him. But many Australian species still bear Hügel's name, like the beautiful blue hibiscus "Alogyne huegelii" which he discovered in Western Australia, and species of "Casuarina", "Caladenia" and "Verticordia". Hügel also named new plants after his friends - it was he who named what is commonly called sarsaparilla, that lovely purple-flowered creeper of the bush in spring.

He named it "Hardenbergia" after his brother-in-law Duke Anton von Hardenberg. "Macarthuria" he named after his hosts at Camden Park in New South Wales, John Macarthur's sons William and James.

After Perth and Fremantle, the "Alligator" rounded Cape Leeuwin in good time, but contrary winds kept the ship toing and froing for a week before they could enter King George's Sound and land at the tiny colonial outpost of Albany. The official Resident there was Sir Richard Spencer, a naval man, who lived with his wife and numerous family on an elaborate estate some way from the township. As an example of the incongruities and pretensions of colonial society, here is Hügel's account of an expedition there:

> 'I arrived at Sir Richard's at 2 o'clock to walk with the family to Albany .... Naturally I had expected to walk with Lady Spencer on my arm....But I was not a little astonished when I saw two mules in harness. I was curious to know what sort of a carriage they were destined to pull. Sir Richard owns a 2-wheeled cart, on which two chairs were placed. He invited me to mount this contraption, but of course I declined. Lady Spencer and Miss Spencer now mounted these dangerous seats and one of the pretty little girls was placed between them. The two mules were harnessed, one in front of the other, and the driver walked in front. Sir Richard headed the cavalcade on the third mule, in full dress uniform with the tricorn on his head, cross and decorations on his breast and sword at his side. One of his sons and I brought up the rear of the procession'.

From Albany the "Alligator" sailed direct to Van Diemen's Land and dropped anchor in the harbour of Hobart Town on the 21st of January 1834. There and in Tasmania in general the visitors found, as he writes, 'a spirit of tidiness and decency which astonished us when we considered that a large part of the population consisted of convicts'. If the dinners in Government House at Colonel and Mrs. George Arthur's table were dull and formal, at least Colonel Arthur was a serious and pious man, and seriousness and piety improved the administration of the island. Hügel was moved, he writes, 'to see a real European town again after so long. It is a well-mannered community, everyone looks healthy, full of life and activity. This cannot be compared with the misery of Western Australia.....'. But as so many times before and after, melancholy overcame the Baron. 'In the lovely summer weather' he writes, 'I felt here more strongly then ever, when body and soul were not in harmony, how useless my life was, how unfulfilled and joyless the Derwent River, up and down Mount Wellington. The pretty cosy cottages made him feel sadder than ever - domestic bliss was gone from him forever. He writes: 'I thought of ringing down the curtain on the past and settling down there at the end of the world'. But thoughts of

his mother at home stopped him short. The same was to happen several times again, in particular when he saw the magnificent, well-watered country of Illawarra in New South Wales, so empty of settlers.

It is in the section on Van Diemen's Land that Hügel makes the first of many pronouncements on "die Engländer" as colonisers. I will take some at random:

> 'There is a belief in England that the rights of all peoples are very important, but if one looks at history, one must unwillingly admit that it is an importance in words only and not in deeds, so it is a mask of hypocrisy. Up to the present, this proud Empire can be judged three times in its history: in North America, New Holland and the West Indies. In the first of these countries the original inhabitants have disappeared in proportion as British civilisation advanced. In the West Indies, the aboriginal population has been replaced by slaves and in New Holland the Aborigines decrease in population in proportion to the increase in numbers of english settlers....' or:

> 'It is quite clear to me that ..... it was completely forgotten that these defenceless people had some sort of right to be part of this community, not only because they were the original owners, but also because they were, after all, humans .... For the life of an Aborigine the slightest consideration was unnecessary, and they were subjected to the most cruel treatment if they dared to defend themselves against their humiliations - and after all it is impossible for any human being to endure such things without defending himself ...These things ... were often perpetrated by the convicts ... as well as by the sailors. They consisted mainly in the way they simply took their wives and children, making fresh attacks against them if they found any opposition to these actions....' But: 'One must not say that the English upper class have not been committing these crimes, for the first command to do so was given by Lieutenant Moore, who gave an order that fifty inhabitants be exterminated...' [A reference to the shooting at Risdon Cove in May 1804].

Hügel goes on to extenuate the convicts, whose 'characters have been moulded in a terrible school,....and these wicked and exiled people sought to cool their desires or satisfy their hellish instincts in terrible actions and murder'.

> 'This allowed ....England's well-educated, well-bred sons to devastate this place in the hope of a vile once-only profit...by the occupation of the country round the Derwent, where a tribe of over 500 people lived, and after 27 years all the original

> inhabitants have been driven on to an infertile island'. [in Bass Strait] '....For a long time the custom was to shoot every Aborigine the minute he approached one of the huts. How many criminal acts could have been prevented by the gift of a few tons of flour to the Aborigines each year!....England would have saved itself from having a black mark that cannot be obliterated by anything.'..... 'The English, with the apparent mask of philanthropy, gave the convicts a chance to reform...Thus they founded a colony which from the very beginning was unjust, for it entailed robbing the Aborigines of the land... Then these wicked people organised a regular hunt for them...and the english had hunting dogs that they used in hunting humans....In the end there was even a premium paid for every head caught. When this did not succeed, the first Englishman to learn their language, and whom they trusted [G.A. Robinson] persuaded them to go to an island where one by one they slowly expired.....and one suspects that they will soon be extinct.....'

And so on for many pages. All this, based mainly on the reports of the Aborigines Committee set up in 1829, makes very distressing reading. But one cannot help wondering how much Hügel knew and what he thought of conditions at some of the outposts of the Austro-Hungarian Empire. As for the 'Spanish cruelties' accompanying their colonisation, he 'can find an excuse even for Pizarro, for his ultimate aim was the conversion of the peasants to Christendom...'

Hügel can have seen very little of the Tasmania Aborigines, but later in New South Wales he came into frequent close contact with mainland Aborigines. He never again uses such harsh language to describe official and unofficial treatment of the indigenous people, but he remains very critical. Here is one passage:

> 'Whenever I had a chance to talk seriously with the New Hollanders, I found them anything but stupid and was astonished at their powers of perception, and at this replies, which always went straight to the point. I was often even astonished at their power of feeling. But what is to become of a poor naive and indolent people who never hear a sensible word, or anything suggestive of either intellect or sensibility, from an Englishman? Whenever he sees a New Hollander, the Englishman cooees, and when comes close the usual question is: "Hullo blackfellow, what's your name? You got plenty patta (food) in your belly?" The black man laughs, baring his teeth- "That's right". "How many gins - wives - you got?" -- and so the jokes go on till the Englishman can't think of any more. He never hears a single sensible or instructive word, and as for what he learns from the lower classes, that may well be imagined.'

And another short but pungent passage written much later, during his visit to Newcastle: 'That evening at the Reverend Wilton's place I saw a map of the Hunter District drawn by the missionary [L.E.Threlkeld]. It is nicely drawn and appears to be accurate, but... it struck me as bizarre to find marked on the map, near Lake Macquarie: *Grant of Land to the Natives.*

Hügel obviously spent a great deal of thought on what should be done to civilize and especially to convert the Aborigines. 'Many and various attempts have been made' he says, 'but they have all failed, because they never succeeded in arousing in them a passionate desire for what are to them luxuries, so as to induce them to work. It is their craving for untrammelled, unlimited freedom which makes them hostile to every aspects of civilization'. He outlines all the efforts made by Macquarie and by the missionaries, which have so far produced barely one or two uncertain converts. Why? 'If we ask whether these endeavours were conducted in the spirit of the people on whom they were intended to produce an effect.... the answer must be in the negative. This is the only approach which can lead to success, but it poses great difficulties.' So what is his solution? Here it is:

> 'The only means of true improvement and conversion would have been to sacrifice a couple of missionaries to live among and with a tribe for years, which is what Catholic missionaries normally do (but not the English missionaries of this faith). But I can visualise the horror of a Gentleman missionary - which they would first and foremost have to be - at such a suggestion.'

Like many commentators on this vexed subject, he flounders in contradictions, for on the very same page he tells us that Macquarie's school for Aboriginal children' would have had better results if the children had been kept away from their tribe for a few years'.

The convict system is another recurring theme, on which he filled many of those 12,000 pages of notes. Hügel was a tender-hearted, humane man and the indignities he saw distressed him deeply. He pondered over the reasons for the wave of crime which had swept over England and created the need for the transportation system. It was not poverty, he maintained, that led to crime. It was partly the fact that the English judicial system was such a lottery, in which men guilty of serious crimes had a good chance of going scot free. But for Hügel there is a more potent factor, the idea expressed in Schiller's ballad Das verschleierte Bild zu Sais (1795) about an aspirant who came to the great temple of Isis (=wisdom) at Sais in the Nile delta. Determined to know Truth, to gain wisdom, the impatient aspirant broke the most sacred prohibition: He tore the veil from the great image of the goddess Isis - and was struck down. This is what Hügel says:

> 'In our own Germany [where society is] relatively uncorrupted, it is a disgrace to be brought before a judge, even if innocent, and if you like, this is probably one of the most salutary prejudices among the lower orders. In France and England this is not the case. In these two countries every man more or less considers himself to be a legislator through his vote or the co-operation of a member of Parliament, and a judge by virtue of his capacity to act as juror. This means that, in the eyes of the common people, justice has lost its sacred awe ..... Law and justice have been dragged down from their awesome heights to face the tribunal of reason and the people now see in them merely man-made laws, see the judge as a man. In the ancient rituals and robes which have been retained they see only an amusing masquerade, an entertaining spectacle. To remain virtuous Man must fear something. To believe in the possibility of restraining Man from transgression by his own moral feelings - I mean the great mass of humanity - is a superstition surpassing all others. England and France have endeavoured to make Man autonomous: England by means of clear, prosaic views on every subject, by unveiling the image of Sais, and France by destroying the image altogether. However, in proportion as all fear of human decrees disappeared, crime increased. The monarch's power and majesty were degraded to the rank of the first official of the nation ..... All the laws and institutions were continually altered, and even religion was deprived of its sacredness, first in the person of its ministers and then in its doctrines. This want of religion, this prosaic attitude to life, this satisfaction with the crude pleasures of life, form the basis of the greatness and might of England - but at what a price! The moral sensibilities of the people have been so debased that everything that goes unpunished is permissible. All dread of the penal laws has been lost, moral feeling has been extinguished, poverty is dishonourable and wealth, no matter how acquired, is honoured and holds all power. Is it any wonder that crimes leading to [the acquisition of wealth] are on the increase? However distressing it may be for a humanitarian to discover that this is a result of the advance of free political institutions - this is the case'.

There speaks our dyed-in-the-wool Austro-Hungarian conservative, the protege of Metternich. Nevertheless he was impressed with the reformation of the convicts under the penal system in New Holland. He writes: 'In this respect Van Diemen's Land achieves most satisfactory results...[The criminal is] removed entirely from his former surroundings.. and company in which he was educated in crime and admired as a hero...Without chains or a prison [under the assignment system], fed and clothed and assigned to a planter, working in the open air as a useful member of society, clearing forest, away from

temptation..usually, if the convict still has a spark of spirit and sensibility left, he is quickly changed into a new man.'

Later, in New South Wales, he modifies these rosy views some-what. In New South Wales both the planters - as he consistently calls the free settlers - and the administration are much less diligent, much more lenient. I think too his judgement is partly coloured by his view of the respective governors. He strongly approves the pious, serious Governor Arthur, but he never has a good word to say for Sir Richard Bourke of New South Wales, that liberal Protestant Irish gentleman. In Van Diemen's Land the convicts were kept clean and the regulations strictly enforced, in New South Wales the prisoners were filthy, insolent and verminous. Little attempt was made to get them to church. Discipline was so slack that convicts conspired to get themselves sentenced to a chain-gang on the roads, where they could loaf all day in the company of their mates, for the soldiers in charge were there only to see that they did not abscond, not to make them work. As for the women, marriage and raising families were the only effective means of reforming them. Hügel found rich emancipists like Samuel Terry and all his minions insufferable. The only emancipist whose company he enjoyed was old Solomon Wiseman at Wiseman's Ferry on the Hawkesbury, who told Hügel many a pretty tale about his past and did not spare the embroidery.

We come now to Hügel's longer stay in New South Wales from February to October 1834. He travelled the length and breadth of the inhabited districts - from Newcastle, Maitland and the Hunter district in the north to Twofold Bay in the South: from Captain Piper's rural hide-out near Bathurst in the west to Norfolk Island and New Zealand in the east. He travelled on horseback or in a hired gig in which he forded flooded streams and slithered down the Bulli Pass, getting bogged later in the black coastal mud of Illawarra. He commuted by steamer for the day from John Blaxland's mansion "Newington" on the Parramatta, doing business in Sydney and returning by the evening steamer. He travelled by the steamer "Sophia Jane" from Sydney to Newcastle, sharing the big cabin with a boatload of drunken racegoers on their way to the races at Maitland. He rode in the mail-coach from Liverpool to Sydney, vastly entertained by the conversation of two women passengers. One of these was 'very well dressed'. With Hügel I think this phrase was probably a euphemism for the oldest profession. They were emancipist women and railed vehemently against the new policy of bringing ship-loads of free women and girls to the colony: These hussies were ruining both the job market and the marriage market for the convict women.

On his travels Hügel often slept in bush shanties and tents, but it is not surprising that he gravitated to the homes of the quality. He formed very close bonds of friendship with John Macarthur's sons William and James, then lords of Camden Park. William took him on one of his

longest and most elaborate botanising excursions, from Camden via Appin and down the escarpment at Bulli right to the southern edge of Illawarra. They were accompanied by a cart, tents, tools, a gardener, numerous convict servants and by Aboriginal guides. But I think his closest friends were the John Blaxlands of "Newington" and the Hannibal Macarthurs of "The Vineyard", both on the Parramatta River and both households full of charming children, especially lovely young girls. He was devoted to children and no-one could complain that he failed to appreciate the charms of the colonial ladies. At that time still an unfulfilled bachelor of 40, his susceptible eye equally entranced by the melancholy beauty of elegant Mrs. George Wyndham at "Dalwood" on the Hunter, and the sight of a barefooted Irish colleen, riding bareback and skilfully manoeuvring a recalcitrant herd of cows through some sliprails. He follows this vignette up with a little treatise on sliprails, the bane of the lone traveller along bush tracks, and another on the pannikin and the tea-drinking rituals of the colonials.

Hügel was never comfortable or cheerful in Sydney: the streets were filthy, almost impassable; the people, he says, 'had not been cured of their fear of water, of which their clothing bears such black proof'. He hated the vulgarity of the prosperous and rapacious commercial class. But from his diaries one could almost compile a Who's-Who of colonial society, for he met and described virtually all the notables - with the striking exception of W.C. Wentworth, who is mentioned only once in passing - perhaps a pregnant omission.

At Pulteney's Hotel in Sydney, for instance, where he and Captain Lambert took rooms while the "Alligator" was being repaired, he made the acquaintance of a charming couple, Captain Sir Edward Parry and Lady Parry. He was the celebrated Arctic explorer turned director of the Australian Agricultural Co. at £2000 a year. Hügel comments:

> 'A Continental might well ask what induced Sir Edward Parry to go to New South wales and what could have made this famous man enter the service of such an obscure company. The answer is easy and is to be found in English customs. The English hold the view that any appointment which is well-paid is both acceptable and honourable, and are always prepared to accept even the most incongruous positions.'

Sir Edward had antagonized many company officials while straightening out the tangled affairs of the Australian Agricultural Co. and this leads Hügel to remark:

> 'To the misfortune of Sydney and New South Wales, there is a very numerous class of people for whom any honourable man with an unspotted reputation in the world is a thorn in the flesh. Not

only do most of the newspapers actively engage in attacking and tormenting him incessantly, but many of the lawyers - who fill Sydney to overflowing - bring actions against them [sic], without a fee in order to ingratiate themselves with the majority. Old England with its complicated legal system did the young colony a great disservice by not granting it a simple legal code in which it was not the words and the form that counted but the substance of the matter, and with strict laws against all forms of chicanery. But NSW has now adopted almost without exception the English laws and court procedure, which are founded on those very qualities which the majority, in fact the very great majority, lack: honour, religion, fear of perjury. What is to become of the law when a false oath is a daily occurrence in court?.... when lies and false testimony are always regarded as plausible and the sworn jury does not speak according to its conscience but according to its own interest or caprice?

Yet this is unfortunately the case in the colony. Perjury, even in cases incurring the death penalty, is so common in witnesses that during the last session the judges were forced to resort to serious measures.....'

Hügel distinguished three classes of polite society in Sydney: the senior civil and military officers, the planter class and the merchants and lawyers. These last were of course almost without exception repugnant to him. He also found infinitely dreary the dinners to which he was constantly invited. He writes:

'Every family, according to its means, gives a couple of dozen veritable banquets every year, at which the dishes leave nothing to be desired in quantity or the wines in quality. Many of these dinners lasted, from the time of sitting down to the time of rising from table, from half past six to eleven. And this year a most extraordinary fashion has come in,....which is little to my taste, of excluding the lady of the house and her daughters, which makes the whole thing all too much like feeding-time on the farm....Now nothing goes more against the grain with me than a big dinner with the subsequent mindless [ribaldry?] and the only thing that can compensate ... is the chance to make the acquaintance of a few agreeablewomen. The largest dinner I attended in Sydney was at the home of Mr. Manning where 24 of us sat down without a single woman...This was the best dinner I attended in NSW.'

Mr. Edye Manning was Registrar of the Supreme Court of New South Wales and it may not come as a surprise to learn that he was twice insolvent.

But Hügel spent as much time as he could in the bush and observed every aspect of life there closely - the Aborigines, the organisation of the immensely profitable sheep-breeding industry, the goings-on at the court hearings, where the magistrates, all gentry and related to each other, amused themselves vastly at the defendants' expense - 'a family affair' he called these trials; the roads (mostly abominable), the bushrangers, the verminous convict stockades, the gardens, the life of the planters in their mansions or their bark huts. He was astonished, for instance, at the spectacle of ex-naval surgeon Dr. Peter Imlay pigging it in an earth-floored hut at his whaling station at Twofold Bay - only an Englishman, he says, would live like that for the sake of getting rich quickly. Then there was the extraordinary race at Maitland, with gloved and top-hatted stewards manoeuvring among the bare tree-stumps on the course; or Sir John Jamison's ugly and pretentious mansion "Regentville" among hideous stumps on top of a hill overlooking the Nepean River, and so on.

But what the Baron really came to New Holland for was the study of the natural world. Wherever he goes he instantly develops a hypothesis about the origins and evolution of the phenomena he sees. At first he is depressed by the mournful aspect of the vistas of endless grey-green forest, range upon range of sombre hills, unbroken by a single habitation or patch of cultivation or stretch of water - never a composition worthy of a landscape painter. As he becomes acclimatized, as his health recovers from the effects of his long stay in the enervating tropics and his spirits revive, he sees "der Wald Neuhollands" in a different light. Once, but only once, he is even betrayed into calling it "der Busch"! Some aspects of the bush even rouse him to an ecstasy of enthusiasm, like the romantic, boulder-strewn Cataract River and the luxuriant growth along its banks. This country is so wild 'it is impossible to ride down to the ford. The horses have often to slide down almost vertically 4 or 5 feet over the rocks. Yet even on this steep bank one can clearly see the wheel-marks of wagons that have been driven down here, something which I would have regarded as impossible.' Great was his excitement at the dozens of plant species he found here, old and new. In detail he describes a "Brush" and its bush plants growing in sand,, so like and yet unlike the New Holland plants growing in his own garden at Hietzing.

As for what he found at the foot of the Bulli Pass in Illawarra:

'....the traveller all at once finds himself in the midst of the most magnificent tropical scenery...Here everything grows to a greater height...At first I was highly delighted...but when it became clear that there was no end to it and I not even know to which family I should assign these new plants, I was vexed at my presumption in thinking that I knew anything at all about the flora

of Australia. But after plumbing the lowest depths, this horrible feeling gave way to the greatest astonishment. For a moment I really believed I was in Ceylon. The lofty "Corypha australis", rising up to 200 feet, reminded me of the "Corypha umbraculifera" on a smaller scale, and the "Seaforthia nobilis" reminded me of the elegant betel palm..Above the hundred or so palm-stems rose one common roof in the shape of an immense fig-tree'.

These huge fig-trees feature frequently in his journal. One description is of the 'great fig-tree' near Maitland:

'This fig-tree, "ficus macrophyllus", is indeed a giant. The trunk is particularly weird and sections of its, perhaps 10 to 12 feet thick, descend like wings into the earth from a great height. Its trunks show many traces of attempts to cut it down and one of these wings is being used as a pig-sty. The planters in Australia have no great feeling for the beauties of nature...'

Hügel's most intense experience was his lonely ride from Maitland down through Wollombi to the Hawkesbury in July 1834, after an unusually wet season:

'There is now a most romantic route which has been built on the eastern side of a rocky mountain...very close to deep abysses. Nature has richly adorned it with her choicest creations. Utterly charming are the "Doryanthes canisa" growing here in clefts in the rocks, as if set there by a skilled gardener. Their gigantic blooms were just unfolding. For 10 miles you have these magnificent flowers constantly before your eyes, and the rocks covered with ferns..The rain suddenly came down in such torrents that I simply could not urge my horse forward into it. There were no trees for shelter except an insignificant "Banksia serrata" which protected my horse rather than me...Suddenly the thick clouds cleared like a veil from the blue sky and the sun lit up the countryside as I approached the last hill. Not for a long time have I seen Nature look more lovely, or seen a more astonishing view.

After travelling for 30 miles through sand and stone and a wild, lonely countryside, you suddenly see before you, as if by the wave of a magic wand, the fertile little valley of the MacDonald with its green fields and houses...To complete the picture, Australia's flowers were blooming here in such a blaze of colour that I could not take my eyes off them. They were grouped in clusters everywhere, endowed with inimitable grace by the master hand of Creation. The low-growing bushes were mostly "Boronia ledifolia" of the most dazzling pink. Above it was spread the snow

"Epacris pulchella", the whole topped with a yellow "Acacia", often mingled with the glowing red buds of "Waratah Telopea".

But my astonishment grew even greater when I first saw before me the majestic Hawkesbury lying there motionless like an inland sea between tall mountains, a clear dark mirror with shadows cast by the evening sun. And down to it led a road which may be compared with any in the world for its solid and aesthetic design and its even gradient....'

This was the old convict road rising from Wiseman's Ferry and leading to Maitland. There follows a passage praising Major Michell as a road-builder - a passage unique among the recurrent complaints about the execrable roads and bridges (or absence of bridges). Hügel here appends something very like a bureaucrat's report on the many failings of the colonial road-building policy, together with detailed suggestions for an improved system.

A thousand other aspects of the life of the colonies are touched in these 2000 pages. One comic gem is his satirical account of the grand King's birthday levee and ball, another, in dialogue form, tells of the insolent reception he and Mr. W. Macarthur were given by a convict servants in a home in Illawarra one dark wet night. He recounts his brushes with bushrangers on lonely rides and his unhappy dealings with the Polish naturalist Dr. John Lhotsky. There are also: an extended 'Classification of New South Wales Flora', many references, supported by statistics, to the Australian economy and business, and pungent comments on the push for self-government in New South Wales.

What is reassuring to us, the descendants or at least the inheritors of those prosaic, money-grubbing colonial "Engländer" of 1834 is that he became very attached to our strange country and left our shores very wistfully.

One last question remains: why has he been almost completely forgotten?

Some works by Charles von Hügel:

Kaschmir und das Reich der Siek *Carl Freiherrn von Hügel*
Stuttgart 1840-1844, 4 vols, 8vo.
(Translated into English and published in an abridged form by Major T B Jervis FRS)

Der Stille Ocean und die Spanischen Besitzungen im Ostindischen Archipel *Karl Freiherrn von Hügel*
(Printed as a manuscript) Wien 1860.

The Story of the Escape of Prince Metternich *Charles von Hügel and Frederick von Hügel*
National Review (London) June 1883 pp 588-605.

Works on Charles von Hügel:

An Austrian Gentleman Gardener in the Swan River Colony *Sophie C. Ducker.*
Australian Garden Journal April 1984 pp 94-6.

Charles von Hügel *(Introduced and Compiled by Anatole von Hügel).*
Privately printed, Cambridge (UK) 1903 76 pp.
Contents: Reproductions of portraits
Chronology of events in von Hügel's life
List of distinctions
Memorial address by Prof. J. Wiesner (Botany. Wien (Vienna))
Biographical sketch by Baron von Reumont
In Memoriam by Lady Georgiana Fullerton
Address to Royal Geographical Society by W.R. Hamilton FRS
Notes by Anatole von Hügel.

(one copy is held by the Fisher Library, University of Sydney).

The Tasmanian Traveller A nineteenth century companion for modern travellers. *Collected and arranged by Hilary Webster.* Brolga Press, Canberra 1988.
(Contains an extract from Hügel's New Holland Journal, describing his ascent of Mt. Wellington near Hobart).

JOHANNES MENGE (1788 - 1852): FATHER OF SOUTH AUSTRALIAN MINERALOGY

Bernard O'Neil

Johannes Menge was very well known in his own time in both Europe and Australia but his importance has generally been overlooked in the 136 years since his death on the Castlemaine gold diggings in Victoria. However, his influence at least for Australia is still felt, albeit indirectly. His life and activities have been highlighted in both South Australia and West Germany in this bicentennial year of his birth. This paper contributes to this recognition of Menge, the man and his achievements. That he has been called the "Father of South Australian Mineralogy" (rarely, one should note, by his contemporaries) is fitting but this overlooks his other interests and significance. This paper provides something of a re-assessment of Menge by indicating different phases in his life and thereby humanizing a man whose activities and personality have often been misunderstood.

One of Menge's former students in Adelaide, William Anderson Cawthorne, wrote the first substantial biography of Menge. His self-published booklet of 1859, Menge the Mineralogist, was reprinted as a facsimile by the Libraries Board of South Australia in the 1960's. In the introduction Cawthorne provided some clues about Menge and to why he had prepared the biography:

> Genius is eccentric....While the innocent victim of too much brain thinks he is pursuing the most rational course, he is only exciting the contempt and ridicule of those around him...

Such a man was Menge; and as such, he demands a passing notice. Out of the thousands that live and act their allotted time, he stands in striking contrast, and with a marked individuality, involuntarily claiming our attention.

Insignificant in person, eccentric in manners, he nevertheless possessed powers of mind, and generated a definitive influence in the early days of our 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 spot, but a fame as wide as the boundaries of literature[1].

Unfortunately, Cawthorne highlighted the alleged and perceived

eccentricities of Menge, and in so doing, his sensationalist booklet seems to be based on a minimum of fact and is barely impartial. This has had the effect of adversely colouring the views of most authors who have relied upon Cawthorne, which does both Menge and Cawthorne a disservice.

Another major study was that of Wilhelm Prasent, a German school-teacher, whose interest in Menge grew from when he first collected material on the famous persons of his region. Prasent contributed a series of fine articles, the principal being "Johannes Menge, ein Steinauer Naturforscher" (Johannes Menge, a scientist of Steinau) to a small local publication called Unsere Heimat (Our Country) in 1927. His work, of great value in examining Menge's life in Europe, was limited in its discussions about the Australian years. Of the many writings about Menge, Cawthorne's and Prasent's stand out. But both typify the descriptive approach and examine stages of Menge's life in isolation. To date, little attempt has been made to combine a study of his 48 years in Europe with the experiences of his last 16 years in Australia.

So, who was Johannes Menge? The quaint village of Steinau, set amongst low-rolling hills, lies north-east of Frankfurt-am-Main in Hessen. The name Menge first appeared there in 1469. From the 16th Century, Steinau's importance increased because it was situated, like many of the neighbouring villages, on the prominent commercial route for merchants trading between Frankfurt-am-Main, Leipzig and Berlin. In this period the village's name was extended to incorporate "an der Strasse". The highway also had later application for military purposes but today forms part of the German fairytale route from Hanau to Bremen.

All around the peaceful village are forests, meadows, valleys, hills, streams and springs. Once there were two principal churches in Steinau thus reflecting the religious controversies of earlier years. In the birth register of Katherinenkirche, the reformed church dating from about 1723, Pastor Banscher wrote:

> On January 24, 1788 towards 2 o'clock in the day, Nicholas Menge's spouse, Anna Margaretha nee Schmitten, gave birth to a son who was baptized on the 26th of the same month in the parsonage on account of illness. The godfather was Johannes, the son of Nicholas Frischkorn. The child's name was Johannes[2].

At this time on the other side of the world, Governor Arthur Phillip, himself with a little Germanic ancestry, was proclaiming a large portion of 'New Holland' as a British colony.

That Johannes was a sick and weakly child is not surprising given the conditions of the era. Anna Margaretha bore ten children in 19

years - four had predeceased Johannes who was the ninth child. Both girls had died so he was raised very much in a male house-hold. His father, the fourth generation of Menges in Steinau to be coach-builders and wheelwrights, was a hard-working character who had high hopes for his children. But with so many mouths to feed, the children soon had to earn their keep. In 1796 the young Johannes was engaged by the village to care for some of the trees in the vicinity. For a few years Johannes was educated at the village school where the master, Georg Zinkhahn, recognised that this student and some others had special capabilities, Menge once wrote that he had read only four books - the Bible, a hymn book, the Heidelberg Catechism and The Pilgrims Progress - when he left his parents' home in 1806. But he must have been a capable student for at the age of 13 he was employed as a private tutor while working at a farm between the villages of Steinau and Schluchtern.

Other special students under Zinkhahn's instruction later to become more famous than Menge were the Grimm Brothers, Jacob and Wilhelm, and their youngest brother, Ludwig Emil. Their father was principal clerk in Steinau from 1791 to 1796. But it was with another brother, Ferdinand Phillip, that Johannes attended school. The connection with the Grimm family was important but should not be over-emphasised because the famous linguists, grammarians and fairytale writers left Steinau in 1798 followed by the artist Ludwig Emil in 1802. Until then Menge was in contact with them all: in less than five minutes one could make an interesting walk from the Menge home to the Grimms' house and, in so doing, pass the school, the churches, the castle and the village administration office. Most important, Menge was subject to similar influences as the Grimms including that of Georg Zinkhahn for they all acquired, with varying degrees of success and enthusiasm, a love of languages.

Menge left Steinau in 1806 and travelled south-west to Hanau. For the period to 1819 his activities can be traced through ten auto-biographical articles published in The Adelaide Observer between 24 February and 25 May 1844. Although written up to 38 years after the events described, this extraordinary record generally cannot be faulted. Menge wrote honestly, although on some personal matters he was circumspect. With typical modesty, he down-played his activities and at first stated that he would not undertake a complete autobiography. He later expressed in the articles an intention to write his autobiography but, alas, this was never done. In introducing the first of Mr. Menge's Voyages and Travels, the editor of The Adelaide Observer commented:

> We feel so much interest in the opinions and progress of this talented gentleman, that we have heretofore become his medium of publicity. Menge is still desirous not only to make us the medium of his future communications for the benefit of his South

> Australian citizens, but wishes (like a good cosmopolite) to introduce us to the learned and philanthropic on both sides of the globe[3].

Menge was continually restless from the time of his first visit to Hanau where he worked for six months in Carl Casar von Leonhard's "Mineralien" Bureau. Leonhard, already an important scientist maintaining correspondence with people such as the philosopher Johann Wolfgang von Goethe, was rising in rank as a statesman and town administrator. An influential contact, Leonhard achieved renown for his studies of the origin, occurrence and mineralogical composition of rocks. He later became a leading academic in München and Heidelberg.

Johannes first had to sort, wrap and pack mineral specimens according to the Wernerian system then in vogue. In the late 18th Century, Abraham Gottlob Werner had established a pragmatic school of thought for classifying and arranging minerals. Werner stressed the value of field observations in particular. At first Menge learnt on the job:

> After six months ...I had become sufficiently familiar with the knowledge of minerals, although I was far from being called a mineralogist, not having studied the literature and the science of mineralogy[4].

He would later rely on Leonhard's Manual of a Topographical Mineralogy which he considered "the most useful book for Mineralogists and Miners (he) ever found" [5].

He soon tired of the work because he was expected to be a jack-of-all-trades. When Napoleon's soldiers occupied Leonhard's premises in 1806 during one of the French forays in the area, Menge returned to Steinau. The pattern of coming and going was readily established and his employment with Leonhard ceased and re-commenced on many occasions until by 1816 Menge bought the business on credit and by 1819 he owned it outright. In the early days, Leonhard encouraged Menge to travel throughout Europe to gather specimens for sale to collectors and scientists. Collecting rare or valuable minerals was then considered to be similar to purchasing works of art - the nobles and wealthy invested large amounts of money to have good collections. For example, Menge made a collection to the value of £300 for the Rothschilds of Frankfurt. During some of Leonhard's absences, Menge's tasks also included revising, correcting and re-writing some of his master's manuscripts.

Hanau was then an important town for intellectuals, scientists and the nobility but this did not necessarily please Menge. By 1809 the anxieties and perplexities of the young man were clearly evident:

> In Hanau....I found the Bible, religion and Christianity thrown away on the heap of human mythology, and was frequently told, that religion was invented for keeping the lower class of men in subordination, but that there was no reality in it, the name of God being only a word to express unknown causes of everything else. Now I had taken a resolution to live upon the precepts of my Catechism, and here (in Hanau) by a high class of mankind, whom I wished to follow in learning, these precepts were entirely removed from the course of human life[6].

Not impressed with the attitudes of the scholars nor those of the clergy - "in my journeys where I often lodged with clergymen, I got so (tired) with their normal character, that I resolved never to visit a church" - Menge decided to strike out from Hanau seeking personal salvation[7]. In the process he was to collect and sort minerals but here is the first clear instance of his earthly pursuits being subjugated to heavenly designs.

On the way to Switzerland in 1809, he underwent a seemingly mystical experience and "the whole universe seemed to lay open before my sight" [8]. This manifestation, and there is no indication of just what he experienced, strengthened his resolve to follow his inclination and to trust himself above all others at all costs for in this way he was in God's hands.

When he reached Zürich, he spent the winter of 1809-10 arranging minerals, criticising the work of some leading philosophers such as Immanuel Kant and Johann Kasper Lavater (with whose son he stayed for a while), and he attended anatomical lectures at the University. There he acquired a strong dislike of medical practitioners, their theories and practices. Evidently, he was rather forceful in telling the students that a healthy person depends on harmony between spirit, soul and body: without order in these elements, people would suffer diseases and ill-health. The professors were disinclined to allow Menge to pursue this notion and so he returned to Hanau.

There in 1810 he married Charlotte Stapp, the daughter of a sock-maker. Their first child, named Carl Casar after Leonhard the child's godfather, was born in April 1811. The young family went to Steinau where a second son, Johann Peter, was born in 1812. Unlike some of his brothers, Menge was not conscripted for military service in the battles that raged through the area. Yet life continued to be a series of moves for the family. In 1813, he returned to work for Leonhard again though all the time seeking God's protection. On one occasion during Napoleon's retreat from Leipzig, Menge's faith in his God was substantiated. While watching the French soldiers battle against the

Bavarian and Austrian forces, he temporarily left his position in the upper part of Leonhard's house because Leonhard wanted him to bury his jewels. Having done so to protect his earthly master's valued stones, Menge returned to find that a cannon ball had destroyed the very spot from where he had been watching!

In his autobiography, Leonhard gives a different account of the incident - he claimed that he had been at the window. But this seems to be an instance of Leonhard puffing his own case. His so-called autobiography was concerned with the famous people that he came into contact with. Menge is not mentioned in over 400 pages which is not surprising if one wishes to view him as unimportant. However, even Leonhard's wife and children were barely acknowledged! Many important people noticed Menge but did not usually consider the connections as especially significant. For example, in July 1814 Goethe visited Leonhard and, finding him absent, talked at length to the assistant. Johannes never even mentioned it but Goethe, in noting the meeting, discussed "Der Menge Faktor".

Johann Wilhelm, a third son, was born in Manau in 1814. Menge was probably absent at this time and also four weeks later when the child died. The tragedy is not recorded by him; even the births in 1815 of a fourth son, Johannes Phillip, and his only daughter, Louise, in 1817 who died eleven months later are overlooked. Only once does he evoke a little emotion and that is in 1816 when Charlotte was "snatched from death by (his) great personal exertion and fervent prayers" [9].

Life was most interesting and varied for the family. But just as more developments were about to be revealed, the account in the newspaper inexplicably ceased. However, the series highlighted many of the driving forces apparent in his later life: the questioning mind, the constant wandering, the search for religious and personal knowledge and enlightenment, the strong, independent character, the scepticism about the medical fraternity, and, of course, the mineral dealings.

The year 1819 brought more excitement. In February Johannes was elected a corresponding member of the newly-formed Senckenberg Institute: in fact, he was the ninth member. The Institute was associated with the publication of Menge's first major work, Winke fur die Würdigung der Mineralogie als Grundlage aller Sachkenntnisse (1829, Hanau), in which, to paraphrase the title, he issued a plea for mineralogy to be understood as the basis of all factual knowledge. There was a controversy at the time over views on mineralogy and religion. Some people argued that geology and mineralogy justified the religious teachings. Menge's reasoning was not well received: one reviewer summarily dismissed the book as simply another of those narrow in its perspective that it could never be taken seriously. But, in any

case, Menge was now entitled to be called "Professor" and the title was first used publicly in October 1819. Having attained this honour without academic studies was not unusual as any learned person, particularly those involved in teaching, could assume this title. Characteristically, Menge pressed on and probably thought little of it although he occasionally used the title.

Under the sponsorship of the Senckenberg Institute, Menge went from Lübeck to Iceland from May to October of 1819. He was not the first German natural scientist to visit there nor was he the most important one. Icelandic histories do not record his trip except for one author who disparaged his views on the formation of geysers. During his return voyage to Lübeck, he visited Scotland and met with Robert Jameson, Professor of Natural History at the University of Edinburgh. Jameson, a noted adherent of Werner's views, published Menge's account of his trip but another local scientist, Sir George MacKenzie of the Royal Society of Edinburgh, later cast serious doubt over Menge's capabilities as a geologist or, at least, his concepts of geological principles as they applied to the volcanoes of Iceland[10]. The Senckenberg Institute thought otherwise for in 1820 it awarded him a diploma - more or less a statement of recognition. Several other societies accepted him as a corresponding member before and after this.

Meanwhile, Johannes placed his brother Peter in charge of his "Naturalien" Bureau and took Charlotte and their three sons to live in Lübeck. Although his reputation in the natural sciences was on the increase, in Lübeck the religious side of the man came to the fore. Here he formed close associations with the lawyer, Dr. Carl Wilhelm Pauli, and Dr. Johannes Geibel, the evangelist whose son, Emanuel, became a famous German poet. Both men were leading figures in Lübeck and remained correspondents for the rest of his life. Lübeck was a centre of religious zeal which attracted Menge's attention. He studied the Bible intensely and published a theological volume in four parts totalling 656 pages. This volume, Beiträge zur Erkenntniss des Göttlichen Werkes, Göttlichen Wortes und des Göttlichen Ebenbildes ("Contributions to the recognition of the Divine work, word and image"), contained little of personal interest about Menge but showed him as an original thinker. In it he attempted enthusiastically to merge the scientific and Scriptural views of Creation.

For much of the period from 1820 to 1825, Menge remained in Lübeck but made occasional trips to other parts of Germany. He went to explore for gold in the Ural Mountains of Siberia from mid-1825 to late-1826. In May 1826 he wrote to his wife:

> I...have an hour before the mail leaves...I am, with God's help, always happy and healthy, you must know and hope you

> are the same and in your thoughts you are happy with your "Menge"...I..hope the children are a joy for you in place of me. God bless (Carl)..and guide him on the path of all Believers and give him victory. What else have we got, lest the promise of the everlasting life in Christ..all in this world starts with dirt and ends in dirt; so we don't get stuck in this dirt let's concentrate on the everlasting and what is above us, and who sits to the right hand of the Father. I have to tell you, that I am longing to see you again and the children and the Christian circle in Lübeck; but I must be patient, if I want to finish this journey under God's guidance....Where to address my next letters to I do not know yet as I don't know when I'll be leaving again. Time passes so quickly and I find lovely places but few nice people[11].

Sadly this rather touching letter was the last that Charlotte received as she died in August 1826. Still Menge pursued his journey and did not return to Lübeck until another two years after her death. In this time the children were largely cared for by friends of the family.

Menge visited Switzerland, Italy and France in a round-about route to Lübeck where his mineral business boomed during 1828. Although no record of him having a permit to collect and trade in minerals survives, his business records show how active he was. He even had his own warehouse in Lübeck but he also continued to operate through his Bureau in Hanau and with traders in Hamburg. His status as a mineralogist was high. Professor Gustav Rose, a companion of Alexander von Humboldt, named a specimen of monazite "Mengit" in his honour after Rose's trip to the Urals in 1829. In September 1830, Menge went to Hamburg to speak in the mineralogists' section at the "Versammlung Deutscher Naturforscher und Ärzte", a convention of German natural scientists and physicians. His intention was to visit the Carpathian Mountains in south-eastern Europe in the summer of 1832 but when next heard of he had relocated himself in London.

During the Russian trip, Menge's interest in linguistics had been rekindled and it was the possibility of combining his studies of languages and religion that attracted him to England. However, when he attempted to work on a translation of the Bible into Persian, he was rebuffed. Not only did he still need a dictionary to correct his translations, but he was also apparently unaware that new translations of parts of the Bible had been completed between 1815 and 1830.

Johannes remained in London and worked as a private teacher of languages. Eventually his sons all moved to London. Carl Casar and Johannes Phillip became missionaries to India while Johann Peter worked in London's German community and later became a Church of England

priest.

By July 1836, Menge's European exploits were almost at an end for he was appointed "Mine and Quarry Agent and Geologist" in the South Australian Company, the principal force behind establishing a new Colony in the Antipodes. The answer as to why he accepted the Company's offer remains obscure. The turning point seems to have been the meeting in April 1836 of Pastor Augustus Kavel with George Fife Angas, Director of the Company. Kavel and Menge had certainly known of each other at least since 1825 and Johannes had passed through the regions of Schlesien (Silesia) and Brandenburg on his travels. Menge also was known to Angas through religious connections in London. It is likely that Kavel convinced Menge to apply on the spur of the moment.

Johannes definitely studied reports on the project, for example, Captain Sutherland's comments of 1819 about Kangaroo Island. And he was friendly through his Hamburg connections with William Flaxman who left for Kingscote on the island in April 1836. So he did not commit himself unknowingly. In his desire for a life without restrictions, here was an opportunity promising religious tolerance and scientific investigation: Menge could really make his mark so it seemed. Letters indicate explicitly and implicitly that he hoped, and was expected to do more than his instructions to explore the natural productions of the Colony above and below ground and to superintend the working of quarries of stone and slate, the boring for water, metal, lead, coal and other mines at the salary of £150 per annum for one year and for as much longer as the Company requires your services not however exceeding five years[12].

In one document, one son espoused identical views to his father in advising the Company to send Moravian missionaries to minister the Aborigines, to build an institution on Kangaroo Island where learned languages could be taught to the people of "Australia and Asia", to establish a grammar school and university on Kangaroo Island (which was then expected to be the main site of the Company's operations), and to open communication to Asia from Australia[13]. On one occasion Johannes expressed his interest simply in collecting mineral specimens which the Company could sell or auction to cover his expenses and then use the profits in other areas:

> For educating the youth of the Aborigines provision must be made for clothing. Attractive means will be necessary for the Savages, such articles which strike their senses, paintings, baskets, ornaments, musical instruments of every kind for open air concerts. The new harmonicas, which are cheap (in Hamburg), are not be forgotten, besides flutes, violins, drums, clarinets, trumpets...

> Care should be taken for School houses and Chapels...large tents for open air preaching and teaching will be necessary...to press on with the Gospel and the cultivation of bewildered minds in so large an Island as Australia. Mr. Menge will be anxious to get up the language of the Aborigines and to induce the youth to learn English. The Bible must however be translated into their own idiom.
>
> Spacious Botanical Gardens with pools and Grottos should be laid out in which every kind of indigenous trees and plants as well as the exotics might be cultivated...[14].

As in Europe, the minerals of South Australia were an important aspect of Menge's activities but they served as a back-stop to his real search - for the meaning in life.

The Company engaged four miners to assist Menge and the party left England on the "Coromandel" in September 1836. Apart from a lengthy delay at the Cape of Good Hope when the ship was 'almost forced to return to England, the voyage was fairly routine for those days - some passengers suffered scurvy, a few died, the ship was occasionally becalmed but Menge, one of the Cabin Passengers, enjoyed his journey:

> This morning I sat in my cabin in a bucket of seawater and I can't praise enough how invigorating, lively and refreshing it is.....You must not forget refreshing remedies and you must take drugs that stimulate the nerves, e.g. ginger for the palate, gingerbread, fragrance for the nose because my snuff has served me very well indeed. Soda-water is also very refreshing, however, the tartaric acid in it contributes to vomiting...it...has to be used very economically....Water mixed with some wine is in my opinion most beneficial and cooling...Getting up at day-break and going for a walk on the forecastle, enjoying the morning breeze thoroughly and singing a morning song is a delight that you will not find in London.....What a difference between this voyage and my earlier voyage to iceland![15]

After the ship arrived in January 1837, some sailors absconded and the Master, Captain Chesser, was later criticised in London because of the delay at the Cape. However, the majority of the emigrants sent a letter praising Chesser for his conduct and gave him fifty guineas.

Menge came to a continent which was proving to be a haven for discovery of naturalists and scientists. While he was part of this emerging schema of investigation, he was also largely divorced from it in that few of the leading figures visited South Australia, without fear or favour. The reverse, however, was also true and he operated in

somewhat of an intellectual vacuum.

Another aspect of this arrival was the degree of recognition that was now being accorded to the emerging science of geology. The Geological Survey of Great Britain was founded in 1835 yet in the previous year the South Australian Literary Association had discussed the geology and natural history of Australia. Like many other explorers, Colonel William Light had been instructed to look for minerals when he was surveying the Colony. Now a fledgling company had made what was in effect a quasi-official appointment (due to the joint Government and private sponsorship of the venture to establish South Australia). Only New South Wales, with A.W.H. Humphrey as His Majesty's Mineralogist from 1803 to 1812 and John Bushby as Civil Engineer and Mineral Surveyor from 1823, had similar posts. The significance of the position was demonstrated when opportunities to appoint Menge as Colonial Geologist in each of Tasmania, South Australia and Victoria later arose.

Menge was impressed with the new environment and adapted quickly to the harsh conditions: 'I find myself extremely happy on the spot where I willingly bear heat, insects, wilderness....if I do not meet with the annoyance of mean (people)' [16]. His immediate concerns were in developing an adequate water supply, arranging materials for settlers" building needs and with agricultural, horticultural and viticultural matters. He can certainly lay claim to being the person responsible for planting the Island's historic mulberry tree and for introducing vines to the Colony.

When the site for Adelaide had been decided, Johannes wrote to Dr. Pauli that the country "is spoken of as fine valley with fruitful soil. I am in no hurry to go there as flat country has as little attraction for me as flat souls" [17]. But his earlier enthusiasm for Kangaroo Island waned as many settlers could not comprehend his ways or appreciate his talents in the very difficult surroundings. For example, one Mrs. Watts described him condescendingly:

> Among the first of the inhabitants the (Giles family) became acquainted with, was a strange old Teuton geologist from the Harz Mountains, who had been engaged by the Company to explore the country for minerals, find water (which he never could do though close beside his cottage door), and for various scientific purposes. In his outward appearance he more resembled one of that hook-nosed fraternity, the Hebrew old clothes man, minus his manners and habits which were no more prepossessing than was his personal appearance. Cold water, soap, tooth brushes and clean linen for a new colonist to indulge in, though his qualifications as a "sponge" were of no mean order. In fact, his self-invitation

> to dinner became so unpleasantly frequent, that after a good deal of patient endurance (by Mr. and Mrs. Giles)..the "cold shoulder" had to be given to him to get rid of his almost daily visit. But with all his peculiarities and uselessness - for the scientific knowledge he was said to possess was so completely theoretical that it never benefited either himself or anyone else - there can be no doubt of one thing, that he was a remarkable linguist, being acquainted with upwards of twenty languages[18].

In particular, the local Scottish Manager of the Company, David McLaren demonstrated such ethnic intolerance that Menge was driven to continual outbursts against him. This was something of a rarity. The issue that aggravated McLaren's hostility concerned the Island's water supply. During the 1836-37 summer when the artesian wells were often filled with salt water, the Company's officers were unable to fathom the nature of the problem or to find possible solutions[19]. Within three weeks of this arrival, Menge stated that conventional wells were not appropriate and suggested experimenting with other techniques to store water free of contamination from salt. But even his four miners were unimpressed with his ideas: they continued to dig conventional wells for the Company and Menge was left pining "for I am alone and whatever must be done I must do it myself" [20].

When the same problems occurred during the next summer, McLaren ignored Menge's advice again[21]. The clash of personalities persisted and McLaren finally dismissed Menge at the end of June 1838 [22]. Yet Menge maintained that the water supply could be remedied. In fact, he proposed that irrigation based upon a suitable system of wells would eventually enable the Island to support a population of one million people[23]. Though the population is still well short of this figure, Menge's stance was vindicated a century or so later when techniques for trapping salt-free water similar to those he had suggested were adopted there.

The conflict with McLaren contributed to Menge's dismissal together with the fact that his scientific investigations had not yet resulted in the commercial benefits that the Company had expected. When Johannes returned to the island late in 1838, he wrote to McLaren:

> I cannot allow you to interfere with my duties, as you are ignorant of Geology and unable to converse with scientific men and with Christian Characters....You cannot frighten me with your having the purse of public money; I recollect with horror the Apostle Judas Iscariot as often as I see you with the bag[24].

Despite his reports and discoveries, the Company had not commenced mining but it was unlikely to do so while Kingscote itself struggled to

survive. Menge travelled to the mainland with the expectation that he would do more than look for minerals.

Shortly after dismissing him, McLaren learnt that Angas wanted Menge to select a site at the junction of the Murray and Darling Rivers where all the German migrants could settle. With the impending arrival of Kavel's Germans, McLaren was distraught at the thought. But its failure was assured, he wrote to Angas in September 1838, if Menge was placed in charge of the exercise:

> Mr. Menge wrote me..."he could not agree in sending the families Wives and Children at once up into the interior - They could cultivate a Spot of Land in the first year beyond Mount Barker, and some of them e.g. the Carpenters and unmarried men might go up and prepare the Settlement".
>
> Oh my Dear Sir, I have no patience for such Quixotic disgusting - impracticable stuff. What impossibilities are involved. Think of an expedition from Adelaide to the Darling under Command of Mr. Menge! - and a train of Bullocks, each worth £25 or £30 with provisions - the getting and cost of which Mr. M. seems not have thought of - over an almost untrodden Country. How long would they be of reaching their destination - and whence were they to get their next supplies? From Adelaide! And then a settlement beyond Mt. Barker-!! The Scheme, is like Mr. Menge - a Visionary[25].

Some of McLaren's concerns were justified - overlanding of stock had just commenced and the large tracts of land beyond Adelaide were unsurveyed. However, Menge had already been towards the Murray River in 1838 and had resolved "to travel on foot alone to New South wales in the next Summer", he told Angas and insisted that "the valley of the Murray will soon be populated to New South Wales and rail-roads may be made from the Murray to Adelaide if a plain is found through the hills" [26].

The reaction of McLaren to the arrival in October 1838 of Pastors Schurmann and Teichelmann is not recorded but he would have been horrified to learn that Angas also wanted to place all of the South Australian Aborigines at the junction. Thus a week before Easter 1838, although their Aboriginal guide declined to go at the last moment, Menge and Schurmann left Adelaide. Johannes had agreed to the trip if they travelled to the Para River first. After four days examining the terrain there they headed north-east and camped along the banks of the Murray on Easter Sunday. But they did not push on, said Menge, because "the 25 miles through the desert of the Murray had cured my companion's desire to walk 300 miles up to the Darling" [27]. After this failed expedition, Menge returned to the region of the Para River where he

found a spot to settle the Germans (Kavel and other German migrants had been arriving en masse since November 1838). He wrote excitedly to Angas:

> Supposing you are already acquainted with Kangaroo Island, Mount Lofty, Mount Barker and with the Rivers Torrens, Angas, Onkaparinga, Gawler, etc. etc. I fill the space of this paper with the Cream, the whole Cream and nothing but the Cream of South Australia, to skim from the milk of which our dear friend, Mr. Flaxman, has already made a beginning with two Special Surveys to which I have ten more in reserve and I anticipate twelve more will be found on our next trip towards the head of Spencer's Gulf[28].

Menge now entered the peak of his career. Based upon Johannes' forceful testimony, Charles Flaxman had speculatively purchased thousands of acres of land on behalf of Angas. Menge named the region "New Silesia" but it became known as the Barossa Valley. The discovery of this valuable land was as important as any gold find. It was well suited to agricultural and viticultural pursuits, it contained minerals and clays, and it was available for the Germans to settle there. Menge was held in higher regard now - Governor and Mrs. Gawler invited him to a levee with other leading colonists in May 1839. This was also the occasion of the first queen's Birthday dinner given to Aborigines and after which several German settlers took an oath of allegiance to Queen Victoria. Significantly, Kavel and Mange were the first two people to take the oath. Later that year, Menge was naturalised as a British subject! [29]

Johannes eagerly re-located to "New Silesia" and based himself in a cave and on "Menge's Island", both of which were at the junction of Jacob's Creek and the North Para River). He described the scene in a chain of letters to Angas, Pauli and other friends. To Angas he wrote that he camped there while helping Flaxman with the Special Surveys:

> I thought to have a garden for examining the nature of the soil and the fertility thereof upon European seeds and prepare the way for Mr. Kavel's congregation, I engaged therefore six German labourers to dig the garden for me, to build the necessary cottages and to accompany me in my ramblings...At first I was alone, but...three weeks elapsed...I saw company from every side spying out my garden in which I had dug some acres of ground, and made a channel to preserve spring water and built an oven for baking bread, and on a sudden it was rumoured around me that I should lose my garden. I thought, if the Lord will preserve me the place, I shall not lose it, however envious the devil and his adherents might be. I have sown, besides the garden vegetables, hops, hemp, flax, millet, tobacco etc. that I might see which would

> grow best in New Silesia[30].

Perhaps the devils he wrote of were other settlers eager to find good land:

> Well! said I to myself, it was I who discovered and procured for Angas and Flaxman the land, and I have given a description of it to Flaxman; it is I who know the situations and the extent of the Seven Surveys. Who now fixes boundaries without me, I know not...Flaxman followed me and gained by following.
>
> But now, is it because I am not ambitious enough to insist upon my merits; or is it because I am able to live on gum and biscuit, when seeking the fortune of my friends, that I am looked upon as a fool? It is true I have protested against McLaren and Giles as unfit persons for the management of the South Australian Company; but what has the Company gained by casting me off, because I was upright? My adversaries think:- "Menge is a poor and silly fellow, he will not take any notice of what eminent surveyors do; besides he is a German, not knowing our English habits and as Flaxman is gone, we may carry out our schemes and having behaved so rudely towards McLaren, Angas will not listen to his writings". Faith in God the Almighty is my power...and if the lord continues to look mercifully upon me, who alone witnessed my troubles, my fatigues, my privations when I was by myself, and sheltered me when surrounded by crowds of wild black natives...I shall stand by the seven Special Surveys which Flaxman has taken. I shall stand and protest against any violation.
>
> ....I have now four hills of white marble on your property. Moreover I found an Opal Hill in Flaxman Valley, and some pine forests with splendid timber...
>
> ....I do not know when I shall find time to collect insects and birds for your son French (the artist), whose letter I received. The mineral kingdom becomes more and more important to me[31].

The critics, especially McLaren, continued to discredit Menge before the eyes of Angas:

> I am fully persuaded, that in so far as the (selection) was regulated by Mr. Menge's judgement and representations, it is a pure chance, and not an even chance but ten chances to one -against you - A more visionary opinionative unsafe guide I never met with - An inconceivable fool - who would have led me on a similar dance, through the country, had I allowed him...When Mr. Flaxman returns, I hope money will be secured, for disposing of these surveys

without any loss...[32].

But Menge steadfastly justified his optimistic expectations to Angas:

> I feel happy to repeat to you my convictions respecting your surveys that your land is and will prove the kernel of this province!..You may confidently put vines round Flaxman Valley, the Rhine Valley, or for luxurious harvests and I am satisfied that New Silesia will furnish the province with such a quantity of wine that we shall drink it as cheap as in Cape Town[33].

The potential financial embarrassment which the purchase of land might have brought to Angas was essentially a matter between him and Flaxman. George Fife Angas found complaint with Menge on the ground that Johannes seemed to be affixing the names Angas and Flaxman to every piece of terrain in New Silesia and so asked him to desist. Instead, said Angas, he should bestow his own name in honour of his discovery.

Despite the critics and his occasional wayward idealism, Menge's reputation increased and he was featured frequently in the colonial press. He had written reports on the water and rocks of Kangaroo Island, irrigation, sandstone and limestone, soils and fertilization. And by now he knew a lot more than anyone else about the minerals of the Colony. newspapers published lists of the specimens that he could supply to colonists and collectors overseas[34]. In September 1840 he lectured at the Mechanics Institute and commented:

> But all the minerals I have found hitherto, of which I may offer collections of 200 specimens, are of a mere introductory nature to the treasures hidden within the ranges of this province...I have in all my voyages and travels...through 25 years, not met with a range of hills... so rich in minerals as the range from Adelaide up to Light's pass ... no country in the world is so well adapted for promoting the science of geology and mineralogy....[35].

The South Australian Register published his pioneering series of ten papers on the geology of the Colony between 19 June and 23 October 1841.

To encourage the study of geology and mineralogy he urged that mining schools, colleges, associations, and a geological journal of South Australia be established. He promoted the idea of a South Australian Mining Association to collect specimens and to search for minerals[36]. Though these were practical steps, the colonists were more concerned with actual mining operations and on this point Menge was

subject to much criticism. But many people did not appreciate that geology, then being an inexact science, could rarely give precise locations and that, at best, indications were all that could be reasonably expected. Nevertheless, the decade of the 1840s was one of substantial mining activity and many colonists were at least encouraged by Menge's optimism.

Menge's preference was for rambling in the bush and collecting specimens. On one occasion in 1841 he intended to start a gold mine but Governor George Grey refused him official assistance[37]. Johannes "concluded that it was useless to think of mining operations until I had the pleasure of meeting Captain Bagot" [38]. His association with Charles Bagot was short and is best remembered for his role at the opening of the Kapunda Copper Mine in January 1844. This represented, in a sense, the end of a period of intense activity and excitement for Menge.

Mineral matters had not completely overridden other interests to this point nor was he to ignore the minerals in the future. He continued writing letters and articles for the newspapers which led to the publication of his The Mineral Kingdom of South Australia in 1847. But as he approached the age of 60, he was conscious that his wandering on Earth would soon cease:

> ....the rankest and most repulsive things in this world have passed for me and I am daily becoming accustomed to think more about Eternity than about Time and I am daily wishing to be more with Christ that with other people[39].

Yet again the religious themes, always prominent in his writings, would carry him through. He had been less involved in religious matters in the Colony than earlier in Hanau, Lübeck or London. This was partly because an intellectual tradition barely existed in the new Colony. The split in the Lutheran Church in South Australia in 1846 occurred the year after he had taught Hebrew at the Lutheran Theological College at Lobethal. Anyway, for Menge religion had long-remained an entirely personal matter as Cawthorne summarised:

> It is difficult to state to which section of the "outward and visible" church he belonged; he was Episcopalian by preference, Wesleyan in feeling, Independent in action, Lutheran by association, but Catholic with all. If he belonged to one church more than another he probably preferred the society of the "Moravian Brethren". Be this as it may, he exhibited one leading trait in his religious character...faith..[40].

One of his favoured sayings was that "no dissenter will ever go to heaven because in heaven all must be consenters" [41]. In addition, he

thought that everyone should learn Hebrew "because that's the language spoken in heaven.... the father of all languages" [42].

From 1845 to 1850 he again took up the teaching of languages in his own private school and later for the German School Association. He also undertook the major tasks of compiling comparative tables of languages. Cawthorne described this project:

> .... (his reams of paper) encumbered his narrow doorway, they formed seats for his visitors, extemporary desks for his writings, shelves for his books; as the shadow clings to a man, so the reams to Menge....
>
> ... In a stifling hot and dingy garret, with the bare shingles of the roof for a ceiling, up a dark, rickety, angular staircase, which to ascend you went sideways, and put your hands up to feel for the next step; squeezing through a rheumatic door, that even could not open to its legitimate width, you entered a wretched little room by knocking your head against the rafters. Beneath could be heard the unceasing wail of a baby ..odours of soap, fumes of tobacco, and the peculiar scent of ironing and drying, found their resting place in the shingles, in the furniture - as it was - in the bed, in the floor, in the old coat on the nail, and the bundle in the corner of Menge's room. behind a dim smoky lamp, and on a pile of....paper, beside another pile that acted as a dumb waiter, Menge could be seen, dressed in a faded morning gown, pipe in mouth, and pen in hand, and on a huge sheet of paper, writing his comparative grammar, isolated reams stood for chairs, for washing stand, for footstool....for any domestic purpose.
>
> .... in this "attractive" room, he commenced classes for the study of languages[43]

Cawthorne attended several of Menge's classes before giving up in disgust allegedly because Menge could not teach him anything. Perhaps the idiosyncratic Menge was becoming increasingly out of touch. Of what value to colonial South Australia were studies in Latin, German, English, Spanish, Italian, French, Portuguese, Hebrew, Arabic, Persian, Hindustani, Turkish, Russian and Greek which were available in a community which could not even support a bilingual German/English newspaper. In the first half of 1848, Menge had been editor of Die Deutsche Post für die Australischen Colonien. The venture failed through a lack of subscribers and advertisers.

When Governor Young arrived in 1848, Menge offered his services to promote geology, mineralogy and the study of languages but the offer was ignored[44]. Some months later, however, several mining companies and the

Governor of Western Australia repeatedly asked him to visit and report on that colony's mines and minerals. But he would not go then because of his linguistic studies[45].

Though in his early 60's, Menge continued his wanderings as letters to his sons from North Adelaide, Hahndorf, Adelaide and the bush indicate. In 1851 some opal and emerald specimens that he had collected were displayed at the Great exhibition in London but now he entered on his last big plan. For sixteen years he had advocated stronger connections between Australia and Asia. By 1843 he had formulated his idea of a missionary college for China. In 1844 he proposed that an Australian Scientific Conference should be held in Adelaide. With the discovery of gold in Victoria, Menge saw another chance to put his idealism into practice. He went as the leader of a party of Germans to the diggings at Castlemaine in January 1852. Just as the German miners had left him on Kangaroo Island, Johannes was soon deserted by his companions. They could not believe he was tunnelling for gold while all around them miners were sinking shafts. But Menge insisted his way would "produce more gold" enough, in fact, for his planned college to train missionaries to China. It was not to be. The spirit remained willing but the flesh was weak after a harsh Victorian winter. One day in October, Johannes collapsed while at work and a digger friend gave him shelter. He was cold, wet and exhausted. Overnight his condition, probably pneumonia, deteriorated and he was found dead the next morning. He was placed in an unmarked grave near his tunnel at Forest creek, Castlemaine.

From the first half of the nineteenth century, the sciences became more acceptable as fields of study and were popularised to a certain extent. An itinerant character with a strong constitution, Menge eagerly pursued a quest for knowledge and religious contentment during this era of profound scientific enlightenment and discovery. Menge attempted to resolve for himself the conflict between religion and science while studying the natural sciences and natural history. Menge was part of the expansion of scientific thought and philosophies and the emerging intellectualism and professionalism.

Not only was he living through a dramatic era of upheaval and revolutionary ideals but as a scholar, albeit with little in the way of formal education, he also came into contact with numerous individuals of prominence - scientist, pharmacists, mathematicians, doctors, linguists, religious figures, politicians and philosophers beside many other persons. But he always maintained a basic humility - he defrauded no man but tried to benefit all, never selfish, and even though he shunned earthly riches, still pointed these out to his fellow colonists.

In South Australia his solo explorations in the region covering hundreds of kilometres from Cape Jervis to Mount Remarkable often

included territory rarely visited by white persons. He developed a special empathy with various Aboriginal tribes and groups and had a knowledge of at least three Aboriginal dialects. In 1839 he urged the Government to provide relief for Aborigines starving in "New Silesia". A year later he reported that Aborigines in the nearby Lyndoch Valley were becoming hostile over their loss of land and food[46].

The cumulative effects of his activities encouraged the spread of European settlement, further exploration and stimulated interest in the mineral wealth of the Colony. It was no co-incidence that the discoveries of copper at Kapunda and Burra in the 1840s arose from his exploits.

As in Europe, his Australian experiences reveal a multi-faceted and complex though unassuming character. After his death he has been popularly accorded the title of the "Father of South Australian Mineralogy". But he was more than that. It is tantalising to consider what might have transpired had he not chosen to move to the Colony. South Australia would not only have been different in many respects but it also might have been much the poorer. The shape of development was influenced in part by the role Menge played. Some of his visions have been fulfilled, for example, the University of Adelaide and the S.A. School of Mines (now the Institute of Technology) were established on the basis of later mineral discoveries. But his efforts have usually gone unacknowledged - there are no minerals and only a few place names and memorials to honour him. As well as his name being assigned to two roads separated by thousands of kilometres, the former Tanunda By-Pass which is now called Menge Road and Johannes Menge Strasse in Steinau), he is one of the few Germans to be represented in both the Australian Dictionary of Biography and the Allgemeine Deutsche Biographie (as well as its revised edition, Neue Deutsche Biographie. In January 1988 his importance to the establishment of German settlement and the wine industry in the Barossa Valley was acknowledged in the form of a plaque in the cellars of Orlando Wines near Jacob's Creek. His contribution to the German community was recorded on a commemorative plaque in the Klemzig Pioneer Cemetery, Adelaide. Menge's birth-place has honoured its most famous son on the bicentenary of his birth with a special series of lectures followed by a major exhibition focusing on his life and times. Though he is gone, his memory lingers on and he is not forgotten. The recognition of his efforts, however, deserves even greater prominence.

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This article is a revised version of lectures given to the Barossa Valley Archives and Historic Trust (1982), the Historical Society of S.A. (1986), the "From Berlin to Burdekin" conference held in Sydney (1988) and the Field Geology Club of S.A. (1988).

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GOD ORDERED THEIR ESTATE

Ian A Harmstorf

The treatment of German-Australians in South Australia during World War 1 is a matter which invariably is broached when the history of South Australia is discussed. As 1986 saw not only the 150th Jubilee of the founding of South Australia as a British colony, but also the 100th anniversary of the German Association in Adelaide, recent times have been one of reflection on the past.

This present year of 1988 is the Bicenntenial year of Australia and the 150th Jubilee of the landing of the first group of Old Lutherans in South Australia. Unable by law to use the liturgy of their choice in their Prussian homeland a group of Old Lutherans under Pastor August Kavel of Klemzig, in the province of Brandenburg, Prussia, sought freedom of worship in South Australia.

Like their counterparts who went to the USA they formed tightly knit societies in the virgin land of South Australia. It is usually this attribute that is seen as the cause of their misfortunes in World War 1. The consensus of opinion is that the "Germans " (a generic term which includes for this period anyone with a German name or affiliated with the Lutheran church) whether Australian born or naturalised, were victims of injustice during the 1914-1918 war. That German social cohesion was more a matter of "Lutheranism" than "Germanness" is held to be of little consequence. The socially isolated country towns are seen as indisputable evidence of the Germans' lack of assimilation into the mainstream of South Australian life.[1]

There are two assumptions in this viewpoint that bear closer examination. The first is that there was a universal desire in the nineteenth century on the part of British-Australians that the Germans should assimilate. Recent evidence suggest that some Anglo-Australians feared a German "imperium in imperio" a state within a state. Other Anglo-Australians feared the opposite. In Adelaide in particular it was considered that if the Germans were absorbed into the British way of life this would render the most British of colonies less British. German attitudes and German culture might even become as acceptable as the British. To 'transplanted Englishmen' such thoughts were unthinkable and the Germans were therefore better left alone to their own devices. But

except for these isolated exceptions there is no call for Germans in the nineteenth century to assimilate.

Secondly, in the public mind, then as now, those country areas peopled with steadfast German farmers were perceived as being representative of the Germans in South Australia. When inability or unwillingness to assimilate prior to World War 1 is discussed as has been suggested, the accusing finger is pointed at the country Germans. This assumption has, unlike the former, some validity for 91% of the Germans in South Australia in 1900 lived in the country areas.

From the first assumption it must be asked what forces in the nineteenth century and early twentieth century would have seen it as necessary for a patriot to be socially or culturally assimilated into the dominant society. Modern nationalism which demands the allegiance of the whole man, although born in the French Revolution, did not come of age until the First World War. The German-Lutherans were patriotic South Australians. To accuse them of failing to assimilate in the nineteenth century and therefore bringing misfortune upon themselves is to do so with the wisdom of hindsight. Nineteenth century concepts of patriotism neither required social integration, nor thought cultural assimilation necessary - especially from those of the working classes.

The preoccupation of the nineteenth century was with social class. The contention of this paper is that not only did the Germans know their social place, but that their Church teaching reinforced the beliefs of class, the ethical and moral philosophies, so dear to the hearts of the Adelaide colonial gentry. In accepting their position at the lower end of the social scale and not trying to usurp it the Germans had passed the litmus test of nineteenth century assimilation. How this social and political docility was achieved bears closer examination.

There is general agreement among historians that the Lutheran Church did more than any other organisation 'in fostering the German outlook and way of life'.[2]

The German historian Lehmann has indicated that Lutherans were under the influence of four major traditions which demanded from them loyalty and obedience. Firstly that God had led them to South Australia, secondly that they were totally loyal and obedient political subjects to the secular head of state, thirdly that the end of the world was imminent, and finally that God had revealed His

truth through Luther and the German language.[3]

Of these four traditions it is only the last that would seem to conflict directly with the British traditions found in Australia in the nineteenth and early part of the twentieth century. Indeed the first two can be seen to be reinforcing their loyalty to the state, while the third, if not in the mainstream of British tradition, at least can be found in it. More importantly the Armageddon mentality did not lead the German-Lutherans to adopt such anti-social behaviour as, for example, refusing to work while awaiting the end of the world. This Armageddon mentalilty which stemmed from the Lutheran's pietistic beliefs, tended to have just the opposite effect. Far from becoming fatalistic about their eventual fate the pietists worked harder in their chosen field of labour in order to ensure eternal life.

The belief in Luther and the German language meant, initially at least, that the German language was kept alive often to the almost complete exclusion of the English tongue, thereby inhibiting the process of assimilation.

The philosophies, however, which were preached with complete conviction from Lutheran pulpits in German and taught in Lutheran schools, wholly supported and agreed with the basic values held by British South Australian society. Only in 1914 when other values suddenly became equally important, values and attributes to which the Germans could not subscribe, did a split between the two ethnic groups, British and German, appear. Until then, Germans would appear to have been accepted by the majority of British-Australians as fellow countrymen.

> The Protestant ethic in Australian education incorporated those characteristics which have moulded the Australian education system - temperance, silence, tranquility, order, resolution, frugality, sincerity, hard work, moderation, cleanliness, justice, and the postponement of gratification in the pursuit of future goals.[4]

One also could add political conservatism.

There is not one of these attributes that a German pastor did not actively proclaim from the pulpit in perhaps an even more thunderous tone than his British counterpart in his pulpit. When not proclaiming from the pulpit the Lutheran pastor was declaiming with equal vigour in the German schools. For, as a Lutheran church newspaper pointed out, the schools were not German schools but what 'we and our readers have thought of only as congregational schools'. Schools existed to 'bring...children up in

the discipline and instruction of the Lord'.[5] In both school and church the message and morality were the same.

Hence it is possible in this sense to look on the Lutheran church and school system as one, for the doctrines and morality they taught were identical. In the first instance it is to the Church one must look for matters of morality.

If the various synods of the Lutheran Church were ridden with doctrinal dissent their differences on social issues were marginal. Although in Lutheran eyes the doctrinal differences in the nineteenth century were of major importance, a matter of salvation or eternal death, these doctrinal and ecclesiastical arguments were of little interest to the British. If we accept that

> Education is not about education per se but is deeply imbedded in the social and political philosophy.[6]

of the society in which it is taught, then the social morality as taught by the Lutheran-German religious and educational systems was the same as the British. It therefore follows that in the area of social morality and behaviour, the Germans were not educating for the same society. The 'Weltanschauung' - the world view- of the British and the German cultures was in this sense remarkably similar.

> In political terms only those ideologies and policies will be accepted by a political system whose values are congruent with those on which the state is based.[7]

In this similarity of social values, we find the reason for there being no offical call for Germans to 'assimilate', or 'integrate' or 'be absorbed' until 1914. They supported the political and social status quo and as such were absorbed already. They were assimilated. Any other differences manifested by the Germans, such as their confessional beliefs, clothes, food or language, were not seen by the state as a threat to the state.

Indeed with Albert as Consort and the long history of co-operation between England and Prussia, best illustrated by the help given to Frederick the Great, who better to keep an eye on the traditional enemy France than the 'cousins' in Germany? Therefore, it is not surprising that the Germans generally were accepted as an integral part of South Australian society. Indeed in matters of industry and quiet sobriety they were often held up as mentors. There is no evidence to suggest that any group of Germans in South Australia ever contemplated establishing an 'imperium in imperio',

although in 1878 the Register considered it necessary to defend the suggested settlement of Mennonites in South Australia:

> Nor is there any real weight in the argument that the introduction of the Mennonites would have led to the founding of an alien community - the buiding up of an imperium in imperio.[8]

The Germans in South Australia, like the Mennonites in Manitoba,

> welcomed the fact that the British were able to throw over them the aegis of the British consititution and in bidding them feely share with us our unrivalled political institutions and our untrammelled personal liberty.[9]

It is necessary in the context of 'unrivalled political institutions' and 'untrammelled personal liberty', to look at the position of the Lutheran pastors and teachers (often the same person) to discover what was their role vis-a-vis their congregation on the one hand and the civil authorities on the other. The pastor-teacher could be said to be a moral agent of the authorities. Lehmann has suggested that the South Australian Lutherans

> fully accepted Lutheran doctrine with regard to political obedience...13th Chapter of Paul's letter to the Romans where the apostle teacher taught total political obedience. Even if religious liberty itself was threatened, only passive resistance was permitted. Orthodox Lutherans believed that suffering, prayer and perhaps emigration, but never, and under no circumstances political opposition, let alone active resistance or revolt,were acceptable in the sight of God.[10]

Luther had set the example by siding with the authorities in the Peasants' Revolt in south-west Germany, and the first South Australians of the Lutheran faith had emigrated rather than offer political opposition.

Jennifer Hart in her article, 'Religious and Social control in the mid-nineteenth Century', has pointed to many of the themes which preoccupied the Church of England clergy from 1850 to 1880. The similarity between their message and the message of the Lutheran pastor-teachers is very evident. She would argue that religion was used as an 'instrument...to control the "lower classes" ';[11] in other words to give them the 'right' viz. duly humble, attitudes to those above them in the social hierarchy. In this, the Lutheran pastor-teacher would have been an innocent tool. He taught, what he believed to be the true faith as revealed by God and Luther. He himself was as much a captive of what he taught, as his pupils. He

thought he served God's cause, not man's.

The concept of 'authority' is perhaps a more useful way of explaining the position of the Lutheran Church. God was the source of all authority and the pastor-teacher was his agent. The word of the pastor was law in Lutheran congregations. This was noted by the German Consul in Australia in 1909 when he reported in a despatch that the pastors had a greater influence than anyone in the German communities.[12] The pastor was all powerful and if, in exercising his authority by preaching a specific moral and social philosophy, he was acting as an agent of social control, this would be seen not as keeping the "lower orders" in their place but as part of the divine purpose.

This does not imply a dictatorial type of government, nor does it imply a society where the social classes were rigidly stratified and movement between the classes impossible. 'Colonial South Australia was a fluid society, and any notions of a rigid caste system, then as now, must be rejected'.[13] What it does imply is a society dedicated to having an ordered structure, and this meant a reinforcement of the social order. 'The belief that social order was intimately linked with morality meant that the church was a crucial agency of social control'.[14] The fact that the Lutheran Church and Church of England taught the same social morality in their pulpits and schools meant that they supported the same social structure. Indeed, the Lutherans often went further than their British counterparts. As they had the same moral view of the world and supported the same social and political structures, to speak of the assimilation of the Germans into the society was superfluous. From this standpoint, they were already an integral part of the society.

The moral themes running through Lutheran teaching, whether they be published sermons or editorials, or moral stories in the Lutheran Church newspapers, were remarkably consistent during the period reviewed, from the middle of the nineteenth century to World War II. The most common theme was that of private affliction. The faithful, either in church or school, were told to bear the sorrows of this life and expect no better. Their reward would come in the next life. Material riches were of no consequence. All that mattered was the soul. Their task was not to contemplate the rank order of society, only their souls. In a sermon entitled 'The Divine Purpose of Affliction' from the 'Light of the Way' series published between the first and second world wars, the writer pointed out that affliction had three purposes: to strengthen the faith by reminding believers of their sins, to wean the Christian from the world and to stimulate the Christian's desire for Heaven.[15]

> Our afflictions and for that matter everything else on this earth, namely wealth, fame and pleasure, the three ideals the world adores are all but to endure for a moment, for a little time. They will soon vanish away.[16]

and again

> no one dies by chance but by a decision of God's...the years of sickness are given us by God...Our life is in God's hands, without his will not a hair falls from our heads...and what God does he does well.[17]

Occasionally the pastor lightened the burden and there was hope for the afflicted:

> Why is the day of death better than the day of birth? Because with the day of birth the difficult fight with the sorrows of this life begin, and at death you are free of all your troubles and start the joy of eternal life.[18]

But normally the message was unrelenting:

> God forgives a sinner...this knowledge will make it easier for us to bear our many burdens. We know that God loves us, we know that our afflictions are not a punishment but rather a chastisement intended to keep us near our Heavenly Father.[19]

For their part, the Church of England clergy told their flock that the afflictions suffered by their congregations were under the direct and immediate control of God and it was God who sent chastisement. The reason God sent affliction was to make men more holy. Affliction was good for their souls.

> Divine Chastisement, e.g. poverty, bodily sickness, bereavements, are proofs of God's love for his children; they show that we are objects of his paternal regard...the purpose of afflictions...the sufferer should be either thankful and rejoice at his suffering or...at least be resigned to it and not complain...they should be thankful for trials because Christ was made perfect through suffering.[20]

The Lutheran pastors reminded their congregations that they had little cause for complaint. Not only Christ but also St. Paul was held up as an example:

> Think of St. Paul, lying in a dirty gaol.Blood was running from his scoured back, heavy chains were on his hands; his feet were bruised and fastened in the stocks. But we hear not one word of complaint.[21]

But perhaps the finest examples of how to bear afflictions came from the Christlicher Volks-Kalender - the Christian People's Calender - published yearly, with daily thoughts. A story headed 'The Patient Cross Bearer' is the story of Anna Maria Gerhardt who kept a diary in her Bible. Her dairy was published both to show her willingness to bear afflictions with resignation as well as keep a cheerful faith in God. Her first child died in 1657, her second in 1659, her third in 1660, her fifth in 1665, and she herself in 1668.

When her second child died at 15 months she asked God why she was so much in his debt. Her husband told her the child only slept, yet for her it slept so soundly it couldn't be woken by its mother's voice. When the third child died she felt she was being robbed of her children but reflected that God had the power to do with her what he wanted. When the fifth child died she wrote:

> Sleep well my little Christian,
> There is a bassinet for you in Heaven
> Your mother cries...
> Please send the angel of death to me next,
> I am tired and weak.

Just before her death she wrote:

> Christ is my life, and death my reward.[22]

Church of England members similarly were told that

> Even if you lose child after child or your wife, even if your affairs are in ruin, or your body is a burden and you are a loathesome spectacle like Job, nevertherless take these scourgings as a seal and pledge of God's love. It is gracious and condescending of God to take the trouble to afflict us with pain.

Lutherans were exhorted to trust the Lord: God had given them the greatest gift of all, life, and the faithful were told He would not withhold what was necessary to sustain it. God gave them their daily bread and if temporal needs were not satisfied, it was because they were sinners and had not really sought God. The poor should think of what God had given them, not what they lacked. In any case

> Wealth and honours of the world were the trifles of the hour...what was the famine of the body when compared to the famine of the soul...in time of death, what was the use of money? Wealth was nothing.

In getting across the idea that the 'existing social structure was

the creation of Divine Providence' [23] the British clergy, in addition, had such hymns as the old favourite 'All Things Bright and Beautiful'. One stanza, often dropped in editions after the first quarter of the twentieth century, reads:

> The rich man in his castle,
> The poor man at his gate
> God made them, high and lowly,
> And order'd their estate.[24]

This was supported in the home by such proverbs as

> God bless the squire and his relations
> And keep us all in our proper stations.

The highest happiness of man consisted of a humble contentment with the lot which God had assigned to each person, whatever that might be.

It is in such a context that the 1842 article, 'The Germans at Hhansdorf' (sic) takes on a more subtle meaning:

> I shall add one more feature in their characters- CONTENTMENT - on every every face you may read theword. Dissatisfaction appears unknown among them. If any in the lower classes of life have claims to happiness, it's the Germans in the peaceful hamlet of Hhansdorf.[25]

As the author of the article had just spoken of German piety, it might easily be imagined that the sole reason for this comment was to highlight the trust and faith in God, held by the inhabitants of Hahndorf. But the further implication to the nineteenth century reader was that because the Germans were 'content' and 'dissatisfaction appears unknown among them', the 'Germans at Hhahnsdorf'(sic) constituted no threat to the social order. These Germans 'in the lower classes of life' knew

> that they must do their duty in that stateof life in which it hath pleased God to place them, labouring faithfully with contentment'[26]

The Lutherans heard and believed. They believed because for country Germans, the Church was the centre of their spiritual, cultural and social life. What the church taught was law.

The priorities were made very clear:

> What is a man profited if he gain the whole world...to lose (his soul) would mean to lose life, to lose God, and therefore

to be lost forever.

Parishioners were specifically warned against greed: the lesson was obvious

> Children of the world...who...delight in earthly things, position, honour, popularity, wealth, pleasures, excitement, luxuries, in short everythingthat pleases the eyes and fleshy lusts...asking us to give up our heavenly crown which Jesus has won for us.[27]

And in a sermon on covetousness:

> The Holy script shows in unmistakable terms. The more a man searches for outward rewards, the further he is from eternal life.[28]

The ultimate result of which was

> What happened to the rich man in the Gospels?
> He went to Hell and damnation.[29]

If such a fate did not inculcate the ' "correct" values to the poor',[30] there was always the appeal to moral self-righteousness and superiority:

> What is riches?...when you put sacks of gold on the back of a donkey, it is still a donkey. Honour of the world is to wear a pretty skirt.[31]

Both the British and the Germans were given sermons on vice:

> Understandably a common theme was sermons against drunkenness...they (the poor) should realize that the severest and most tyrannical of all slavery is the tyranny of vice.[32]

The Lutherans heard:

> Therefore where the pleasure and vanity of the ballroom attract you, or where the lure of strong drink, or slippery tactics or dishonesty or the sordid love of money, or any other sin assails your heart, fortify yourself with your Saviour.[33]

To strengthen those who saw around them wickedness without any immediate consequences, the faithful were reminded:

> Here on earth the wickedly guilty often manage to escape punishment or a fitting retribution for their crimes...but on the great day when the Judge is sitting on the throne of his Glory. He is one who cannot be deceived.[34]

They were reminded in similar ways that all were equal in the sight of God. This was done for the British by reminding them that all one needed at death was six feet of earth, and for the Lutherans that all one had was a gravestone.

Politically, for reasons already suggested, both groups were urged to accept life as it was:

> Complacency is specifically praised. The best Christian is the best patriot, and patriotism appears to mean supporting and preserving the status quo.[35]

In this context, the otherwise seemingly confused statement by a leader of the Lutheran community, C. Krichauff, makes sense:

> True Germans...are always highly patriotic South Australians,[36]

for the Germans above all, as has been indicated, supported the status quo.

Lodges, communism, rationalism and atheism were equally condemned by the Lutheran Church,[37] not because of any political extremism but because they either denied the existence of God and or Christ, or did not put Christ first. But whatever the doctrinal reasons the result was the same: support for the status quo. As this message was delivered largely to conservative small land owners, or people dependent upon them, it did not fall upon deaf ears. In cases where the listeners did not consider that the world was treating them fairly, or despite exhortations, were finding it difficult to bear their afflictions bravely, the faithful were told

> to love your enemies, bless them that curse you, do good to them that hate you, and pray for them which despitefully use you and persecute you.[38]

Either way the message of acceptance was driven home.

Lutherans also extolled the virtues of being firm parents:

> A child that refuses to obey its parents instead of being severely reprimanded is coddled as a self-expressionist.[39]

Heady stuff in a colony where larrikinism on the streets was at least one of the reasons why education was made compulsory in 1875, and where education was seen by many as a means of indoctrinating 'the virtues of subordination and obedience'.[40]

Until 1847 the British settlers saw education as an extension of religion[41]. The Lutherans considered it to be much more. Education was religion. Education was concerned with the preservation of the soul. Education was concerned with salvation.[42] For salvation, one had to have faith and to maintain certain social and moral values. These values, as we have examined, were the same for both British and German. Gouttman maintains that:

> or achieving a socialised, and thus orderly, working class. Christianity was to be the moral basis upon which the civil order was built.[43]

and further:

> Because it was impregnated with Christian values and content, education was conceived as a means by which the social and moral order could be maintained.[44]

If not rigidly structured, 'from its very foundation, the colony was promoted as a 'class society'[45] and to the dominant class it was important that order be maintained. The Lutherans actively encouraged the maintenance of this order and as such, were considered by government officials, by the newspapers and by parliamentarians to be loyal and patriotic, South Australians. In the important debate on the separation of Church and State the Lutheran Church, with its anti-Erastian views, was on the side of those whose ideas finally held sway.[46]

If 'a royal road to respectability, was individual piety'[47] in nineteeth century South Australia, then the Germans can lay claim to having walked this royal road and therefore to acceptance by their fellow colonists. Piety was taught by the Lutherans at church and at school, and reinforced at home.

The Lutheran Church and school system, encompassing in its wider cultural orbit practically all people of German descent, did nothing to disturb the 'social cohesion' of the colony. The tone of the Church and the curriculum of the Lutheran schools

> would socialise the children of the working classes into those moral and economic designs acceptable to men of capital.[48]

The German-Lutherans did not except in the eyes of a relative few 'threaten the existing social and political institutions',[49] as their proclaimed morality befitted their social standing in the South Australian community. That they used English as their second language, was for most British-South Australians, secondary to the

fact that they did not disturb or question the social order. German middle class parliamentary representatives and official spokesmen assured their British fellow countrymen of German loyalty to the social and political status quo, and the conservative nature of the German areas confirmed these remarks.[50]

The very small German middle class was never big enough to threaten the dominant Anglo-Celtic majority[51] Moroever the attitude of middle class Germans was one of almost obeisance towards the dominant culture. This is perhaps best illustrated by the closure of the German Club in 1907, the club that was supposed to uphold German culture and traditions in South Australia.[52] The willingness with which this class threw off their German past and adopted the English language and customs was well documented by Richard Killiani, the German Consul General from Sydney, when he visited South Australia in 1913.[53]

In nineteenth century South Australia there was no call for the Germans to assimilate. In the most important aspect of that society, the maintenance of social order and rank, assimilation for the Germans was unnecessary, for the Germans were already totally integrated, at one in their attitudes with the dominant group in the colony.

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GERMAN MUSICAL TRADITIONS IN SOUTH AUSTRALIA

Andrew D. McCredie

> **"On July 29, as I noted above, the emigrants came abroad, 199 in number, who were emigrating from Prussia for the sake of their faith - their singing sounded so beautiful in the harbour. Whoever heard them gave them the testimony of having a rare gift of singing, which every evening attracted so many people of high and low estate abroad, that often the rigging was hanging full and there was no room on deck" [1].**

So reads an historic passage from the years 1838-39 in the memoirs of the captain of the migrant ship "Zebra", Dirk Meinertz Hahn, an ethnic German from the island of Sylt and whose name was soon to be immortalised in the naming of the village of Hahndorf in the Mount Lofty Ranges to the south east of Adelaide.

The colourful maritime sound-scape it portrays is important as a graphic description of the manner in which European cultures were transplanted into alien environments, an historical pattern hardly different from that of the Pilgrim Fathers, who, in the first decade of the seventeenth century had sought their Paradise of Dissent in the New World.

The very earliest German colonists in South Australia were also often those in search of a Paradise of Dissent, most of them originating from Posen, Brandenburg and Schlesien (Silesia), and seeking a haven from various forms of religious and sectarian persecution. Not only did they bring with them their adopted streams of Lutheranism, but also the musical repertory represented in their hymnals, song books, religious and secular ceremonial. Thus today some of the earliest musical sources surviving from the earliest German migrations are the hymnals still preserved in archives, church libraries and other holdings of German church music in the parishes of the Barossa Valley to the north east of Adelaide and the associated examples of German organ constructions and instrumental music, in particular the 'Kirchenblasen' identified with the intoning of chorales.

Apart from an enclave in Adelaide itself, the principal early concentrations of German settlement in South Australia were those in the Barossa and the Adelaide Hills around Hahndorf and Lobethal and the south-east regions of the state. The character and stability of these

settlements can be explained firstly in the natural tendency generally characterising transplanted societies in an alien environment, emphasising a conservation of attitudes and traditions as they prevailed in the mother culture at the time of transplantation, resulting sometimes in a reluctance to accept innovation and more radical developments as they emerged within the mother culture itself. Secondly, in accordance with the mundane demography of a colonial society, its pastoral, parish and village structures, music was assigned no more than a purely functional role, one which offered little scope or sympathy for the autonomous Kunstwerk. Thus in the early years of settlement the secular music traditions so cultivated were those of the 'Liedertafel' and 'Windband'. The 'Liedertafel' and 'Männerchorbewegung', often propagandised in the 19th century as a means of promoting a spirit of nationalism, provided a means of unification within the small colonial enclaves in South Australia.

Annegrit Laubenthal has described the fear of alteration as the most unique ubiquitous danger in the process of cultural transplantation in the following terms:

> Conservatism out of timidity towards a new environment does not confine itself to the faithful handing down of rites and customs, but also comprises entrenched modes of thinking. Subconscious patterns, hierarchies and stereotypes like ethnic preconceptions of prejudices lead their own life in the new social surroundings. No longer influenced by developments or advances in their former homeland they are allowed to remain unchanged as long as they find no substitution by matching attitudes adapted from the same environment [2].

An example of such above preconceptions can be perceived in the attitudes expressed by one ethnic group of colonists towards another. Thus an Anglo-Saxon columnist, writing for the South Australian Magazine, 17th March 1846, could actually assert: "All the world knows that the Germans, from the peasant up to the prince, are musical". From as late as 1880 can be read quotations such as: "The fact that Herr Kohler came to us as a German was sufficient to mark him as a musician".

Such preconceptions, according music culture a particular identification with German ethnicity, are simply the projection of the current adulation of German culture which prevailed in English and North American social life for most of the 19th century. Whatever the social status assigned within the colony to German musical ethnicity, the appearance and continued presence of German musical professionalism within the life of the colony enabled South Australia to fulfil a leading and seminal position at an early stage of Australia's musical history.

The total German contribution to South Australian musical development can be seen as having occurred under six principal categories:

(i) sacred music of the Lutheran Church and an associated indigenous stream of hymnography,
(ii) the popularity of brass and wind bands,
(iii) secular choralism and the Liedertafel tradition,
(iv) the contribution to professional concert life through the organisation of orchestras and support to string quartet clubs and chamber music soirées,
(v) the activities of German music educationists and entrepreneurs,
(vi) the emergence of a small group of composers, who provided a spearhead in the local creation of opera and operette.

An important factor for the transplanted sacred music of the early Lutheran rite was the missionary zeal with which it was practised by the earliest German immigrants. These represent a number of different and conflicting subconfessional streams, each in search of its own paradise of dissent and each equally ready to impose its norms upon its adherents and their environment. A number of the South Australian Magazine dated 17th March 1846, offers an already lively and graphic description of Lutheran rite and musical practices at Lobethal in the Adelaide Hills. It reads as follows:

> A little cracked bell is next rung to give warning: and in half an hour it is tolled again, after which you may observe all the villagers flocking towards the Kirsch (sic!); - the women attired in their gay, but ill-becoming national costumes, and the men in their long, green or blue coats, long boots, little caps bound with red cord, and in front a shadowy verandah of leather for a peak; all having that peculiar air of seriousness for which in all places they are so remarkable, but which is so seldom seen among us. They carry unwieldy Bibles under their arms, bound with ponderous iron grasps, which appear to have been made to withstand both the assaults of time and batteries .... It is not easy to avoid smiling when watching the children trudging after their parents.... Service in Church is commenced by singing as in ours: but is singing - not drawling - nor roaring - nor whining..... A stranger that has any idea at all of correct sounds, will not be disappointed in their singing. In their style there is simplicity, a plaintiveness, and harmony which is delightful. Though it is scientifically correct, still it appears to be deeply felt, and answers the end better than all the screeching and overstraining of our church musicians.
>
> The Lutheran Church allows a prayer book, and is read by the merest child upwards, along with the pastor, and the service concludes with a sermon and singing. The demeanour and decorum observed is truly admirable - nothing takes off the attention; and I believe that were two young people sitting opposite to each other, and engaged to be married that day, they would never exchange a glance the whole time!
>
> They possess a powerful sense of solemnity of a place of worship: - which, after all, is but correct. Should not this bring a blush into many of the congregations of our Protestant Churches? Decorum cannot be too rigid in such places. The system of education appears to be excellent for the class of persons it is intended to instruct. It is strictly moral; and, besides this, a slight knowledge of geography, history and music, are added: but VIRTUE seems paramount to all else: it is the beginning and the end of their education: every thing must bend to that [3].

Whereas in Germany itself there had been strong regional traditions in ritual music and hymnography, in transplantation such traditions tended to become interspersed into a wide diversity, while congregational Lutheran hymn singing was often preconditioned by the design and poor lighting of the church buildings. An early practice reported from the parish of Hahndorf in the Adelaide Hills, hymn singing was divided into single lines, whereby each line was first recited by some one near the light, and then only sung by the congregation - since the church was too dimly lit to afford collective singing.

The first stages in the evolution of a local Lutheran hymnography appear to be traceable back to the efforts of Gotthard Daniel Fritzsche (1797-1863), who organized a choir at Lobethal and to whom are ascribed the earliest composed Lutheran hymn settings in South Australia. Commencing with the appearance in 1860 of Christliches Gesangbuch für die evangelisch-lutherischen Gemeinden zu Klemzig und Adelaide in Süd-Australien, a collection assembled by Pastor Johann Christina Maschmedt, local hymnography could slowly develop its own traditions in publication. The earliest edition in English was that published by the Mount Gambier-Millicent parish in 1893. The first anthology of hymn tunes appeared in 1925, a volume which included a number of locally composed melodies. Among the composers represented were H. Schurmann, E.Starrick and H.A. Thomson as well as Johannes Paul Loehe (1869-1952), principal of Immanuel College, the theological seminary at North Adelaide. Loehe was infused by the reform traditions at his college at Neuendettelsau in North Bavaria; his initiatives based upon the models learned there proved decisive for the development of Lutheran hymnography in Australia [4].

Even greater was the diversity within other forms of Lutheran liturgical music. In 1890, the Agende für evangelisch-lutherische

Gemeinden in Australien, could draw upon no less than four different liturgies of different overseas origins. Towards the turn of the century, English began to compete with, and then gradually to supplant German as the 'lingua franca' of the liturgy. The revisions to take place were those of Immanuel Gotthold Reimann of the Bethlehem Church of Flinders Street, Adelaide, one of the two major city churches. Its musical alterations tended to identify it as a specifically Adelaide-oriented liturgy. Nevertheless, it was only one of many parochial liturgies. For example, the liturgy for St. Stephen's, Adelaide, the other major inner city parish, employed a liturgy set to music by Ernst Eitel, which drew heavily upon the Anglican responsorial and chant styles of the day. Another unusual liturgical music was that furnished by Theo Gayer for the Langmeil parish church at Tanunda in the Barossa Valley.

Likewise, the traditions of para-ecclesiastical music-making in South Australia reflect the same mix of various regional traditions transplanted from the home cultures. This mixture extended to such activities as bell-ringing, "Kirchenblasen", use of wind bands and instrumental ensembles, traditions which withstood the pressure of acculturative processes longer than was the case in secular music. With the construction of the earliest churches and establishment of the earliest congregations, instrumental accompaniment of the earliest church services was first provided by ensembles of brass instruments, usually comprising a mixture of cornets, flugelhorns and trombones. Testifying to this is an early Nuriootpa band manuscript containing 130 chorales for solo cornet, presumably one of a set of parts used by band members for divine services. Prior to the introduction of keyboard instruments, such as the harmonium and the organ, the Langmeil Church (Tanunda) employed brass instrumentalists. Such was the commitment of brass personnel to these duties that they refused to join the Tanunda Band in 1860.

Surviving parish records of the period corroborate the participation of brass ensembles for church services at Bethel (1870), Bethany (1875), Point Pass (1875) as well as Gnadenfrei and Rosedale. Mission festivities of the period were also musically highlighted through the presence of such wind ensembles. The introduction of keyboard support commenced with the installations of organs at Bethany (1840) and at Hoffnungsthal (c.1850) otherwise all other major installations post date 1870. A number of these early installed Lutheran organs are still in use, and have generated considerable interest because of their timbral quality and craftmanship.

Secular instrumental traditions were dominated by brass wind ensembles, including itinerant bands, which appeared in both Adelaide and the various German rural centres.

The emergence of the post Napoleonic bourgeois urban society of the nineteenth century is hardly better exemplified than through the rapid spread across continents and hemispheres of the new secular choralism. Much of the enthusiasm for German secular choralism is traceable back to the newly emergent "Singakademien", such as that founded in 1791 in Berlin, and with which was associated a sequence of famous conductors, among them Carl Friedrich Zelter, the friend and collaborator of Goethe and teacher of Felix Mendelssohn-Bartholdy [5]. The repertories of the "Singakademien" were the models of the later romantic oratorio choirs: a selection of religious works, oratorios of Händel, Haydn, Beethoven and Mendelssohn, well established mass and passion settings, as well as numerous works by minor masters such as Romberg, Friedrich Schneider, Rungenhagen and many more - the same mix of composers to be encountered as the staple of Adelaide concerts more than half a century later. Of even greater importance for South Australia was the "Liedertafel" movement, whose origins lay in the foundation in 1809 of a "Liedertafel" in Berlin, and again by Carl Friedrich Zelter. First this was a circle of twenty-four male voices (singers, poets and composers) who were also in part members of the Singakademie. Using as their basis this Berlin model, other "Liedertafeln" were subsequently established in Leipzig (1815), Magdeburg (1818), Hamburg (1823), Bremen (1827), Hannover (1830) and Dresden (1839) [6]. The equivalent movement favoured in South Germany was the "Liederkranz". An important feature of these movements were societies based on regularised codes of membership, the championship of patriotic (nationalist) ideologies, and the production of their own compositions - the last development soon accounting for a burgeoning sheet music market.

In Adelaide, two such choirs - the Deutsche Liedertafel and the Adelaider Liedertafel - had been established as the result of initiatives by Otto Rudiger who had conducted the former, in the time before the arrival of Carl Linger in 1848. Another German choir existed in the Europe Hotel, which in 1855 was amalgamated with the Adelaider Liedertafel. At this early stage the well-being of any chorus was dependent upon the availability of inexpensive rehearsal facilities. There survives interesting evidence illustrating the apparent dependence of these organisations upon the current German repertory of the day. Among composers to have figured prominently in the repertory of the Biedermeier Liedertafel in Germany were Karl Gottlieb Reissiger (1798-1859), a prolific opera Kapellmeister-composer stationed in Dresden, and Bernard Klein (1793-1832) who also figured prominently as a composer of oratorios and Catholic Church music. The Library of the Adelaide Liedertafel included numerous pieces by Reissiger, and no less than thirty-five "Religiöse Gesänge" (Op. 22-27, 36-37) of Bernhard Klein.

Such were the circumstances at the time of Carl Linger's first appearance on the Adelaide scene in 1848.

Thus the German "Liedertafel" traditions took root in Adelaide and flowered in a variety of ways, some of their concerts following orthodox traditions and employing all male choruses, other presenting them as larger mixed choruses. The mixed chorus concerts, more reminiscent of the "Singakademien", often featured a miscellany of items and styles, while also propagating the ambitions of the oratorio choir. Later in the nineteenth century their repertories included cantatas and music dramatic works by local composers of German origin.

The first of the German conductor-composers to leave a permanent imprint on South Australian colonial music was Carl Linger (1810-1862). The Berlin born and educated musician arrived in Adelaide on 7th August, 1849. His musical heritage was that of post Napoleonic, romantic "vormärzliches" Berlin, that world identified with Spontini's late operas, the successful productions of Weber's operas, the young Mendelssohn's famous revival of Bach's 'St. Matthew Passion', its post Napoleonic choralism and chamber music soirees. Linger's surviving compositions from his Berlin years suggest an above average craftsman, with a moderate inventive flare ready to address and build upon the tempered Biedermeier traditions of the day. Linger received his early academic and professional education at the University of Berlin and in the recently established Institute for Church Music. There was also the inevitable Italian journey that was an indispensable part of the "Bildungsweg" of the younger "Bildungsbürgertum" of that time. His Berlin years, prior to his departure for Australia in 1849, were represented in a creative oeuvre accounting for two operas, 'The Fight with the Dragon' and 'Alfred the Great', in Lieder, part-songs, and various motets and religious settings. Among the latter the 'Motets' (1845-46) apart from paying lip-service to the modish Cecilianism influenced 'back to Palestrina' ideology of the period, vacillate between attempts to attain a contrapuntally rigorous structure and side sliding into conventional Biedermeier "Genugsamkeit" and sentimentality. When transplanted to the musical conditions of Colonial South Australia this transferred style enabled Linger to enter and assume musical leadership within a musical environment in which English (early Victorian) styles had been pre-eminent. His achievements in Adelaide, whether as music pedagogue or as conductor of the Adelaide Choral Society, introduced a new element of professionalism into public concert giving and music making. The high point of his activity in Adelaide was his direction of Händel's 'Messiah', commemorating the century of the composer's death (1859) and his acclamation as composer of the 'Song of Australia' (Caroline Carleton) which won first prize in the competition arranged in 1859 by the Gawler Institute. Such was Linger's commitment to colonial musical life at the expense of his own self-championship, that an overview of his oeuvre had to wait until his own memorial concert, following his death on 16th february, 1862. Of the event, The Advertiser, 11th September 1863, could report:

> The programme commenced with a Concert Overture by Linger, a very elaborate composition. It was performed creditably by the band though the effect would have been improved by a little more attention to the soft passages, and the lights and shades of the piece. The band was exceedingly well balanced as to instruments and this of course greatly aided the effect. The next piece was a Motet, also by Linger, which, though it was scientific enough to satisfy the most devoted lover of counterpoint, was far too heavy, and Mr. Edward's song which followed was felt to be a relief.The Sanctus and Benedictus from Linger's Mass in B flat. This was the best composition of Linger's performed during the evening, solemn and slow, it has passages of much beauty and graceful modulation, while its harmony is admirable... Our readers will perceive that the concert was highly successful, indeed its equal has not been heard in Adelaide since Linger's death [7].

Other German musicians to have contributed to Adelaide musical life in this early period included Theodore Heydecke (1831-1867), leader of the Catholic and Volunteer Bands, and the Hamburg born cellist Christian Reimers (b.1827) of whom Loyau, in Notable South Australians, could remark: 'As a musician he is thoroughly original, and has probably few, if any, equals on his 'cello', the sweet sounds of which have often been heard by large and admiring audiences in our Town Hall'.

The example of Heydecke and Reimers underlines what was to become the important German heritage in concert giving and instrumental culture, represented through orchestral and chamber as well as solo instrumental music. The peculiar position of professional conductors and instrumentalists has been succinctly described by Annegrit Laubenthal as follows:

> Professional musicians migrating from Germany often made their way via Britain, where so many musicians of the 19th century Germany found work and where the music of German speaking countries was very highly regarded. In any case, the ambition of performers would have been defined by the ideal of an "international virtuoso" and using an international repertoire of music [8].

Yet it would be incorrect to assume that all such instrumentalists came to South Australia as self-proclaimed virtuosi, as their advertisements for students sometimes asserted; others came in service of the various itinerant opera and theatre troupes, such as those of the Lyster Opera Company. A noteworthy variant of this was Carl Püttmann (1843-1899), the son of a Cologne poet, journalist and art critic, attached to the staff of the Kölnische Zeitung. Loyau's Notable South Australians records how

> After the political troubles of 1848-49, the family moved to

England, and subsequently to Australia, where, in Melbourne, Mr. Puttman senior for many years took an active part in German (local) journalism, and edited, shortly before his death in 1874, a "history of the Franco-Prussian War' [9].

The third son, Carl, is described as having studied music 'under the best Victorian professors, participating professionally as early as 1858' in all Philharmonic and other concerts, in company with his teachers, Strebinger, Pringle, Jacobs, C.E. Horsley and others. Püttmann accepted an engagement from the Lyster Opera Company on their first tour of Australia and New Zealand, leaving them in 1865 in Adelaide, to establish himself there as a general music pedagogue in piano, violin and singing, then becoming in 1867 conductor of the Adelaide Liedertafel. In 1870 he produced his opera 'Mordgrundbruch' with that organisation. He also appears to have written an ode for the jubilee of Queen Victoria, setting it to music. 'A striking feature of this composition was the closing number "God Save the Queen", written as a fugal chorus which was very effective'.

Towards the end of the nineteenth century a veritable galaxy of German colonist musicians was assembled in Adelaide, some choosing to remain there indefinitely, others making extended sojourns before moving on to the eastern seaboard or back to Europe. Foremost among these was August Moritz Hermann Heinicke (b. Dresden 1863, d. Adelaide, 1949), whose memoirs written mainly about 1916 still constitute a valuable source of information on the musical development of Adelaide over the quarter century before the outbreak of the First World war. Heinicke's career as violinist and conductor took flight at an early age, as conductor of three male choruses in Dresden at the age of 16, then as first violinist at the Kgl. Dresdener Hofoper, then an assistant Konzertmeister to Kgl. Sächsischer Musikdirektor Mansfeld, thereafter as assistant conductor of the Hamburg Konzertorchester for a six month tour of East Prussia, Poland and Russia. In 1885 he was assistant conductor to Mansfeld at the Berlin Konzerthaus, an activity followed by a tour of England based upon Buxton Spa. On his return to Germany Direktor Pohl drew his attention to a vacancy in the Adelaide College of Music. In 1890 Heinicke's curiosity and wanderlust brought him to Adelaide to join Reimann's Adelaide College of Music where a number of Central European musicians - Gerhard Vollmer, van der Leye ('cellists) and Noeseil (singing) were already active. Other German musicians active or associated with Reimann included Hermann Schrader (pianist), Ludwig Hof (violinist) and Hermann Kugelberg ('cellist). Heinicke quickly assumed a forefront position in the organisation of public music making, taking charge of the Adelaide Liedertafel (1890), then establishing Heinicke's Grand Orchestra, which in the years 1891-97 presented an annual series of twelve grand concerts in the Adelaide Town Hall during the months from May to October. The programmes of these concerts were initially reminiscent of the Spa Orchestras of Europe, featuring overtures,

movements from symphonies and suites, dances, short lyric pieces, selections from operas and ballets, and instrumental concert numbers and vocal pieces. With the establishment of the Elder Conservatorium in 1897, this pattern of concert giving was continued by the Elder Conservatorium Orchestra until 1910, when, reflecting the decline in public demand, University support was withdrawn. From 1911-1914 Heinicke could continue this enterprise now renamed the Adelaide Grand Orchestra. The outbreak of the First World War effectively terminated Heinicke's activities as choral and orchestral conductor in Adelaide.

Other German musicians to have contributed to the musical development of South Australia in the late colonial and post-Federation decades included the Braunschweig born pianist Carl Julius Bertram, who arrived in Adelaide in 1881. According to Loyau:

> He has composed upwards of thirty-six Sonatas, fourteen Nocturnes and Romances, a number of songs etc. Of these, the following, among others, have been performed in public - Sonata in E flat minor, Nocturne in B flat minor, Concert Study in E flat minor, Organ Prelude and Fugue in E flat major, and the fine descriptive song 'The Wind in the Trees'. Despite his residence in Brunswick, Herr Bertram became personally associated with Rubinstein, Abt and some other musical celebrities. His memory is wonderfully quick and retentive.[10]

Loyau sought to forecast a triumphant and major contribution towards the musical life of the Colony. Little survives of Bertram's later career, and to date no musical manuscripts have been found to survive him.

The focal point for most German musicians active in Adelaide after 1883 was the Adelaide College of Music, established by Immanuel Gotthold Reimann (1859-1932). Born at Hahndorf in the Adelaide Hills, Reimann's musical gifts emerged at an early stage while still a pupil of the Hahndorf College and then as pupil of Otto Stange in Adelaide. His earliest pedagogical assignments as a teaching assistant were already at the same Hahndorf College in 1875-76. Upon the death of his father in 1879 Reimann was willed support to continue his studies overseas becoming a pupil of several institutions in Berlin, the most important of them being the Scherwenka Conservatorium. Returning with a folio of diplomas to Adelaide in April 1883, he set up in October of the same year the Adelaide College of Music in Wakefield Street, an institution which came to service some 300 student annually. Of the basically German foundations of this College, Heinicke's Memoirs inform us:

> Director Reimann's three years of study in Berlin at the Scherwenka Conservatorium mirrored itself in the way he ran his College, completely in the German way. Reimann was unique as

pianist, lecturer and teacher in the obligatory subjects, and at the same time unique as artistic and administrative full-time director. Reimann's College of Music was one of the best music schools in Australia - with nearly three hundred most talented pupils - and all the children of the various governors attended this institution [11].

With the establishment of the Elder Conservatorium at the University of Adelaide from 1897 Reimann and many of this teaching personnel were absorbed into the new institution thereby extending and consolidating the traditions already described. Reimann himself was one of the faculty, also serving in an advisory capacity to the University administration.

But Reimann's musical activities were not restricted to the two teaching institutions; he was also, for example, pianist and later honorary musical director of the Adelaide String quartet, a group to enjoy Vice-regal patronage. Other positions included directorship of the Adelaide Chamber Music Society, incumbencies as Organist of the German Lutheran Church in Flinders Street, Adelaide, and later at the fashionable Anglican parish of Christ church, North Adelaide.

The first foregoing categories of our discussion covering transplanted ritual musics, sacred and secular vernacular instrumental practices, Liedertafelism, professional concert life and music education together represent a model familiar elsewhere in the world where the transplanted European musics, their interpretation and transculturation is emerging as an important region in the theory and practice of music historiography.

In 1961 the late Charles Seeger could offer a model of factors, both phenomenological and axiological, both intrinsic and extrinsic, that moulded the cultivation of European traditions of music in the Americas. The grouping he postulated was as follows: cultural dynamics, transplantation, verbalisation, and acculturation. Applied to the transplantation of European music culture in the age of the post-Napoleonic industrial revolution, Seeger's model as applied to transplanted German music cultures in the Australian colonies would emerge as follows:

(i) cultural dynamics: the population explosion and economic evolution of the industrial revolution in post-Napoleonic Europe,

(ii) transplantation; the manner in which German music traditions were brought to Australia,

(iii) verbalisation; the kinds and extents of control to which music traditions have been submitted by speech traditions,

(iv) acculturation: the kinds and extents among originally transplanted music traditions [12].

The first of these includes the change from rural to progressively more urbanised social structures and education, the transitions in forms of patronage and the industrialisation of music of itself, through commercial forces in concert life and music publishing. The second indicates the sorts of musics and the means and media through which they were transplanted. The third category, verbalisation, emphasises the initial linguistic control of the Lutheran liturgy, the borrowing of texts and chants from other liturgies (Anglican usages at St. Stephen's Adelaide), translation and Anglicisation of the Lutheran liturgies, the suppression of German culture in the years 1914-1918. The fourth process of acculturation emphasises such factors as re-insemination, e.g. despatch of first generation Australian (e.g. Immanuel Reimann) to German, parent culture conservatories for their professional musical training; acculturation embraces factors in music practice and dissemination, interchange of repertories (as between choral societies of German or Anglo-Saxon origins), and finally the movement of composers (e.g. Püttmann, Heuzenroeder, A.H. Otto) between music traditions of different national origins.

This last-named facet, and the last of the five original categories, is illuminated through the activities of those composers (themselves also usually conductors associated with "Liedertafel" and choral societies), whose activities included the composition of new operatic or choral works with orchestra intended for performance by local resources. One such composer, Carl Püttmann (1843-1898), has already been discussed: his opera 'Mordgrundbruch', an opera with a mixture of Gothic and comic elements, appears to be the first music-dramatic work written in South Australia, and one using a German text, whose performance was intended to raise funds for relief of illness on the German side of the Franco-Prussian war.

Moritz Heuzenroeder (b. 1850 Ottersberg, Germany d. 1897) trained at Stuttgart, came to South Australia in 1872. He was equally active as educator, pianist, conductor and composer. As a pianist, his obituary (Music 1/14 Adelaide 1897) 11f. described him as 'one of the most poetical players we have heard in Adelaide. He was particularly fond of Chopin, a writer who seemed more than any other to appeal to his peculiar nature'. As conductor and music organiser, Heuzenroeder spearheaded the Adelaide Harmonic Society (from 1886) and was responsible for productions of various French "operas comiques" and "operettes", including 'Boccacio'. 'Madam Angot' and 'Les Cloches de Corneville'. As composer he attracted attention not only for keyboard musics and song, including one 'Australia', but for considerable music theatrical production which he presented to Adelaide audiences. They included three "Singspiele" using German texts and plots 'Singvögelchen' (1882), Onkel Becker's 'Geschichte' (1882) and 'Faust und Gretchen' (1883). His various English settings include 'The Windmill' and finally in 1893 the opera 'Immomeena', the plot and characters of which are no

longer European but Australian. The plot of 'Immomeena' takes its name from the sheep station of the same name, and the events which are set in its surroundings. Although musically conservative, its libretto could already capture some of the ethos to adumbrate Australian cultural nationalism of the 1890s.

By way of a Coda to the foregoing, any discussion of German influence or impetus to music theatrical works created in South Australia would be incomplete without reference to several works by Australian-born composers, but employing German literary themes or German figures as their central characters, whose real or fictitious experiences are used biographically.

The production of Richard Meale's opera 'Voss' at the Adelaide Festival of Arts (1986) is already accepted as a chronological landmark and an aesthetic benchmark in the evolution of music theatre in Australia. David Malouf's libretto is an adaptation of Patrick White's novel on the ill-fated expedition led by the fictitious German-born explorer Voss into the interior of Australia. Patrick White's sources involved a number of different documents, including the diaries of Edward John Eyre, but overlayered by various mythological materials (some of them disfigured), perhaps, best designated as the 'Leichhardt legend'. To this extent the opera can be seen as continuing a direction identifiable with the mid-twentieth century German "Literaturoper", while also resuming another stream in Australian opera composition since 1975, namely the evolution of quasi biographical opera shaped around historical explorers, inventors and other intellectual innovators, or even the apostrophical heroic suffers of history. Other examples include Barry Connyngham's 'Edward John Eyre' and 'Fly' (after the life of Lawrence Hargrave), Nigel Butterley's opera on the life of Hargrave, or Peter Sculthorpe's 'Eliza Fraser Sings', 'Quiros', and George Dreyfus' 'Garni Sands' among others. Meale's opera deals with Voss on several dimensions, the expedition itself, his inner journey of self exploration and the never to be requited friendship with the Sydney resident, Laura Trevelyan. 'Voss' was the last work to be completed by Meale while attached to the University of Adelaide [14].

The year 1988 introduces two new music theatrical works on German themes, 'The Letters of Amalie Dietrich' and 'Barossa', both by Ralph Middenway to libretti by Andrew Taylor. Centre of the plot of the former is the 'Lebenslauf' of Amalie Dietrich, a resolute woman who rose from the humblest of environments to become an eminent scientist (long before women were generally accepted in the scientific and medical professions), portrayed through visions her daughter obtains from letters to her from Australia, on the day immediately after Amalie's funeral. Amalie's scientific career straddles several countries, her native Germany, the Netherlands and Poland, as well as Australian from 1863-1872. The opera thus encompasses a series of different dramatic

and literary concepts, including that of the problem play, touching not only upon what in current parlance might be viewed as feminism, but also upon the intellectual's experience of both geographical as well as inner emigration. In this regard, Taylor's libretto thus confronts some of the underlying themes of present day comparative literary scholarship. The composer describes his work as a music drama, with a more or less continuous musical texture intermittently yielding set pieces and ensembles.

'Barossa' is a "Singspiel" in two acts commissioned by the Australian Bicentennial Authority in association with the South Australian College of Advanced Education. The inner intellectual substance of this specifically designated "Singspiel" deals with issues of a society in transculturation, when the events of the World War rudely disrupt the transplanted Biedermeier idyll of the German rural communities in the Barossa Valley. Corner-stones of the conflict to emerge are the conservative evangelical Lutheranism of the community (a heritage familiar to the composer), the impact of the First World War, and the changing identity to emerge with the emotional attachment of a mixed German and Anglo-Saxon pair of lovers. This blending of the elements of uninhibited, bucolic farce and problem play facilitate musical dialectic encompassing on the one hand the simplest, and, at times, populist closed forms, on the other, dense harmonic textures suited to its seriously commentative sections. This heterogeneous score draws upon a variety of resources, chorale, imitative Volkslied, Quadlibet, Kirchenblasen, popular secular brass music, on stage instrumental performance and a variety of vocal genres.

Although a more pluralist musical community may be said to characterise the closing decades of the twentieth century, the seminality of various German music traditions has often permeated the activities of the State's musical leadership, whether through Henry Krips' twenty-third incumbency as musical director of the South Australian (now Adelaide) Symphony Orchestra, or through the appointment of Herbert Esser to the Directorship of the Elder Conservatorium and to the Elder Chair of Music at the University of Adelaide. Three of the musical directors of the State Opera of South Australia gained substantial experiences in German opera houses. A recognition of specifically German levels of professionalism is still evident in the best instrumental and vocal tuition, but more especially in various fields of musical scholarship, involving a close collaboration with the University of Adelaide and German universities, scientific academies, research institutes and foundations such as the Alexander von Humboldt Stiftung.

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RICHARD MORITZ SCHOMBURGK

Second director of the Adelaide Botanic Garden 1865-91

Pauline Payne

Among the varied contributions of German born settlers to nineteenth century South Australia that of Dr Richard Schomburgk, second director of the Adelaide Botanic Garden, is an important one. Schomburgk guided the Botanic Gardens through a period of expansion which established it as a South Australian institution that not only had considerable scientific and utilitarian value but was also a source of great pride to local citizens. His story demonstrates the opportunities for personal success that were available for a capable emigrant from Germany. It shows, too, how an institution could be developed that used the best ideas from Europe but was also adapted to the special needs of a new colony.

Richard Moritz Schomburgk was born in 1811 as the fourth child and third son of an assistant Lutheran pastor at Freyburg on the Umstrut River in Saxony, at that time part of Prussia. Although baptized as Moritz Richard he seems to have been known as Richard Moritz all his adult life. At the age of 14 he was apprenticed as a gardener at Merseburg. The gardening apprenticeship involved a period when, as a journeyman, a young man could travel throughout Germany seeking experience. After a period of national service in the Royal Guard Schomburgk worked at the Sanssoucci gardens at Potsdam, as far as is known from 1835 to 1840. According to the nineteenth century British writer, John Claudius Loudon, the German gardeners had an excellent reputation throughout Germany. He stated that all the best gardens in Poland, Russia and Italy were in the hands of Germans.[0] In addition the activities of such organizations as the Prussian Horticultural Society provided a stimulus for horticultural developments. By 1840 the young Schomburgk would have had a thorough training in techniques of propagation and care of plants, and garden management and would have acquired some understanding of the principles of garden design as practiced at the time. At this stage an opportunity arose which took him from the ranks of run of the mill gardeners to a new role as a traveller and collector whose name was known in the leading botanical and horticultural journals of the day.

Richard's older brother Robert, later Sir Robert Schomburgk, had as the eldest son been sent to nearby Leipzig to the commercial establishment of an uncle. To further his commercial career he had gone first to the United States in 1822 and then to the West Indies. There, at his own expense, he had mapped the area of the Anegada Passage in the Virgin Islands where treacherous currents and reefs combined with local pirate activities created a dangerous situation for shipping. Robert Schomburgk's work had brought him to the attention of the British Admiralty and Royal Geographical Society in London and subsequently he was asked to lead an expedition to what was then known as British Guiana, now Guyana, on behalf of the Royal Geographical Society.[1] He proved to be a capable leader on an expedition that was fraught with dangers and which, while yielding a wealth of natural history material for scientific institutions in London, also claimed the life of one of the party. When a further expedition was proposed with the aim of settling the position of the boundary of British Guiana, making physical and astronomical observations and making further scientific collections of natural history specimens, Robert was asked to lead it on behalf of both the British Government and the Royal Geographical Society. It was arranged that Robert's younger brother Richard Schomburgk would accompany the expedition on behalf of the Prussian Government. Richard, many years younger than Robert, was used to an outdoor life, had some knowledge of botany and could also be relied upon to be a loyal supporter of Robert. Scientists in leading scientific institutions in Berlin spent time instructing him about possible items to be collected. He also came into contact with Alexander von Humboldt. Von Humboldt, who as one of the most widely travelled scientists of his day, had journeyed to the upper reaches of the Amazon during his own research expedition to South and Central America from 1799-1804, is said to have taken a great interest in the Schomburgk travels in British Guiana. Von Humboldt was remarkable in his day for the thoroughness with which he prepared for his explorations both as to the equipment that was needed and the skills and knowledge which were required.

In 1844 the brothers returned from British Guiana with a wealth of botanical, zoological and ethnological material as well as astronomical and physical measurements. Robert was knighted by Queen Victoria and became a career diplomat for the British Government. Richard went to Berlin to write up the three volume Reisen in Britisch Guiana. This included a very readable account of his travels together with sections on botanical and zoological material with help from a series of prominent scientists: F.H.

Trochsel, J. Cabanis, W.H. Erichson, J. F. Klotsch, C.G.D. Nees von Esenbeck, F.H. Bartling, A.H.R. Griesebach, and C. H. Schultz. He was in effect getting personal tuition from some of the leading scientists of his day. Another of the Schomburgk brothers, Alfred Otto, known as Otto, who worked closely with Richard, was said to number among his friends the geographer Carl Ritter and the naturalist Christian Gottfried Ehrenberg, both outstanding men in their field and both likely to have been interested in the results of the British Guiana expedition. Although there is no evidence that Richard Schomburgk undertook formal university studies, his field work in British Guiana and the evaluation of the collected material together with his contact with eminent scientists of the day all combined to give him a reputation in the natural sciences which stood him in good stead when he came to Australia. In the Preface to Reisen in Britisch Guiana he acknowledged the debt he owed to Alexander von Humboldt,

> whose name like a guiding star will lead the way in Science for all time, and through whose friendly consideration I was enabled with my slender resources to add my contribution to the knowledge of the surface structure of our planet though only as a collector of material for the further study of the subject [2]

Von Humboldt, a giant in the world of science in his day, was remarkable for the extraordinary breadth of his interests, his work covering the fields of geography, meteorology, geophysics, astronomy, history, anthropology, zoology and botany.[3] He was also extremely generous to friends and supportive to young men of his acquaintance.[4] Von Humboldt was scientific adviser to Frederick William 1V of Prussia and a man who had spent three decades of his life in Berlin in the Royal Court. His position, experience and reputation enabled him to intervene on behalf of his protégés even at a time when his own political leanings were not in line with the more conservative views of those in power.

Von Humboldt seems to have been one of the people instrumental in getting Otto Schomburgk released when Otto, who had been active in a radical student group or *Burschenschaft* in the 1830's, was imprisoned in the citadel at Magdeburg in 1837.[5] In one of his letters von Humboldt suggested wryly that maybe the young man could go to South America to preach to the Indians, thus foreshadowing the final solution of helping Otto and Richard to emigrate to Australia[6]. An indication of the close association of the brothers is the fact that Otto, who after studying Theology at Halle had also undertaken medical studies, helped with the research that followed the 1840-44 British Guiana expedition. He carried out

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veterinary experiments on the effect on animals of the South American Indian arrow poison (variously known as curare and urari) which Robert and Richard had brought back to Europe from British Guiana. It is a skeletal-muscle relaxant still used today in anaesthesia. Von Humboldt had been the first European to give a description of the preparation of the compound as he observed it on the upper Orinoco.[7]

When political unrest came to a head in 1848 Otto and Richard Schomburgk were implicated in the uprising. They joined with the educationalist C.W.L.Muecke and others who were disappointed with the failure of attempts to achieve political reforms and formed a South Australian Colonization Society. It is likely that lack of economic opportunities was also an important factor in this since there were not enough employment opportunities available for the number of people being trained in the scientific and technical field. Nevertheless Richard Schomburgk's own account, written later in his life, makes it clear that the brothers were "black sheep" as he put it and that they were fortunate to have had the help of wealthy patrons such as Alexander von Humboldt and his friend the geologist Leopold von Buch.[8] Von Buch gave the brothers a monetary gift, sufficient to build a house.[9] Along with such gifts the brothers brought to South Australia the influence of the scientists with whom they had worked and each kept up contacts with both individual scientists and learned societies in Germany to the end of his life.

The brothers sailed for South Australia in March 1849 with other members of the South Australian Colonization Society on the *Princess Louise*, arriving in August 1849. Naturalized as British subjects soon after arrival, they purchased land along the Para River just out of the town of Gawler, about thirty kilometres from Adelaide. They were joined a year later by a sister, Linna, and the youngest of the Schomburgk brothers, Julius. Some of the work of Julius, a talented silversmith, is today exhibited in the Art Gallery of South Australia as an example of fine colonial workmanship.[10] Otto and Richard established a farm and vineyard, calling the settlement Buchsfelde after von Buch, although sadly it was renamed "Loos" during the 1914-18 war. As well as farming and producing an excellent wine the brothers were very active in their local community. They helped to establish a local church where Otto preached, Otto practiced as a local doctor, midwife and veterinarian and Richard was curator of the newly established Gawler Museum. The brothers both acted as informal community leaders. In a more formal way they served as leaders through the establishment of the Muddla Wirra council of which both were members. Otto's work for

the German language newspaper, Süd Australische Zeitung, was in association with both Muecke and M.P.F. Basedow, both of whom had a great interest in the scientific approach to agriculture and Richard was a founding member of the Gawler Town Agricultural Society. Richard is known to have sold plants commercially in this period.[11] It is not known if Richard collected botanical specimens although he did send specimens of amphibians and reptiles to Professor H.W. Peters in Berlin. The amphibians, the first known specimens to have been collected in South Australia and deposited in a museum collection, were reported by Peters (1864, 1875). Richard Schomburgk obtained specimens of all species now occurring within thirty kilometres of Adelaide, four of which were described as new.[12] In addition he sent specimens of South Australian snakes and lizards to Berlin. Among those known to have been collected are *Suta suta* Peters W.1863, the Myall snake, *Tiliqua occipitalis* Peters W.1863, the Western Blue-tongued lizard, *Tiliqua adelaidensis* Peters W. 1863, the pygmy Blue-tongued lizard and *Lygosoma schomburgkii* Peters W. 1863 (*Ctenotus schomburgkii*), a small skink[13]. Whether he made any botanical collections also is not known but the main collections of South Australian flora were already established by this time and Schomburgk's interests seem to have been in other aspects of natural history. His interest in plants lay more in the fields of horticulture and economic botany than in taxonomy.

By 1865 Richard was caring for the farm and vineyard alone following the death of Otto in 1855. At this stage he applied successfully for the position of Director of the Adelaide Botanic Garden following the death of its first Curator, George William Francis. The Botanic Garden was first opened to the public in 1855, only nineteen years after the first official settlement of the colony in 1836. Francis who had been very active in establishing the Botanic Garden was also responsible for the first features of site development, including the entrance walk that formed a north south axis and also development work on a stream which cut across the site and from which lakes could be developed. Schomburgk with his newly conferred doctorate from the "Germanic Academy" in Berlin (Deutsche Akademie der Wissenschaften) had a reputation both in European scientific circles and also locally and he could use this reputation in proposing a set of new developments for the Botanic Gardens to build upon the foundations laid by Francis.

The proposals were an early demonstration of Schomburgk's ability to balance attention to the different roles of a botanic garden; a balanced approach which was to be his trademark and an important reason for his success as a director. On the one hand he

was suggesting a system garden, which was part of the scientific role of the botanic garden and an experimental garden for "medicinal, industrial and fodder plants" which was likely to be attractive to members of parliament and local business leaders. On the other hand his plans for better animal houses, while reflecting his interest in natural history, would also provide an attractive feature to family groups visiting the gardens. The proposal for a new rose garden was likely to attract keen gardeners as was his proposal for a new heating system for the conservatories and development of an orchid house. Orchids were extremely popular in those times with substantial prices being paid for prize specimens.[14] Schomburgk had a considerable interest in orchids and had collected them on his British Guiana travels. He also proposed an aquarium for Nymphaeaceae and other aquatic plants which again were popular with the general public.

Schomburgk's first recorded outward letter was a request to purchase animal manure collected on the streets by the City Corporation.[15] While this request can be seen as a natural one from a man, skilled in horticulture, who had been farming for sixteen years it also required a certain lack of self-consciousness on the part of the new Director.

Schomburgk's 1866 Annual Report gives details of new avenues of trees; an avenue of American Ash (probably *Fraxinus americana*) and another of *Pinus insignis* (now *Pinus radiata*) to mark the eastern and western boundaries together with the planting of the Moreton Bay Fig (*Ficus macrophylla*) avenue which is today such a landmark in the Botanic Gardens. The Royal Botanic Gardens of Sydney and Melbourne do not have avenues of trees but they are a common feature of the great gardens in Germany and other continental countries with which Schomburgk would have been familiar.[16] Schomburgk did not have the large expanse of the Melbourne Botanic Garden site in which to work or an adjoining river the size of the River Yarra and neither did he have have the spectacular views on to Sydney Harbour of the Sydney Botanic Garden site. His site was relatively small and flat. From a landscape design viewpoint his task was to break the Adelaide site up into smaller areas and provide visual interest. Avenues of trees were a valuable asset in this respect as were the statues, busts and urns imported from London which Schomburgk believed would "embellish many spots of the garden".[17] Floral parterres "in the new ribbon and mosaic style", very fashionable at the time, provided further visual interest with their geometric patterns of different colours and textures.[18]

In the next few years he developed a pinetum, a plantation of conifers of various species. Here again the north European influence was apparent. Conifers grew extensively in Germany and became very popular in Britain in the 1850's and 1860's as part of a fashion for using evergreens in landscape design,[19] being popular for their height as well as their dark green foliage. Schomburgk's collection would also have included species that were native to Australia. In the period 1869-70 he was promoting conifers as being very suitable for planting in public places such as street and parks, noting that although they needed care in the early stages of growth they withstood the climate well.[20] Today Adelaide has a number of fine examples of pine-trees that date back to this period, such as those along the River Torrens near the University of Adelaide and in the Parklands. An Arboretum was developed in this early period and a considerable numbers of native Australian trees were planted with 152 eucalyptus in 34 species, and 121 acacias of 41 species. A further avenue was made of different species of *Araucaria*, along with *Ficus macrophylla* , one of the earliest native plants to be used extensively for feature planting in Australian landscape design.[21]

A major project for Schomburgk in the early period was to get funds for a glasshouse in which he could grow the giant water-lily that was then known as *Victoria regia* (now *Victoria amazonica*). The water lily was said to have been discovered by the Schomburgk brothers but this is incorrect. Although other earlier European travellers had reported it, Robert Schomburgk had sent back a detailed description which led to its botanical classification and he had brought back seeds in 1837. Descriptions of the water lily in scientific journals and newspapers produced great excitement. Richard's proposal to grow the *Victoria* water lily in Adelaide was accepted although he himself admitted that it was a slightly risky proposal not only because some members of the government considered it an extravagance but also because the lily had not been grown successfully in Europe before he left for Australia and he had no practical experience of raising it.[22] However the venture was a great success. The flowering of the Victoria produced a degree of excitement in Adelaide comparable to Bradman's cricket scores at the Oval in later years. There were as many as 7500 visitors on a Sunday in 1868 and probably 300,000 visitors over the entire year- a remarkable number given that the 1866 census gave the South Australian population size as 163,452.[23] As Schomburgk was quick to point out he was able to grow many other tropical plants as well. The successful flowering of the *Victoria* was of special pride to South Australians because it was not easy to grow and it was thus a special coup for

Schomburgk. It has now been grown for 120 years in Adelaide.[24] The Victoria House provided one of the substantial and noticeable improvements which helped to build up the prestige of the Botanic Garden and with it Schomburgk's own reputation.

There were other improvements also such as the extension of the total cultivated area, the improvement of paths (especially important in an era of long dresses) and experiments with grasses such as couch, buffalo and kikuyu which would provide lawns able to withstand the long, dry South Australian summer- the annual precipitation in the Adelaide Botanic Garden is today only 532 mm. and total annual evaporation is approximately 1814 mm.[25] Such experiments had relevance for both civic authorities and home gardeners who could learn from the examples of Botanic Garden plantings.

A visit to Ferdinand von Mueller in Melbourne inspired Schomburgk to promote civic tree-planting. He attempted to do this both by exhortation in press and lecture hall and by the practical method of growing large numbers of tree seedlings which could be given to local councils, schools, cemeteries and railway stations. In a paper given to the South Australian Philosophical Society in August 1870 entitled "*The Effect of Forests on Climate*" he stressed the importance of trees for the environment to maintain oxygen levels, maintain soil fertility, and prevent soil erosion. He argued that since ancient times there had been cases where rainfall decreased and deserts developed after there had been extensive destruction of trees.[26] He listed species of trees which he had found appropriate for both public and private planting,[27] recommending the introduction of Western Australian trees such as jarrah (*Eucalyptus marginata*), Western Australian red gum (now Marri)(*Eucalytpus calophylla*), tooart (*Eucalyptus gomphocephala*), raspberry scented acacia (*Acacia acuminata*), sandalwood (*Santalum cygnosum*) and the planting of such South Australian trees as blue-gum (*Eucalyptus globulus*),[28] blackwood (*Acacia melanoxylon*) and "sheoak and native gums" which he said were disappearing near the coast. For the Adelaide plains he recommended such European trees as the common ash (*Fraxinus excelsior*), common elm (*Ulmus campestris*), cork-barked elm (*Ulmus suberosa*), locust tree (*Robinia pseudacacia*)(now *R. pseudoacacia*), white cedar (*Melia azedarach*), various poplars, Aleppo pine (*Pinus halepensis*) and Maritime pine (*Pinus maritima*), together with *Pinus insignis* and other pines. For sites such as the roads to the hills area he suggested such European and American trees as horse-chestnut (*Aesculus hippocastanum*), oaks (*Quercus rubra* and *robur*), cork oak (*Quercus suber*), plane-tree (*Platanus orientalis*), elms and maple of various species as well

as North American and European conifers.[29] His recommendations regarding species would have been based on information he had collected from other people and from preliminary results of experimental plantings.

Already in 1870 there was considerable disquiet about the rapid destruction of South Australian timber resources from clearing land for farms. In September 1870, a month after Schomburgk's talk, his colleague, F.E.H.W. Krichauff, proposed that the South Australian parliament carry out a return or survey into the extent of remaining stands of timber and how native timber could be preserved and replaced. Schomburgk was thus involved in the "warm-up period " to this proposal. He was also involved in collating the results. In 1873 there was an Act to Encourage the Planting of Forest Trees and when the first Forest Board was set up in November 1875 Schomburgk was one of its members. South Australia's State Forest Service can be said to have been established at this time as one of the first of its kind in the British Empire.[30] In other parts of Australia Forestry Departments were not established until decades later.[31]

Training of forestry workers in Germany was considered to be in advance of that of nearly all countries in the world at this time. Systematic management of forests had begun in the German states as early as the sixteenth century and by the nineteenth century German foresters were employed in both continental European countries and the British colonies. Schomburgk and Krichauff would have been familiar with the German pattern of having a hierarchical system of regional forestry officers and proper training for foresters and their contribution to this early development of forestry management seems to have been a very positive one.

Schomburgk had further opportunities to promote tree-planting in a positive way. An extra 84 acres (34 ha) had been made available to the Botanic Gardens site with the acquisition of the area now known as Botanic Park. When funds became available to lay it out, Schomburgk planned a landscape garden and arboretum with a carriage drive lined with shady trees, and grassed areas with "scattered clumps or single trees, conspicuous to the eye by their fine foliage or form....".[32] Although the summer of 1873-4 was particularly hot and dry with shade temperatures of 105°F to 111°F (40.5°C to 44°C) and only one inch (25mm) of rain between September and February, Schomburgk reported only 3% losses to the 4,000 young trees in the new Park, demonstrating that early planting and assiduous attention to watering could enable young trees to survive under difficult conditions. He wrote "I

understand that the loss of trees by other public bodies this season is very material; but I consider this is their own fault", adding that if trees were watered adequately when planted they would withstand great dryness subsequently.

He then gave details as to how his own watering programme had been carried out, watering only twice after planting but going quite deep. The Annual Report was published extensively in South Australian newspapers enabling widespread dissemination of this kind of information. Schomburgk tried to plant as many varieties as possible of European and North American forest trees, ash, oak, birch, lime, and pine as well as the best of the Australian indigenous trees available. There were avenues of cork elm, Moreton Bay fig and oriental plane-tree, the last of which he strongly recommended for public planting as was to be seen in Paris. Vandalism was a problem in the nineteenth century just as it is sometimes today with young trees being snapped in two or uprooted altogether; he wrote that it was "really disheartening".

In 1873 a request was made for a new Palm-house to house the Botanic Garden's valuable collection of tropical plants, by then one of the largest in the southern hemisphere and large enough to have outgrown the existing conservatory and stove-houses. Improved production techniques for iron and glass together with pioneering work in design had seen glasshouses erected in the botanical gardens of Dublin, Belfast and Kew between 1839-1848 together with the Crystal Palace of 1851.[33] Great Britain gave a lead in design. In Germany a number of large glasshouses were built after the 1860's in the botanic gardens of Berlin, Karlsruhe, Schönbrunn, Strasbourg and Würzburg and the outstanding plant among the exotic vegetation raised in these European hothouses was the palm.

Schomburgk wrote that the existing plants in his glasshouses had reached the roofs of the present buildings and that

> it would, indeed, be a sacrilege to top these fine specimen plants and so spoil them for ever.[34]

He had heard of a palm-house constructed of iron by J.F. Höper of Bremen under the supervision of the architect Gustav Runge for a man named Rothermund,

> considered one of the finest structures of this kind in Germany for its tasteful, elegant proportions and general suitableness[35]

and recommended that a palm-house of this type be ordered for the Adelaide Botanic Garden. Schomburgk argued that such a building would "make our garden complete and add still further to the fame which it already possesses in the neighbouring Colonies and abroad".

Rivalry between the colonies and the pride of civic leaders in Adelaide's development made this a persuasive argument; the Legislature agreed to provide the funds. The Palm-house was shipped, pre-fabricated, to Adelaide in 1875. One hundred feet long by thirty three feet wide (30.5m by 10m) it was erected on a specially constructed raised terrace surrounded by a broad walk and grass margin "adorned with flower-beds, statues and fountains". Today, known as the Tropical House, it is one of the finest Victorian glasshouses remaining in Australia and none of this type has yet been located in the region of Bremen. Within two years plants were being grown so successfully in the new palm-house that they had reached the roof but Adelaide had to wait over a hundred years before the Government could be persuaded to allocate funds for a larger conservatory. The present Director, Dr Brian Morley and his Board have succeeded in obtaining a special Bicentennial grant to build a large new Conservatory, under construction in 1988, to exhibit tropical plants in a tropical rainforest environment.

The role of the botanic garden in providing a valuable recreational resource was enhanced by the developments outlined above. At the same time the scientific and utilitarian role was also receiving attention. Schomburgk had written at the very beginning of his term of office about the importance of providing a system garden or classground, an area where plants would be laid out according to their botanical classification. Year after year there were insufficient funds for this but by 1871 a start was made with 160 families, each family represented by five or six genera. Schomburgk had "long cherished" this project,

> Notwithstanding that at present very little or no taste for the science of botany seems to exist among our rising generation, this taste may, perhaps, be more prominent in a future one.[36]

In view of this situation the design aspects were especially important. The symmetrical pattern chosen, "in the shape of a hippodrome" was to be broken with "two serpentine walks" and a fountain in the centre for water plants such as Nymphaeaceae. In addition to an avenue of *Sterculia heterophylla* on two sides of the class ground there were also to be avenues of Queensland Box

(*Tristania conferta*), Marri (*Eucalytpus calophylla*) and jarrah(*Eucalyptus marginata*) on the remaining sides, all selected on the basis of having a fine shape and "dense and verdant foliage". Ferdinand von Mueller had received much criticism for arranging plants in the Melbourne Botanic Garden in a way which while demonstrating their botanical relationship led to unattractive design. Schomburgk however seems to have made a considerable effort to make the system garden as attractive as possible and the project was delayed while other development of the Botanic Garden, more attractive to the general public, evolved. His reports demonstrate how conscious he was of public reaction.

There has been comment in recent years on the lack of attention paid by European born settlers to native plants in the nineteenth century but the Botanic Garden Reports reveal that Richard Schomburgk's approach to this issue was quite pragmatic. Specimens were obtained from all over the world and observations were made as to how well they grew under South Australian conditions. On the Adelaide plains much of the soil is characterized by high alkalinity. The pH of the soil of the Adelaide Government House grounds for which the Botanic Garden staff are responsible is in excess of 9.0, an extremely high reading. Experimentation was necessary. Schomburgk wrote of his disappointment about the short life of many of the native trees and shrubs, especially the hakeas, acacias, grevilleas and callistemons, many of which began to die when about seventeen years old.[37]

Mention has been made of Schomburgk's attention to the need for a balanced approach to botanic garden development. In his 1868 Report, referring to the need for balance, he revealed something about his own personal approach.

> In my wish to give satisfaction to everyone I find that I have much to contend with; as many well-wishers, who take an interest in the objects of the Garden, contend that plants of a commercial and economic value should receive more attention; while others insist that ornamental plants should receive more attention; but I have the conviction that, so far as my means go, I do not neglect either.[38]

Schomburgk gave a considerable amount of attention to commercial and economic plants from the very beginning of his term of office. In 1866 he described plans for an experimental garden for the cultivation of "medical, industrial and fodder plants" adding that the public could be supplied with cuttings and seedlings.[39] Tea seed was being tested and distributed in 1866. In 1868 Schomburgk was distributing grafts of sultana vine taken

from cuttings that had been obtained from the Cape of Good Hope and was taking grafts from vine cuttings from the celebrated Jardin de Luxembourg. He reported that he had distributed 1700 sultana cuttings during 1869 in South Australia, observing that as a result the sultana was well established in the colony and cuttings were supplied to the other colonies also. Schomburgk used the annual reports for practical advice such as the need for long rod pruning of sultanas, without which the vine did not yield.[40] By the end of 1868 he had a collection of medicinal herbs which were "available to invalids". He also distributed 200 mulberry trees that year, the beginning of a long period of promotion of a sericulture industry. There were experiments with hops, castor oil plant (*Ricinus*), chick peas, the dye-plant madder (*Rubia tinctoria*), and fibre plants such as flax. He recommended cultivation of the sunflower which he knew as a valuable crop in Germany and Russia. In 1872 there were trials of broom millet, tobacco seed, *Mikania guaco* (for snake-bite), the ground nut (*Arachis hypogaea*), the opium poppy (*Papaver somniferum*) and esparto grass (*Stipa tenacissima*), this last named known to grow in areas of low rainfall. He stressed that for the well-being of South Australia everything possible should be done to introduce new branches of industry, as "the time has passed when wheat-growing alone was the safest and most profitable occupation." These words were written early in 1870 and were to be echoed again in later annual reports. South Australia had become the 'bread basket' of Australia, but marginal lands in the drier, northern areas of South Australia were opened up in years of good rainfall to be followed by a retreat as the seasons failed and the land became unprofitable.[41] This was a period before chemical fertilizers became widely available and soils, especially those already those lacking nitrogen and phosphorous, became exhausted with continual cropping.

The Director sometimes promoted a new crop on the basis that it would produce a product that was at that time being imported at some expense or that there was a demand in other colonies or overseas. Yet while continuing with crop experimentation he noted that it was not an easy task to introduce new industries. He wrote that while he might grow plants successfully for years in the experimental garden and yet have no enquiries for them, he would nevertheless persevere in the hope that their usefulness might eventually be appreciated, giving as an example the case of the weaver teasel (*Dipsacus fullonum*) and madder, plants that became useful once cloth manufacture began at Lobethal.

He gave considerable attention to pasture grasses. One hundred were tested in 1868 and while most perished in the dry

summer months he wrote that he would test a further 80 the following season since "if I can add only one or two species to our collection, it will be worth all the trouble".[42] In the 1873 Report he referred to the destruction of native pasture grasses and the need to develop alternative grasses for pasture and fodder. The combination of periodic droughts, overstocking, the grazing habits of sheep (which crop very close to the ground) and the introduction of weeds from other countries was already producing an alarming reduction in the availability of native pasture grasses and Schomburgk was critical of the lack of foresight of the farmers in not allowing the native grasses to regenerate. He reminded his readers that conditions were such that few South Australian farmers could depend on introduced large scale sown-pasture plantings for stock. He strongly recommended dividing the sheep runs into paddocks so that the pasturage would recover. By the time of the 1876 Report he reported that some of the denuded land was drying up and becoming semi-desert, as was happening in South Africa at that time.

He continued his experiments with a variety of pasture grasses;[43] guinea, prairie, Phillips, catstail, oat, falling awn or fallingawn grasses, millet, pennisetum, cocksfoot, fescue, buffalo, couch, love and Jacob's tear grasses and in the case of fodder grasses, the sheep bush of the Cape of Good Hope (*Pentzia virgato*), plantain (*Plantago major*), the small burnet (*Poterium sanguisorba*), and clovers which he described as *Melilotus alba*, *Melilotus officinalis*, and *Melilotus lupulina*.[44] By 1874 there were trials of the tussock grass from the Falklands, sent by his friend Professor Phillipi of the University of Santiago, Chile, and bunch grass, also trials of liquorice plant (*Glycyrrhiza glabra*) as a crop. In 1875 Schomburgk referred to trials of red grass from Natal sent by the Director of the Botanic Garden at Port Natal. Within the Botanic Garden previous experiments with the grasses that we know as couch and buffalo (*Cynodon dactylon* and *Stenotaphrum complanatum*) were enabling large areas of lawn to be planted which demonstrated the use of these varieties for domestic and civic planting of lawns.[45] These experiments were followed by large-scale use of these lawn grasses in homes all around Adelaide.

There were other utilitarian activities which had domestic application also such as the planting of a type orchard so that varieties would be better known.

The exchange of plant material between institutions on an international basis was very considerable. Within the British Empire the Royal Botanic Gardens at Kew formed the hub of the

wheel of exchange. The development of suitable economic crops was vital for colonial expansion.[46] Both information and plant material was sent to Kew and then made available to directors of the various colonial botanic gardens, who in turn exchanged material with each other. For example, seeds of tagasaste,[47] the tree lucerne (*Cytisus proliferus*), which was a native of Teneriffe, were sent from the Kew Gardens[48] to Adelaide for trials and prickly comfrey (*Symphytum asperimmum*)(sic), which could also be used as a fodder plant was sent on to Schomburgk in 1876 by Guilfoyle, by then Director of Melbourne's Botanic Gardens. *Reana luxurians*, another fodder plant, was sent from the Société d'Acclimation of Paris, which in turn had been sent information and samples from the Botanic Garden in Guatemala and there was also information from Mauritius and New Caledonia. Contacts with the United States yielded information on forage plants such as the chuffa or earth almond (*Cyperus esculentus*) and the Egyptian or pearl millet (*Pencillaria spicata*) as well as information on the mesquite beans (*Prosopis pubescens* and *Pr. juliflora*) and various forms of sorghum for fodder.[49] From New Zealand came the kumara (*Ipomaea chrysorrhiza*) or sweet potato of the Maoris.[50]

Schomburgk gave several papers on the subject of possible new crops for South Australia and stressed the importance of diversification in farming. Critical as he was of "slovenly farming practices" he knew that drought and diseases such as rust made wheat crops uncertain.[51] Yet "the praiseworthy efforts of the Chamber of Manufactures" to introduce new crops into the colony had produced little result. In the decade from 1877-1887 his Annual Reports have numerous references to crops which could be of economic value to farmers; olives, tobacco, hops, sericulture, plants for paper-making, flower-farming for perfume which he strongly promoted, figs for producing the dried fig, the Jordan almond, mustard plant, the soya bean, pyrethrum, the "Insect powder plant" (*Pyrethrum roseum* and *P. carneum*) and numerous medicinal plants. Schomburgk noted that products such as mustard, currants, raisins, sultanas, tobacco, chicory, capers, canary seed, broom millet and various culinary and medicinal oils were imported but could be grown profitably in South Australia which would make them less expensive and would also provide export earnings. Wattle farming was also proposed, the bark, used for tanning, was exported successfully to England from the neighbouring colony of Victoria. In the case of flower farming and wattle farming Schomburgk gave details of prices available and the possible yield to farmers based on likely production costs as well as comments on techniques of cultivation.[52] Similarly in the case of almonds he encouraged the development of the present successful

industry with advice on improvement of the trees, many of the existing trees being seedling stock which did not yield. When crops proved to be more suited for a tropical climate he was quick to suggest that specimens should be sent to Port Darwin for trials there.[53]

Schomburgk's approach was that of the enthusiastic educator and the Annual Reports grew to over twenty pages. Yet once again the response was often disappointing,

> for years I have ventured to introduce such plants as will probably benefit the colony but I am sorry to say very little enquiry is made for such.[54]

In the 1876 Report he mentioned that he had not had a lot of enquiries from within South Australia but was supplying hundreds of packets of seeds to other Australian colonies, even to as far away places as Queensland. This was the case in the 1881 and 1882 reports of the bushy leguminous forage plant tagasaste where a large number of requests came from other colonies. Schomburgk continued to be critical of the farmers continuing dependence on wheat since continued success was dependent on good seasons. Years such as 1879 were very favourable for harvests and he bemoaned the fact that the bountiful harvests would make the farmer forget their enemies of drought and the wheat disease, rust, and that very few would try other crops. Farmers' Associations were being established in many districts and he had some hope that these would lead to new approaches to farming. Meanwhile Schomburgk experimented with wheat varieties that might resist rust. He had useful contacts in the United States which had wheat farming areas with similar conditions to those of South Australia and it was from the United States that specimens of wheat came in the 1880's. These included Du Toit's, a very important wheat commercially because from it were selected three varieties which were to give rise to varieties which dominated the Australian wheat belt after 1900.[55] These resisted rust better than earlier varieties such as the White and Red Lammas types or an improved wheat such as Purple Straw, selected in about 1860 and important till about 1900.[56] Schomburgk's knowledge about what was being reported in the United States is indicated by remarks such as that the Kansas state papers were full of praise for a large-grained sorghum (*Sorghum vulgare*) known as dhoura and that he would acquired seed for trials. It is apparent that people frequently sent him letters and newspaper clippings about plant material research in the United States where there were by that time active agricultural research institutes. Schomburgk could add to his

reports comments which clearly demonstrated his own practical knowledge of farming procedures,[57] a feature likely to bring greater acceptance from the farmer than if he had appeared to be merely "an armchair expert". The government assisted with the research by ordering quantities of wheat such as Du Toit's and Defiance from America for large scale trials on South Australian farms. Schomburgk then reported on the results in his Annual Reports.[58] Similar international cooperation is evident with research in the early 1880's on vine grafting stock that would be resistant to the disease phylloxera which had had such devastating effects in the vineyards of France and the United States. Research in both Montpellier in France and in California suggested the use of *Vitis californica* for phylloxera-free grafting stock and samples were sent from California to Schomburgk at the Adelaide Botanic Garden and to institutions in other Australasian colonies.

By 1883 interest in agricultural research and concern at the need for agricultural reforms[59] had led to the setting up of the Experimental farm at Roseworthy for the new Agricultural College, the first agricultural college in Australia, and the first Professor of Agriculture, Professor Custance had been appointed.[60] Nevertheless Schomburgk believed that there was still a role for the Botanic Garden in introducing plants of economic value and in carrying out trials. Schomburgk had his own network of contacts for getting plant material and given his established reputation and genial manner some of his colleagues probably preferred to continue their contacts with him. However the work had its frustrations and he reported in 1887 that of seven hundred packets of seeds of Japanese clover (*Lespedezia striata*) and four hundred and forty packets of seed of the Abyssinian cereal teff (*Agrostis abyssinica*) distributed to farmers for trials there had only been one reply as to the results so that he did not know if they had germinated or not. He was dependent on field trials outside the metropolitan area to know how well plants would fare on South Australian farms. Some plants which he promoted required a higher summer rainfall than that available in most of the farming areas of South Australia, examples of this being the sorghums, pyrethrum, soy bean, sunflower, tobacco, although some of these have been used in irrigated areas as in the case of millet in the Adelaide Hills. Some have been grown in time of special need such as flax in the 1939-1945 period. Some proposals such as that for sericulture were not suitable because of labour costs. Schomburgk did not have the advantage of twentieth century ecological knowledge and he did not always take into account sufficiently climatological factors.[61] Our current understanding of the problems of agricultural extension work helps explain the lack of response from many of the farmers

to whom plant material was made available. However his sheer enthusiasm for plant importation and experimentation led to valuable plants being made available not only in South Australia but in the other colonies. He has been described as

> probably the greatest plant introducer to have operated in Australia His 1878 catalogue listed about 8,500 species. At that time the Adelaide Botanic Garden had one of the largest living plant collections in the world from which private and commercial interests were supplied.[62]

The collection had become one of about 12,000 species by 1891.

Schomburgk had hoped for many years to have a building especially designed for the purpose of displaying plant products of economic use in the colony. The model was the Museum of Economic Botany at the Royal Botanic Gardens at Kew, the first of its kind and opened in 1847. There had been a museum in the Adelaide Botanic Gardens but it was too small to accommodate all the specimens. For Schomburgk the educational role of the Botanic Garden was an extremely important one and he wrote with pride of the popularity of museum exhibits among visitors. In 1878 he was able to persuade the government of the day to provide funds for a new museum building, in classical style, which was opened in 1881...To emulate the best institutions in Europe was a very acceptable course of action in colonial Adelaide. The aim of a Museum of Economic Botany was to display items made from vegetable products "articles of food, construction, medicine or art", side by side with the plants from which they were made in their raw state. The arrangement of display cases was based on that of the Museum of Economic Botany at Kew and the new Natural History Museum at Kensington in London and there was a fine stencil-painted ceiling which has survived to the present day. The new museum could accommodate Schomburgk's herbarium of some 16,000 items, which previously had suffered from both damp and the ravages of termites. This collection included Australian, English, French, German, Hungarian, Russian, Japanese, North, Central and South American and South African specimens which Schomburgk had acquired, over a six year period by means of exchange with other institutions. He commented that it was second only to the collection of von Mueller in Melbourne. Schomburgk arranged the specimens in the Museum of Botany himself and it was said of him that he was "always to be found in the Herbarium" during his last years at the Botanic Garden and that his correspondence in its interest, was enormous.[63]

By the late 1880's the main achievements of the Schomburgk era were completed. The Botanic Garden had lost some of its multi-purpose function as new specialist institutions had developed to take over some of the work previously done at the Garden. The Zoological Gardens had been established and the animal collection once kept at the Botanic Gardens had been transferred to it. The work of the Forestry Department's nurseries meant that by 1882 the Botanic Garden nursery was providing fewer trees for local councils and other public institutions.[64] A set of buildings had been established on the Botanic Garden site which were to last for the next hundred years, and the gardens were embellished with such features as statues, fountains and entrance gates. Schomburgk had become something of a legend during his own life-time. The Botanic Garden was known popularly as "Dr Schomburgk's Garden".[65] He received awards from the Grand Duchy of Hesse, the King of Italy and the King of Prussia.[66] He was a member of at least twenty five scientific and horticultural organizations in Europe and the United States, some indication of the range of his correspondence. The Botanic Garden's collection of over 12,000 species was substantial in size by international standards and by the publication of a series of catalogues the extent of the collection had become known to scientific institutions overseas as well as in Australia. He was called upon to give evidence to government committees on matters ranging from sanitation to rust in cereals. In 1884 a portrait of Schomburgk was presented to be hung in the Museum of Economic Botany. The subscribers included many of the leading businessmen and politicians of the day as well as leading members of the German community. The inscription on the portrait referred to the presentation being made by a number of his friends "in appreciation of the zeal, energy and skill which he had devoted to rendering the Botanic Gardens an ornament to the City of Adelaide and the pride of the province of South Australia".

The man who had been so much in the shadow of his able older brothers in his younger days had left his mark in botany and its related applied sciences of horticulture, agriculture and forestry in the colony. He had successfully combined an interest in scientific method with a capacity to put this to practical use and added to it an infectious enthusiasm. He had been responsible for a period of expansion of the Botanic Garden that saw it in its heyday. It had become an important recreational resource in a period when there was no cinema or television or motor car and when country visitors as well as city dwellers made great use of the Garden. Most books containing a description of Adelaide written in this period have a glowing description of the Botanic Garden and it was a source of great pride to South Australians.[67] Schomburgk lived to receive

recognition both at home and from overseas for his achievements before he died in office in his eightieth year. He had been appointed at the age of fifty six and thus all his many achievements at the Adelaide Botanic Garden were made in the latter part of his life. Magnificent old trees in Botanic Park, the Moreton Bay Fig Avenue, the North Terrace entrance gates, the Museum of Economic Botany with its fine painted ceiling and the charming old Tropical House are a monument to his work. The Museum is the only Museum of Economic Botany in an Australian botanic garden. While Richard Schomburgk's name was taken off the South Australian map along with others that were removed due to anti-German feeling during the 1914-18 War, the naming of the Waite Agricultural Institute's new wheat variety as *Schomburgk* in 1987 was a tribute to the contribution of this man and his brothers to South Australia's development.

In a broader economic context Schomburgk was one of those European intellectuals who helped establish a scientific culture concerned with the development of natural resources. Australian science in the 1860's to 1880's was closely associated with the acclimatization movement[68] and Richard Schomburgk, like Ferdinand von Mueller in Melbourne, played an important role in the acclimatization of plants. Such work aided the production of staple exports such as wool, meat and wheat, although Schomburgk also pressed for increased diversification by farmers and consideration of environmental issues.

This Bicentennial year comes a hundred and forty years after the revolutionary period in 1848 when Alexander von Humboldt and Leopold von Buch encouraged the Schomburgk brothers to make a new life in South Australia. It seems fitting that this Bicentennial publication gives recognition to the link of the Schomburgks with Alexander von Humboldt and his colleagues together with the link between scientific endeavour in South Australia and a remarkable group of scientists in nineteenth century Germany.

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THE GERMANS IN QUEENSLAND

A survey of the contribution made by Germans to the development of Queensland, from the mid-nineteenth century until World War I

Carola Robson

The influence of the Germans in Queensland can be traced back to the earliest days of the colony and those who came 'with courage and hope' to settle in Queensland during the nineteenth century played an integral part in the social and cultural development of this state. The German pioneers who settled in rural areas laid the foundations for the growth of agriculture, whilst the tradesmen, miners, railway workers, hotel-keepers and other small business people, who established themselves in the bush towns made an important contribution to their development and future prosperity. Gradually, Germans came to be represented in the professions and government departments: they participated in local government and colonial affairs. By the end of the century, there were German members in both houses of the Queensland Parliament. As well, a number of German scientists, writers, artists and musicians, visited the colony during this period, stimulating the exploration of Queensland, the study of its natural history, and the cultural development of the new colony.

Queensland was the colony in which the greatest number of Germans settled during the second half of the nineteenth century. The census of 1891 shows that the state had nearly 15,000 German-born inhabitants, almost four percent of the population. Ten years later, at the time of Federation (1901), Germans comprised sixty percent of the non-Australian born Europeans in the state[1].

It is interesting to note that Queensland's first free settlers were in fact a group of Moravian or 'German' missionaries from Berlin. They arrived at the Moreton Bay penal settlement between 1838 and 1844 and were allotted 259 ha of land at Zion's Hill, now the Brisbane suburb of Nundah. Whilst not successful in their spiritual mission, these German missionaries encouraged the Aborigines of the area to clear the land, build huts and cultivate food crops. By 1841, they had 8 ha of land under cultivation and provided food for the British settlement in Brisbane Town during periods of hardship[2]. Unfortunately, these 'dear and honest' people, with their clean-living, pious ways[3] and their extremely rigid moral code came into conflict with other colonial

settlers. This factor, together with others such as a lack of money and the perceived failure of the mission to convert the Aborigines led to the mission's closure in 1849 by the Governor of New South Wales, Sir George Gipps. Nonetheless, the missionaries had made a significant contribution to the growth of the new colony as its first agriculturalists[4].

Following this initial settlement at Nundah came the period which saw the greatest influx of German migrants in the history of the colony. From 1854 to 1891, almost 23,000 men, women and children emigrated to Queensland[5]. The 'push factors' in this migration varied. There was a general exodus from Germany, mainly to America caused by the poor economic conditions, factors which created pressures on family and community life. After the failed revolutions in 1848, there were fears of reprisals as well as the disillusionment felt in not being able to establish a democratic state. In addition to this, the westward expansion of Prussia raised the fear in many men of being drafted into the Prussian army. For those migrants who came to Queensland, the 'pull factors' included not only the letters written home by new arrivals which often started the chain migration of families[6], but also the policy of the Queensland government as this set out to attract the migrants by offering land as an incentive.

At first, contract workers, such as shepherds and boundary riders came to the colony to meet the demand for labour, which followed the declaration of Moreton Bay as a free settlement in 1842. The German consul in Sydney recruited these settlers, who had to sign a two-year contract in return for an assisted passage. These immigrants, who were mainly Prussian, gained the reputation of being reliable and hard-working. After the completion of their contracts, most had saved enough money to purchase modest properties in the Brisbane and Ipswich areas and these formed the nucleus for future German settlements. At the time of separation, in 1859, Queensland's population of 30,000 included 2,000 Germans. More agricultural labour was urgently needed to develop the state and the first Parliament was keen to have more of these colonists because:

'The Germans have always proved useful colonists hitherto and the idea has gained universal acceptance that immigrants of this nationality are most likely to further the development of our agricultural resources' [7].

The government therefore decided on a system of State-aided immigration under the Land Order System. All immigrants who paid their own passages and those of their families, were entitled on arrival to an £18 Land Order for each adult and a further £12 land order at the end of two years. Those unable to pay their passage could also immigrate,

provided a guarantor could be found in the colony[8].

To promote this scheme Mr. Johann Heussler, a German merchant from Brisbane was appointed as the government's 'Emigration Agent for the Continent of Europe': the only such agent appointed to a country outside Britain, until the 1880's. Heussler was quite successful, especially in Prussia, where the threat of war caused large scale migration. More than 6000 German settlers made the long arduous journey to Queensland between 1861-1871. Further emigrants arrived in waves in the 1870's and 1880's, in response to the demand for labour both in agriculture and on the sugar plantations[9]. With the introduction of steam ships in the 1880's, the voyage through the Torres Strait was greatly improved: a contrast to the early voyages where the ships had been crowded, filthy and where food and water had been scarce.

The era of large scale immigration, however was over, as Queensland was experiencing adverse economic conditions and therefore State-aided immigration ceased. Since unification in 1871, the situation in Germany had also changed. Under Bismark, Germany's economy was transformed from an agrarian to an industrial one; industries were absorbing the former unemployed. In addition the government sought to encourage the migration of Germans to its own colonies in Africa and later New Guinea and was not receptive to any schemes proposed by Queensland. Smaller groups continued to arrive sporadically until 1914 but in this period Scandinavians and Italians rather than Germans formed the majority of immigrants[10].

Estimates vary, but some sources suggest that by the end of the 1860's, a total of eighteen to twenty thousand Germans lived in Queensland[11]. Most of these settlers were small farmers and peasants who came from the depressed areas of Prussia (Preussen), Pomerania (Pommern), Uckermark, Posen, Silesia (Schlesien), Bavaria (Bayern), Württemberg, Baden and Hessen. They established farms in the south-eastern corner of the colony especially between Brisbane and the Darling Downs and were engaged in mixed farming and sugar-growing. There were also pockets of settlers along the coast, especially in sugar-producing areas such as Maryborough and Mackay, and a small proportion in urban areas, in Brisbane and the provincial towns[12]. Certain parts of Queensland attracted large groups of settlers whose contribution to the development of the State is still evident today. The Beenleigh district, for example, where the Germans originally tried to cultivate cotton and later sugar, arrowroot, maize, tobacco and coffee[13]. Here several enterprising settlers established sugar mills, others became owners of the river ships which sailed between Beenleigh and Brisbane, and some developed small businesses, such as hotels and stores. In fact, a few enterprising settlers even went so far as to take the opportunity to become government officials by opening up post-offices.

Many Germans settled in districts which were rejected by the British as being too difficult. In Rosewood, for examples, the German pioneers were ridiculed as 'German fools' [14], but were nevertheless successful in developing a flourishing dairy-industry. Later settlements also included Marburg, Kirckheim, Minden and Gayndah (where the main activities were fruit growing and cattle raising), Caboolture and the Darling Downs. In the 1870's, new German immigrants found work on the Ipswich to Toowoomba railway line and eventually purchased farms in the fertile Lockyer Valley where maize and lucerne were grown. The Fassifern and Lowood districts were also cleared for dairying and later in the 1880's Toowoomba was settled, becoming in Mühling's view a smaller version of Baden-Baden, 'Die Hochburg des Deutschtums' in Queensland[15].

The majority of German settlers who arrived in the period 1860-1880 were farmers, who opened up and developed new lands, supplied the growing population of the colony with food and laid the foundations of agriculture. They were all basically concerned with producing as much as possible, having little capital to fall back on. In almost all cases settlement followed a similar pattern being in areas of rich virgin brigalow scrub soil near closely settled acres and markets; areas suited to intensive farming. Here, Germans settled in communities, with groups based on friendships made during the long voyage from Germany to Queensland. The settlers called the colony "Gewöhnsland" meaning 'you have to get used to it', which later became 'Gvennsland'; some even referred to it as 'Quälsland', a land of torment[16]. It was indeed a 'strange and bewildering world' for those who had left the security and order of village life in Germany. A different climate, uncleared, uncultivated land, no home, aborigines and strange animals, snakes and insects. 'A stout heart, a good axe and elbow strength' as well as community co-operation were certainly needed in order to successfully adapt to the new life[17].

The settlers did have a strong sense of national identity, a common religious faith, either Lutheran or Baptist and a common language. It must be remembered, however, that most spoke different dialects and often found it difficult to understand each other, causing some friction. High German was used in the Church and at school but this was often a foreign tongue to children who spoke different dialects at home. For the first generation settlers, the lack of English was also a problem, particularly in dealing with legal matters. They needed to learn English, the second generation needed to retain German and it was in this area that the Lutheran Church played a key role[18].

Most immigrants were either Lutherans or Baptists. By the end of the century, two independent branches of the Lutheran church had been

established: The United German and Scandinavian Lutheran Synod of Queensland and the Evangelical Lutheran General Synod. The Church was a common meeting ground for most immigrants and the focal point for cultural activities. In many areas, the Church organised schools where the Pastor was the main teacher. Between 1857 and 1907 there were six full-time German schools and numerous Parish schools, where instruction in German was given on Sundays. Unfortunately, many of these closed down during World War I[19].

To combat their sense of isolation, the German settlers in these farming communities organized community gatherings with violin and accordion music, singing and dancing, gradually introducing a German flavour into the predominantly Anglo-Saxon society of South-east Queensland. Many German names were given to towns and streets, and areas such as Rosewood, Marburg and Lowood, retained their German character for many years, as assimilation, in these areas proceeded more slowly than in the cities.

Although the majority of German immigrants in Queensland settled on the land, quite a few Germans were also to be found in the small trades and businesses, such as blacksmith shops, shoe factories, flour mills, printeries and hotels, which were being established in Brisbane and the provincial towns. These people certainly made a worthwhile contribution to the development of the colony, not only in business but also in their participation in community affairs. The urban commercial German community of Brisbane, for example, formed the 'Deutscher Verein' or German Club, in 1883, in order to cultivate the language and customs and to foster friendly relations with their fellow citizens[20].

Some German settlers also played an active part in local and state government. One such person was Issidor Lissner (1832-1902), born in Posen, who came to Victoria during the gold rushes and eventually settled in North Queensland. Lissner represented Charters Towers in Parliament from 1883-1888, accompanying a delegation to London to try to persuade the colonial government to create a separate state in the north. Later he became the member for Cairns and Minister for Mines.

Theodor Unmack was another member of the State Legislature. He came to Brisbane in 1860 and established an import firm in partnership with Johann Heussler. Eventually Unmack became President of the Chamber of Commerce, Director of the Royal Bank of Queensland and Minister of Posts and Telegraphs between 1890-1893, introducing parcel delivery into the colony.

One of the most outstanding examples of the successful German settler was Johann Christian Heussler, a controversial figure, but nevertheless regarded as one of the 'fathers' of the colony[21]. Born in

Bockenheim in 1820, he arrived in Melbourne in 1852, with commercial training and mercantile experience in Europe and England behind him. In 1854, Heussler came to Brisbane for health reasons and to start a commercial business as an importer. He took an active interest in the social, cultural and economic affairs of the community, being a member of the Queensland Club, a founder of the Brisbane Grammar School, and the German Club, Grand Treasurer of the Masonic Lodge and eventually, Consul in Brisbane for the German Empire. Heussler often visited German settlers in the regions of Moreton and the Darling Downs to transact business and keep them informed of current events. He was in a good position to do this, as the government's 'Emigration Agent for the Continent of Europe', from 1861-1866. In this time, Heussler made several trips abroad to encourage 'a better class' of German to migrate to the colony, even publishing a book Kurze Beschreibungen der neuen Colonie Queensland to outline the opportunities available to them[22].

Eventually, in 1866, Heussler was appointed to the Legislative Council, where he enthusiastically supported practical changes in the colony's educational curriculum as well as developmental projects such as the construction of railways and the establishment of artesian wells to improve the water supply in the arid interior of Queensland. The present Government House at Bardon in Brisbane was originally 'Fernberg', Heussler's residence built between 1860-64 and the 'Heussler Room' is named in his memory[23].

Of the Germans who settled in Queensland, a number made a contribution to scientific knowledge. Among these was the botanist, C.H. Hartmann, who was a co-founder of the Royal Society of Queensland in 1883. On his land at Picnic Point at Toowoomba, he collected native plants for Baron von Mueller, and wrote a scientific treatise on Queensland's flora for the Great Philadelphia Exhibition of 1875. Karl Steiger, custodian of the Museum in Brisbane in 1873 and the government's analytical chemist was active in studying the pharmaceutical importance of natural products such as the essential oils of eucalypts and together with the botanist, F.M. Bailey prepared a monograph on the grasses of Queensland as well as investigating diseases in the colony's plants and livestock[24].

Dr. Eugen Hirschfeld, (1866-1946) from Militisch in Silesia came to Queensland to practise medicine in 1889, having studied at Strassburg. He became Honorary Physician to the Brisbane Hospital and engaged in research work on dengue fever, struggled to fight tuberculosis and campaigned for compulsory meat inspection. Initially, Hirschfeld was very successful in his new life in the colony and wrote an article in the Nord Australische Zeitung to convince other German immigrants that Queensland was a healthy place to settle. He was a friend of Sir William MacGregor who had studied in Berlin and become Governor of

Queensland in 1909. They shared a common interest in tropical medicine and in the study of the German language, which Hirschfeld also actively promoted. Unfortunately, the war intervened in Hirschfeld's life with devastating results. His promotion of "Deutschtum" and support for the creation of a German Language society just before the outbreak of war was a diplomatic blunder, forcing him to resign as a Member of the Legislative Council and leading to his internment and later deportation, despite the fact the he was an Australian citizen and had the support of many influential people in the colony. In 1926 however, the Government reversed its decision and Hirschfeld returned to Queensland a year later, to spend the last decades of his life in agricultural research, especially in relation to Aboriginal nutrition[25].

During the second half of the nineteenth century there was a great deal of European interest in Australia's unique flora and fauna and many botanists and natural historians visited Queensland to further scientific studies in these areas. The German naturalist and explorer, Ludwig Leichhardt (1813-1848) was the first to venture into the great Australian unknown, traversing 4,500 km of virgin country and returning with information about its geology, botany and zoology. Leichardt was born at Trebatsch in Prussia in 1813 and educated at the Universities of Berlin and Göttingen, where he first studied philosophy and languages and later, following his friendship with an Englishman John Nicholson and his brother, William, medicine and natural science. In 1837, Leichhardt travelled to England, where he studied at the Royal College of Surgeons and the British Museum, and later to France to study at the Jardin des Plantes. After making field observations in England, France and Italy, Leichhardt decided to study natural science in a vastly different environment and set sail in 1841 for Sydney, in order to explore the inland of Australia.

After his arrival in February, 1842, Leichhardt made observations in the Sydney district, the Hunter River Valley and overland journeys between Newcastle and Moreton Bay. He had hoped to obtain an official position or to participate in an expedition from Sydney to Port Essington, which was to be led by Sir Thomas Mitchell but these plans did not eventuate and Leichhardt decided to proceed with an expedition himself, raising funds by private subscription. In August 1844, he and a party of six sailed to Moreton Bay where they recruited a further four members and left Jimbour on the Darling Downs, on the first of October. Only seven completed the 4,800 km to Point Essington in December, 1845. Two had turned back, and John Gilbert was killed by Aborigines in December, 1845. There was great rejoicing on the party's safe return. Leichhardt was given a government grant and further donations; he prepared a journal of his expedition for publication in England, and gave lectures on the "Geology, Botany, Natural History and Capabilities of the Country between Moreton Bay and Port Essington". In 1848

Leichhardt, believing he could solve further problems about central Australia set out again to explore this area. The party left the Condamine River in March reached the Darling Downs and then moved inland. They were never seen again.

Despite his posthumous vilification, Leichhardt's work was highly regarded by his contemporaries. For his contribution to increasing the knowledge of Australia, he received the Patron's Medal from the Royal Geographical Society in London: geologists and botanists valued his collections of specimens and the record of his observations and there was great excitement about the discovery of the bones of the diprotodon, the largest marsupial that ever lived. The Queensland graziers, who had sponsored Leichhardt's expeditions welcomed the discovery of excellent pastoral country as en route to Port Essington, he had made many memorable finds, naming the Burdekin River and the Valley of Lagoons and his expedition had opened up entirely new areas for colonial development[26].

The German interest in the natural history of Australia was further developed by the wealthy merchant Johann Cesar Godeffroy VI (1813-1885) of Hamburg, owner of the immigrant ships which travelled between Australia and Europe. In 1860, Godeffroy employed Dr. Eduard Graffe (1813-1916) to establish a private museum of natural history, where he displayed specimens from all over the world, as well as selling them to collectors through printed catalogues. One of Godeffroy's most prolific collectors was a German woman, Konkordie Amalie Dietrich (1821-1891), who spent ten years in Queensland assembling botanical, zoological, ethnological and anthropological collections whose size and significance show her to be one of the most important naturalists ever to work in Australia' [27].

A great deal of controversy surrounds the information, both scholarly and popular, which has been published in English about Frau Dietrich, and research undertaken by Dr. R. Summer is now beginning to throw some light on the subject[28]. Amalie Dietrich was a professional botanist who was self-taught. Born in Siebenlehn in Saxony and educated at the village school, she developed an interest in botany when in 1847, she married Wilhelm Dietrich, a trained chemist whose family had a long association with botany and botanical taxonomy. Dietrich made his living by collecting botanical and natural history specimens and selling them to scholars, institutions and apothecaries. Amalie joined her husband on expeditions through Germany, Belgium and Holland, becoming increasingly competent and finally being able to support herself as a collector following the break up of the marriage. In 1863, she was offered a ten year contract by the Godeffroy museum in Hamburg where the curator, Johannes Schmelz 1839-1909 taught her how to handle firearms, to skin and eviscerate birds and mammals and to pack human skulls and

skeletons. Frau Dietrich was then dispatched on the clipper ship 'La Rochelle' to Australia, arriving in Brisbane on the seventh of August, 1863. Here she rented a house in Moorooka and began her collection of reptiles, amphibians and plants to send back to Hamburg. Her collection of ferns can still be seen in that city's Botanical Institute.

Throughout the next nine years, Dietrich travelled extensively in Queensland, visiting Gladstone, Rockhampton, Mackay and Bowen. In Rockhampton in 1866, she collected the first Taipan known to science, which has been preserved in the 'Museum fur Naturkunde' in East Berlin and in Mackay, Dietrich visited Lake Elphinstone, (1868-69), two hundred kilometers inland, staying at the pastoral property of G. Hess. The area was in the grip of a drought and vegetation was sparse. Nevertheless it was here that she found the specia 'Acacia dietrichiana', which Baron von Mueller named after her, as well as making a large ornithological collection.

Dietrich had intended to go to Cape York, but her last and northern-most visit was to Bowen or Port Denison, as it was known in 1870. Here she spent three years, for Bowen had about one hundred German settlers at this time, including a small community of amateur naturalists. From her zoo, she sent back various animals to Hamburg including a shipment of live turtles and when she returned to Germany in 1873, she presented two live birds, a white breasted sea eagle and the wedge-tailed eagle, which she had tamed in Bowen, to the Hamburg Zoological Gardens.

Amalie Dietrich was a pioneer in the field of natural history, venturing into areas of Queensland which had only recently seen their first white settlers. Therefore she endured many hardships to collect plants, insects, corals, shells, mammals, fish, birds and Aboriginal remains. She became highly respected as an ardent collector and accurate observer of nature, with several plant and animal species named in her honour, including, 'Acacia dietrichiana', 'Bonamia dietrichiana', 'Nortonia amalie' and 'Odynerus dietrichainus'. For her collection of Australian insects, she was elected a Fellow of the Stettin Entomological Society in 1867 and also received a gold medal at the Paris Universal Exhibition for fifty Australian wood specimens. On her return to Germany, Dietrich was employed in the Godeffroy Museum for thirteen years, and when this was sold, she became a curator at the Botanical Museum in Hamburg[29].

From the 1880's onwards, a number of scientists from German universities visited Queensland to further research in botany, anatomy, zoology and geology. Richard Wolfgang Semon (1859-1918), who later taught comparative anatomy at Jena came in 1891-1892 to examine the natural habitat of creatures such as the Burnett River Lungfish

(Ceratoeus forster), receiving support from influential Germans in the colony, such as Heussler and Helmuth Kortüm, a well known doctor in Cooktown. The zoologist, Hermann Klaatsch (1863-1916), later Professor at Heidelberg, travelled in Eastern Australia in 1904-1905, as part of a world tour in search of fossil hominids and Mt. Klaatsch in Herberton is thus named after him[30].

German prospectors also played a significant part in the development of mining. Initially some were attracted by the gold discoveries but they gradually became interested in other aspects of the mining industry. Friedrich Philip Sellheim (1832-1899), came to Queensland in 1855 from Konradsdorf in Hesse Darmstadt. He had studied sheep-breeding at the Royal Veterinary Academy of Berlin, however, after a brief career as a farmer, explorer and pastoralist, Sellheim became a public servant in 1874 being appointed Gold Warden, at the Palmer River diggings. This position was difficult as it was an area where racial and social tensions often needed to be quelled. Sellheim had a successful career as a civil servant. Later positions in Charters Towers and Gympie enabled him to arbitrate in trade union matters and when he became Under Secretary for Mines in 1892, he was able to assist in the development of the 1898 Mining Act, reforming safety conditions, improving the security of mining tenures, and safeguarding both the rights of miners and investors[31].

The German migration to Queensland in the middle of the last century gradually had some impact on the cultural development of the new colony. By the turn of the century, two weekly newspapers reflecting the 'commercial, political and social aspirations' of the Queensland Germans, were being published in the Nord-Australische Zeitung, which had been launched in 1876, by Hermann Schmidt, a Brisbane schoolmaster, and the Queensland Herald of 1885. These papers merged in 1903 and ran until 1915 having both metropolitan and rural circulation. In Toowoomba, there was also a short-lived attempt to create a German press, especially to meet the needs of farmers but this was unsuccessful. However, the Queensland News Budget (1906-1927) featured a weekly four-page German supplement until 1916 for the benefit of the German rural community[32].

These newspapers aimed to foster "Deutschtum" in the colony and also gave those Germans with a knowledge of High German an opportunity to maintain their language as well as providing a source of secular literature to complement the Lutheran and Baptist publications. For those newspapers were among the few German publications which contained authentic references to Queensland, as the imaginative literature set in the colony was meagre. Most of the German fiction and verse featuring Queensland as a backdrop was published in Europe, often by writers who were 'culturally myopic' and showed little interest in capturing the

subject matter, style and idiom of the local scene in their works.

Among the more successful writers, was the German adventurer, Friedrich Gerstäcker (1816-1879), who visited Australia in the 1850's and was inspired on his return journey via Java to write Aus dem Matrosenleben (1857), Nach dem Schiffbruch (1869), and Booby Island (1869), all set in the coral reefs of North Queensland. In 1890, the Saxon-born German writer, Stefan von Kotze, spent a decade in North Queensland, attempting to understand its way of life by working as a cane-cutter and a drover. Von Kotze became a journalist and a leadwriter for the Northern Miner in Charters Towers and published Australische Skizzen, a satirical, often humorous insight into the eccentric 'Bushie' of the Outback. He was also a columnist, for the 'Bulletin', a literary critic and historian and in 1909, he published 'Geschichten aus Australien', of which 60,000 copies were printed in Hamburg by 1918. This work not only contained four of von Kotze's short stories but also brought the attention of the German public to the stories of Australian authors such as Lawson, Marcus Clarke and Boldrewood.

Two German pastors also made a contribution to German literature in the colony. Hermann von Windolf ministered in the Fassifern Valley for forty years (1878-1922), writing Christian poetry and often contributing to the 'Queensland News Budget' on special religious occasions. Rudolf de Haas came to Charters Towns in 1897 as a Lutheran minister but did not stay as long as his fellow countryman, von Kotze, as his pro-Boer sentiments were not welcomed by the local English community. Nevertheless, de Haas wrote three semi-autobiographical novels which reflected life in North Queensland, including Unter Australischen Goldgräbern (1922)[33].

A number of German musicians were also motivated to seek new opportunities in the colony. In the ten years following 1861, Germans had greater influence in Brisbane's musical affairs than they have ever had since. They formed a core of local professional players. The violinist, Julius Kopp became leader of the Queensland Theatre Ensemble and conductor of a Liedertafel; Otto Linden conducted for the Brisbane Philharmonic Society and Andrew Siegel the Queensland Volunteer Band. These German musicians and others came from families with generations of musical experience and they brought with them traditions of musical craft unequalled outside their homeland. Unfortunately, the colony did not appreciate their talents, and many left to perform elsewhere[34].

The wealthy graziers of the colony were however, prepared to support artists and a number of German itinerant painters, including Conrad Martens who visited the colony to create a visual record of the colonial experience and to tutor the educated settlers. Louis Wirth

(1858-1950), who came to Queensland in 1883 was to exert a more lasting influence on the development of the arts. His water colours depicting views of Brisbane and its environs, as well as his portraits ensured his professional reputation, as did his participation in the creation of the Queensland Art Society and the Queensland Art Gallery[35].

In 1861, the Queensland Government looked very favourably on German immigrants, with Governor Bowen describing them as a 'sober', industrious and thriving class of the community' [36]. Unfortunately, World War I caused the development of anti-German feeling in the State and this persisted for many years. Immigration on its former large scale did not resume between the wars and generally, the German contribution to the development of this State was forgotten or ignored. In fact, many German immigrants, who settled in Queensland after World War II were quite unaware of the influence of the German pioneers. Fortunately, their contributions and achievements are at last being recognised as being an integral part of the multi-cultural heritage of Queensland.

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ALEXANDER VON HUMBOLDT AND AUSTRALIAN ART AND EXPLORATION

Margaret A. Rose

It may seem only fitting to some that the first known function held in honour of Alexander von Humboldt in Australia was celebrated in September 1859 at a Victorian "Pub" called Hockin's Hotel. Those who know of this event already from Marjorie Tipping's work on its organizer, Ludwig Becker, will however know that Becker at least had been against the encouragement of the demon drink[1]. Marjorie Tipping quotes him as describing the hospitals and gaols of Victoria as being filled with unhappy beings who have been 'morally and physically the victims of drunkenness...' and the Lunatic Asylum - 'large enough to contain all the madmen of the Rhineland, but scarcely large enough for the self-made lunatics of Victoria who have drowned their reason in alcohol[2]. What Becker was planning when he organised his "Humboldt-Feier" at Hockin's Hotel in September 1859 was not, however, the encouragement of its local imbibers, but the celebration of an explorer, naturalist and artist whom he and many of his fellow German emigres to Australia had long admired and sought to emulate[3].

Alexander von Humboldt (1769-1859) had died in May 1859 [4]. Amongst the German emigres who sought to apply his ideas and practices of exploration and scientific classification in Australia were Ludwig Becker (1808-1861) - artist and scientist who was to die on the ill-fated exploration of Burke and Wills to the Gulf of Carpentaria, his friend the botanist Ferdinand von Mueller (1825-1896), the geologist Georg von Neumayer (1826-1909), and the artist Eugene von Guerard (1811-1901).

Before turning to look at some of the ways in which the above were to carry on the work of von Humboldt in Australia, I should like to comment upon the two-way nature of the relationship between Alexander von Humboldt and Australia, on how Australia itself had influenced his goals and work long before he was to influence it.

As this must be but a brief overview of a complicated subject, we may begin our study of the two-way relationship between von Humboldt and Australia by referring to the travels made by the twenty-one year old Humboldt with the German artist, explorer and natural historian, Georg Forster (1754-1794) in 1790. While travelling with Forster from Germany

to London on a journey described by Forster in his Ansichten vom Niederrhein[5], the young von Humboldt was inspired by Forster's accounts of his journey with his father Johann Reinhold Forster on Cook's second voyage to the Pacific in the "Resolution" of 1772 to 1775[6]. On this voyage, Georg Forster had acted as the artist for his father's observations on the flora and fauna of the area, and had completed a set of drawings later bought by the British naturalist Sir Joseph Banks. These drawings had included illustrations of botanical specimens discovered and classified by his father, Johann R. Forster, such as the Tahitian tree 'Barrington speciosa', as well as specimens previously classified by others [7].

After setting off from Plymouth on the seventh of November 1772, the "Resolution" had passed through Cape Town where the Forsters had met a student of Linnaeus, the Swedish naturalist Anders Sparrmann who had then assisted them with a detailed study of the flora and fauna of Southern Africa[8]. Travelling on to New Zealand with Sparrmann, the Forsters also made notes on its flora and fauna as well as on that of the islands of Tahiti, New Caledonia, Easter Island and the edge of the Antarctic.

According to Rudiger Joppien's and Bernard Smith's study on The Art of Captain Cook's Voyages[9], the elder Forster had also enjoyed the artist William Hodge's depiction of some of the places visited by the "Resolution" although the younger Georg had criticised Hodge's all too romantic depiction of the natives of Eua as ancient Greeks in his depiction of "The Landing of Middleburgh" (or Eua) of c. 1775-6. Complaining that Hodge's drawings had little to do with the realities of Nature, and noting that nothing was done after the artist had lost his original sketches, George Forster wrote of this work in 1777: "The connoisseur will find green contours and features in this picture, which have never existed in the South Sea. He will admire an elegant flowing robe which involves the whole head and body, in an island where the women very rarely cover the shoulders and breast; and he will be struck with awe and delight by the figure of a divine old man, with a long white beard, though all the people of Eua shave themselves with muscle-shells" [10]. Apart from serving as a record of what Georg Forster thought he had seen at Middleburgh (or Eua) from the "Resolution", his 1777 comments on the unnaturalness of Hodge's manner of depicting the natives may be taken as evidence for contemporary social historians of art that not every eighteenth-century artist was unaware of the fact that some eighteenth century depictions of the natives of that exotic island had romanticised their subjects.

For the older Georg Forster, the best art was nonetheless that which was able to link together the disparate parts of the natural world into a "perfect whole". This at least is what he wrote in his account

of the 1790 journey along the Rhine on which he had been accompanied by von Humboldt:

> The ideals of sculpture and of painting, and of poetry and drama, are all to be found at that point where all the disparate good parts of nature are represented in a perfect whole, which though possible to comprehend by our process of reasoning and even by our senses, and also able to be represented in sensuous form, could never be found as such in living Nature[11].

Writing in his Cosmos over fifty years later[12], von Humboldt seems to echo Forster's thoughts on the importance of representing the disparate parts of nature in 'a perfect whole' in both his well ordered accounts of his work of exploration and scientific analysis, and in his philosophical belief that it is the role of the observer to link the disparate parts of nature together in a harmonious whole through the activity of the imaginative mind[13]. Of course, other influences, such as Kant and Goethe as well as Hegel are also to be found here[14], but the debt to Forster which Humboldt explicitly acknowledged in several later passages of his Cosmos may also be discerned in Humboldt's introductory description of his goal in studying Nature in which he writes:

> To seize this unit and this harmony amid such an immense assemblage of objects and forces - to embrace alike the discoveries of the earliest ages and those of our own time, and to analyse the details of phenomena without sinking under their mass, are efforts of human reason in the path wherein it is given to man to press towards the full comprehension of nature, to unveil a portion of her secrets, and by the force of thought to subject, so to speak, to his intellectual dominion, the rough materials which he collects by observation[15].

This quotation is from the introductory pages to the first volume of Cosmos. In the introductory pages to volume two of the London edition of 1859, von Humboldt goes on to specifically express his debt to Georg Forster with the following words:

> If I might have recourse to my own experience, and say what awakened in me the first beginnings of an inextinguishable longing to visit the tropics, I should name Georg Forster's description of the Islands of the Pacific - paintings, by Hodge, in the house of Warren Hastings, in London, representing the banks of the Ganges - and a colossal dragon tree in an old tower of the Botanic Gardens at Berlin[16].

Some sixty years later von Humboldt again mentions Forster in attributing to him the role of opening up the new era of scientific

travel of which Humboldt had by then also became a part. Von Humboldt also described the aim of such work as 'first gracefully and pleasingly to depict the different gradations of vegetation, the relations of climate, and the various articles of food, in their bearing on the habits and manners of different tribes according to their differences of race and of previous habitation' [17].

Still speaking specifically of Forster's work, Humboldt continues:

> All that can give truth, individuality and graphic distinctness to the representation of an exotic nature, is united in his writings: not only in his excellent account of the second voyage of Captain Cook, but still more in his smaller works....

Here Humboldt concludes that on this example, descriptions of nature can be both poetic and accurate, and sense and intelligence combined in the perception of the connections to be found in nature.

Given that Georg Forster had also used his Ansichten vom Niederrhein to praise the Raphaels which were later to be an inspiration to German Nazarene artists such as Peter Cornelius and Wilhelm von Schadow[18], it is also interesting for Alexander von Humboldt's later connections with Australian artists trained in the Nazarene schools in Germany that he had not only stressed the importance of the use of artist's talents in the depiction of nature in his Cosmos, but had used one of the leading patrons of the Nazarene School, the art historian and admirer of Raphael, Carl von Rumohr, as well as one of his protegees, the artist Franz Horny, for that work. While Franz Horny drew sketches of specimens of plants for Humboldt's Cosmos von Rumohr provided von Humboldt with an outline of the history of landscape art from Grecian times[19]. A letter written by von Rumohr to Humboldt on October 20 1832, with regard to this task, begins with an account of what von Rumohr describes as the little known landscape art of the Ancients. It then passes on to the landscape art of the early and then the late Middle Ages, to the fifteenth century and the Renaissance to the Mannerists, the Caraccis and to what von Rumohr then describes as the 'epoch of the greatest landscape artists' of the seventeenth century Dutch Realists and Poussin. After concluding with a reference to his contemporary Carus' suggestion that a whole new form of landscape painting might develop in their own century with the co-operation of artists and natural scientists, von Rumohr adds his own opinion that this may however only be able to be judged when Carus can learn to both think and express himself more clearly[20].

Carus had been a student of geognosy as well as an artist, and had in fact renamed his geognosy influenced landscape art "Erdlebenbildkunst" as distinct from the older type of landscape art

spoken of by von Rumohr. In addition to being remembered for this innovation, Carus is also credited with passing on some knowledge of geognosy to his friend, the Romantic landscape painter Caspar David Friedrich - and was also known to von Humboldt for his work in this field.

While von Rumohr may sound somewhat sceptical about the co-operation of natural scientists and artists in his letter to von Humboldt, he was to play a significant role at this time in developing a new interest in landscape art in the German Nazarene artists then working in Italy in becoming a patron to artists such as Horny. In addition to being the patron of these Nazarene landscape artists, von Rumohr himself was the author of several landscapes as well as the guide in Italy to the Prussian Crown Prince Friedrich Wilhelm, whose 1832 sketches of Italian scenes also reflect the style shared by Rehbenitz and Horny[21]. Humboldt was to dedicate his Cosmos to Friedrich Wilhelm in 1845, after the Crown Prince had become Friedrich Wilhelm IV in 1840, and it was also this same Friedrich Wilhelm IV, who, like his father before him, was to ensure the continuing success of the German Nazarenes in the 1830's and 1840's with this patronage of them and of their work[22].

In addition to being of importance to an understanding of the art admired by von Humboldt, the story of the rise of Nazarene art in Germany at this time is of relevance to the careers of both Ludwig Becker and Eugene von Guerard in that both were to learn their art in Nazarene-led schools. While Ludwig Becker is said to have studied in the early 1830's at the famous "Stadelsches Kunst-Institut" of the "Lukasbruder" or Mazarene Philipp Veit - the step-son of Friedrich Schlegel[23] - Eugene von Guerard had studied at the equally famous Düsseldorf Academy of Peter Cornelius and Wilhelm von Schadow under the landscape artist Johann Wilhelm Schirmer between 1841 and 1844[24]. A "Becker" of Ludwig Becker's age is also listed as studying with Schirmer in 1832-3 without any Christian names by which to identify him further, but Ludwig Becker's younger half-brother August, who later taught sketching to Queen Victoria's family and who painted in a somewhat similar style to von Guerard, is clearly listed as studying with Schirmer in 1840 [25].

Peter Cornelius, who was one of the leading representatives of the early Nazarenes, as well as the first director of the Düsseldorf Academy which the young von Guerard attended, was also one of the favourite artists of Alexander von Humboldt according to one of his letters to Francois Forster of 1855, while Georg Forster had praised Cornelius' admired Raphael in his Ansichten vom Niederrhein some fifty years earlier.

As background to an understanding of the combination of artistic and scientific interests in the work of von Humboldt's Australian admirers such as Becker and von Guerard, it is also important to note here that the Nazarene love of Raphael had joined forces in the "Düsseldorfer Malerschule" of Becker's and von Guerard's time with the love of landscape encouraged by von Rumohr, who had even praised Raphael for his Naturalism[26]. Further to this the very earliest works of two leading representatives of the Düsseldorf landscapists of influence on von Guerard, Carl Lessing and Johann Wilhelm Schirmer, had followed Caspar David Friedrich's habit of populating his landscapes with religious figures symbolic of the sacredness of the landscape, and had hence also managed to combine both the religiosity associated with Raphael's Madonna paintings and the new 'scientific' interest in the geognosical aspects of landscape. As both Lessing and Schirmer had added symbolic religious elements to their early landscapes such as monks or monasteries, it is interesting to note that Schirmer's student, von Guerard, had also included monk-like figures in some of his Italian works such as his "Temple of Apollo on the Lago d'Averno" of 1859 [27].

In addition to adding religious elements symbolic of Nature in their early works, Lessing and Schirmer had used their painting trips to the areas of natural beauty near Düsseldorf, such as the mountainous Eifel region, to make a study of the geology of the area. Lessing's 1832-4 studies of the Eifel show, for instance, a clear interest in the volcanic nature of the region which is also reminiscent of an interest shown by Alexander von Humboldt in the volcanic nature of the Eifel landscape in his Cosmos[28].

Von Guerard's teacher Schirmer was also to demonstrate this interest in the close study of nature in what might later have been called his 'Ruskinite' sketches of rocks and plants of the early 1830's. Later, in 1838, his now famous study of the "Wetterhorn" was to echo works of Caspar David Friedrich such as his "Der Watzmann" to which Friedrich had applied the principles of geognosy taught in the mining school of Abraham Gottlob Werner at Freiberg in the 1780's. (Alexander von Humboldt had also studied with Werner up to 1792 and was not only to pursue Werner's study of geology further, but to use Werner's system of classifying minerals for his work)[29]. Though developed by Humboldt and others in practical directions, the study of the history of the formation of the Earth made by Werner had provided both Carus and his friend Friedrich with ideas on the way in which landscape painting might not only depict a particular piece of geology, but manage to symbolize the origin of the Earth in its basic elements at the same time. Hence, the combination of mountain ranges and flowing water in Friedrich's depiction of mountains such as "Der Watzmann" may all be read as illustrations of the dynamic role of mountains in geognosical theory in directing the flow of water around the Earth, as also the

basic elements of that Earth's formation, from volcanic activity or from the weathering of rocks caused by water.

Further to his interest in the religious symbolisation of the spiritual side of Nature, von Guerard was also to show some interest in the geological subject-matter of Lessing and Schirmer in choosing to paint both Vesuvius and Mt. Etna amongst his Italian scenes, and he may even at that time have shared the interest in volcanic formations shown by both Forster and Humboldt together with others of their time such as Friedrich and Carus who were concerned with the geognosical or historical origins of the Earth. Certainly, von Guerard must again have heard something of von Humboldt's interest in geognosy in Australia when travelling with the geologist Neumayer on his climb of Mt. Kosciusko, Neumayer had been interested in the work of Alexander von Humboldt[30] and is depicted by von Guerard in his oil painting of the north east view of Kosciusko of c. 1863 [31] as a microcosmic figure pointing to the vast expanse of geology before him. In addition to heroifying both scientist-explorer and landscape, von Guerard's picture also appears to illustrate some of the geological theories which are to be found illustrated in the geognosical works of Caspar David Friedrich and Carus[32]. So, for example, one may follow the movement of the work from the left where rain appears to be falling onto the mountains, to the ice of the centre, to the sunlight on the right, to perceive a movement which illustrates the geognosical theory of the importance of mountains in receiving and then transporting water around the Earth. This is, moreover, a theory which Timothy Hilton has seen to be of importance to Caspar David Friedrich's and to Carus' mountain scenes in which, almost inevitably, water, ice and sunlight are shown together[33]. It is, Hilton adds, only because of the now dated nature of these nineteenth century geognosical theories - important as they were to many nineteenth century German scientists, explorers and artists - that the scientific ideas behind such nineteenth century Romantic paintings have been forgotten and their images read only as aesthetic representations of the natural world. To the informed nineteenth century eye, and to those around von Guerard as well as von Humboldt, these paintings could however clearly be seen to be attempting to achieve much more than pure aesthetic or picturesque depiction, and could also be read as an illustration of the latest "scientific" ideas of the time.

Both Carl Lessing and von Guerard's teacher Johann Wilhelm Schirmer have moreover been mentioned by yet another future German emigre to Victoria and friend of Ludwig Becker, Hermann Puttmann, in his 1839 account of the "Düsseldorfer Malerschule" for their introduction of a more scientific study of nature into landscape painting[34].

Prior to his demonstration of his knowledge of geological research in his 1863 painting of Mount Kosciusko, Eugene von Guerard had also

shown an interest in other scientific ideas of his time in his famous study of "Ferntree Gully in the Dandenong Ranges" of 1857. This was not only a study of a subject which was again of interest to the geologist Neumayer[35], but was completed at the same time as von Guerard and the scientist-artist Ludwig Becker were working together on a sub-committee of the Victorian Society of Fine Arts[36], and would also appear to illustrate a subject particularly recommended to artists by von Humboldt in his Ansichten der Natur of 1808, in that this work had contained a long section on the suitability of the more tropical ferns for artistic depiction[37].

Although I have not been able to determine how much von Guerard knew of von Humboldt's 1805 description in his Ansichten der Natur of the way in which ferns might be ennobled as subjects of art in the hotter parts of the globe, it may nonetheless be of interest for both von Guerard's work and the question of the importance of von Humboldt to the nineteenth century German exploration and depiction of Australia to quote the following from that part of Humboldt's 'Aspects of Nature' - on the 'Physiognomy of Plants' in which von Humboldt comments on the suitability of ferns as a subject for art. Von Humboldt writes:

> The form of Ferns, as well as that of Grasses, becomes ennobled in the hotter parts of the globe. Arborescent ferns, when they reach a height of above forty feet, have something of a palm-like appearance; but their stems are less slender, shorter, and more rough in scale than those of the palms.

After commenting that these are ferns belonging to the tropical zone, though to its more moderate parts, von Humboldt continues that they 'indicate by their presence the happy region where reigns a soft perpetual spring.' Continuing on to mention the Liliaceous plants of Southern Africa, von Humboldt writes:

> It would be an enterprise worthy of a great artist to study the aspect and character of all these vegetable groups, not merely in hot-houses or in the descriptions of botanists, but their native grandeur in the tropical zone. How interesting and instructive to the landscape painter would be a work which should present to the eye, first separately, and then in combination and contrast, the leading forms which have been here enumerated! How picturesque is the aspect of tree-ferns spreading their delicate fronds above the laurel-oaks of Mexico; or groups of plantains overshadowed by arborescent grasses! It is the artist's privilege, having studied these groups to analyse them; and thus in his hands the grand and beautiful form of nature which he would portray resolves itself (if I may venture on the expression), like the written works of men, into a few simple elements.

Given that von Humboldt's Ansichten der Natur had first been published as early as 1808 and its second expanded edition in 1826, and third in 1849, it is quite possible that either von Guerard or one of his emigré compatriots had known the work. The geologist Neumayer, whose exploration of Kosciusko von Guerard had depicted in 1863 had, as mentioned earlier, been interested in both the area of Ferntree Gully depicted by von Guerard and in von Humboldt. Von Neumayer had also taken part in some of the meetings of the Philosophical Institute of Victoria to which other followers of von Humboldt including Becker and the botanist von Mueller had presented papers. It is therefore noteworthy that yet another important element of von Guerard's Ferntree Gully painting - the lyre birds at its centre - had been the subject of a paper presented by Ludwig Becker to the Philosophical Institute of Victoria in 1857 - the year in which von Guerard was painting his "Ferntree Gully". Given this, it is also interesting to read in Marjorie Tipping's introduction to Becker's sketches and Diaries from his expedition with Burke and Wills, that he had been making a study of the lyre bird with the help of that now famous ornithologist and illustrator of birds, John Gould, and had corresponded with the British Museum zoologist, Professor Richard Owen and the French Naturalist Jules Verreaux on the same subject[38]. In addition to studying the lyrebird and other fauna of the Australian bush, Ludwig Becker had also been interested in studying and classifying its flora as had von Humboldt in South America,[39] and had moreover made several forays into the study of Australian vegetation with another student of von Humboldt, the botanist Ferdinand von Mueller, to search for new species of plants before preparing illustrations of botanical specimens for von Mueller's works[40].

Further to pursuing his own botanical research, Baron von Mueller was to lead the Philosophical Institute of Victoria, of which Becker and Neumayer were members, into organising the ill-fated Burke and Wills expedition to the Gulf of Carpentaria of 1860. Prior to this expedition in March 1859, von Mueller had also expounded a vision of the colonisation of the Australian desert to the Philosophical Institute of Victoria which was both proudly Victorian and Humboldtian:

> Need I remind you how wide a field of observation lies before us throughout all the domain of nature - how many of its resources continue unknown or undeveloped? Shall I remind you of the golden treasures which can never be exhausted by the hardy miners and to which each improvement in machinery will give easier access? Shall I remind you of the still greater and more lasting riches which husbandry in future will raise from our dormant soil? Shall I remind you that Victoria, with its transparent sky, with its genial, delightful clime - a country free of feudal bond, and not

> enslaved by any institutions unworthy of the genius of this enlightened age - presents a combination of elements of wealth and sources of prosperity for which it would be vain to search in many other countries, even if by nature equally endowed. And still how vastly might we not increase these gifts of providence through our exertions! Might not the vegetable treasures from every zone, except the torrid, be flourishing around us, ministering to our necessary wants and to our luxurious enjoyment? Might not the pastures of our silent Alps, might not our grassless forest-ranges, like the Andes or the Himalayas, yet be enlivened by the alpaca or Cashmere goat? Might not the desert game of South Africa yet roam in lively sport throughout our inland solitudes and, render them more hospitable, perhaps betraying to the wearied wanderer, by their path, the water-pool on which his life depends? Might not the camel's track across the continent guide with their flocks the harbingers of new colonization in the case of our inland wastes, and lead them on and on until by peaceful conquest we raise another Indian Empire in continental Oceania? [41].

Although von Mueller had later expressed the view that the terrain to be crossed by Burke and Wills would be too stony for camels[42], his 1859 speech may well have played some part in giving Ludwig Becker the idea that these could be of use in the expedition[43]. Certainly von Mueller's encouragement of the expedition as one which could be used for scientific research had played some part in Becker's participation in it as an artist-scientist. To what extent Ludwig Becker had also been inspired by Alexander von Humboldt's exploits in South America when he offered his services to this journey of exploration is uncertain, but interesting. Illustrations of von Humboldt in South America such as the portrait of him by Friedrich Georg Weitsch of 1806, or that of Humboldt and Bonpland by Eduard Ender had shown von Humboldt surrounded by a surfeit of lush botanical specimens. Becker had also stopped off in Rio de Janeiro on his way to America and Baron von Mueller was himself clearly influenced by a vision at least in part Humboldtian in recommending the opening up of the Australian deserts for scientific study. Humboldt had also remarked in the first volume of his Cosmos of 1845 on the self-evident nature of the role of voyages of discovery in producing the sort of economic benefits stressed by von Mueller in his speech to the Philosophical Institute of Victorian in 1859 [44]. Further to this, the geophysicist Georg von Neumayer, who had been concerned with using science to add both to the knowledge gained by von Humboldt and to the wealth of his native Germany, had accompanied the Burke and Wills expedition as far as the River Murray and assisted with its organization[45], while Becker's 1859 memorial service to von Humboldt had preceded his departure on the expedition by a few months.

A study of the sketches and diaries left by Becker from that

expedition suggests, however, that he was both inspired to use it to discover and classify new species of animal and plant life, and was to be disappointed by what he was to find[46]. Whereas Weitsch's and Ender's portraits of von Humboldt in South America had shown him surrounded by an abundance of interesting new species of plants, Becker's diaries show both a dearth of specimens and a landscape more similar to the craters of the moon than to the tropical areas visited by von Humboldt. Indeed, while Becker's first sketch is of the expedition traversing a crater, the second sketch of the crossing of the Terrick Terrick Plains of August 1859 takes up the pyramidal shape of the crater of the first sketch in its perspectival lines of camels and horses crossing a desert-like landscape[47]. In addition to focussing our attention on the emptiness of the country being represented, the lines lead forward to the bleaching skeleton of an animal, which is the only specimen of desert life to be seen. Where perspectival lines had served the European artist and scientist since the Renaissance in the 'realistic' but orderly depiction of the natural world, and are also used by von Guerard to lead the eye into the richness of vegetation in his "Ferntree Gully" painting by virtue of making up the path into that Gully, here these lines appear to designate nothing but themselves and the party of explorers setting out to apply them. Even in designating the lines of European explorers and their animals, the lines of perspective of Becker's sketch illustrate the European goal of exploring and ordering Nature, as well as, however, an absence of the nature which the European artist-explorer had gone out to order and classify.

Clearly the extension of von Humboldt's research from the lushness of the tropical jungles of South America, and of Forster's of the coast of Australia, to the dry centre of the latter was not to produce an abundance of scientific material for von Humboldt's followers on the expedition of Burke and wills. So, for example, while Becker's drawing of a parasite in the "armpit" of a ghecko[48] may be seen as a study of the interdependence of one organism with another, in the Humboldtian tradition, it may also be seen as a symptom of the absence of the variety of different species found by von Humboldt in South America.

To what extent the failure of the Burke and Wills expedition led to the modification of the Humboldt enterprise in Australia with, for example, the domestication of botanical research in the Botanical Gardens of von Mueller, or in the Museum, is a question which might be taken up by others. The death of Ludwig Becker with so many others on the expedition to the Gulf of 1860 was most certainly a tragic end to the "Humboldtian" visions of such as von Mueller and one which Becker's 1859 "Feier" for the death of von Humboldt had not been intended to foreshadow. It may be all the more reason for us to remember the importance of von Humboldt to these early Australian scientists, artists and explorers, and to attempt to research and comprehend it further.

References:

1. See *Marjorie Tipping*, Ludwig Becker. Artist and Naturalist with the Burke and Wills Expedition, Melbourne 1979, pp. 17-18.
2. Idem, p. 23.
3. See the Melbourner Deutsche Zeitung, 14 September 1859.
4. See *Douglas Botting*, Humboldt and the Cosmos. London 1979, for further details of A. von Humboldt's life and work.
5. *Georg Forster*, Ansichten vom Niederrhein, von Brabant, Flandern, Holland, England und Frankreich, im April, Mai und Juni 1790. ed Wilhelm Buchner Leipzig 1868 in two parts.
6. See, for example, *Alexander von Humboldt*, Cosmos. London 1859, volume 2, p. 5f. (Passages from this section of Cosmos are also quoted later in the text).
7. See *Jacques Brosse*. Great Voyages of Exploration (Paris, 1983) translated by Sydney Hochman, Sydney 1986, p. 55, and *Georg Forster*, Botanical and Zoological illustrations (4 volumes) British Museum, London.
8. *Brosse*, Idem, p. 53.
9. *Rudiger, Joppien and Bernard Smith*, The Art of Captain Cook's Voyages, Oxford 1985, vol. 1, pp. 51-2.
10. Idem, pp. 72-3.
11. *Forster*, Ansichten vom Niederrhein, p. 27.
12. The first volume of Alexander von Humboldt's Kosmos was published in 1845. The edition quoted in this article is the English edition entitled Cosmos, published in London in 1859.
13. Von Humboldt described the scientist's search for the interconnections in nature as being like a long journey in which the mind is to be given the major task of formulating the scientific laws by which to order the separate phenomena observed through the senses von Humboldt Idem (Cosmos) vol. 1, p. 34.
14. Von Humboldt also makes reference to the work of Goethe on the metamorphosis of organisms (Idem, vol 1, pp. 22 ff), to Kant's comments on the limits of physical experiments in Kant's 1755 "Essay on the Theory and Structure of the Heavens" (Idem, p. 33) and to Hegel's comments on the ordering of external phenomena through the mind (Idem, p. 64).
15. Idem., p. 6.
16. Idem. vol II, p. 5.
17. Idem, p. 70.
18. See the eighth sections of Forster's Ansichten vom Niederrhein for his praise of the Düsseldorf Raphael "Holy Family" as well as of Raphael's "Stanza della segnatura" frescos.
19. *Von Humboldt*, Cosmos, vol. II, pp. 74 ff.
20. The letter from von Rumohr to von Humboldt is reproduced in Friedrich Stock Briefe Rimohrs. Eine Auswahl Berlin 1943, pp. 59-63.
21. See *Margaret A. Rose*, Marx's Lost Aesthetic Cambridge 1984 for further discussion of the art of von Rumohr, Rehbenitz, Horny and Friedrich Wilhelm IV.
22. Idem.
23. *Tipping*, Ludwig Becker.
24. Records of the "Düsseldorfer Malerschule" reproduced by Rudolf Thiemann, in Die Düsseldorfer Malerschule ed. Wend von Kalnein, Mainz 1979, pp. 144 - 148.

25. Idem. The first Becker referred to without a Christian name is said to have been born "around 1807". Tipping has given the date of Ludwig Becker's birth as 5 September 1808. *Tipping*, Ludwig Becker.

26. *Carl von Rumohr*, Italienische Forschungen (1823) ed. Julius Schlosser. Frankfurt am Main 1920.

27. Illustrated in *Candice Bruce*, Eugene von Guerard, Canberra 1980. This work was given by Guerard to James Smith, to whom von Guerard also wrote a letter in which he claimed to have know most of the early Nazarenes associated with Cornelius. The letter is reproduced by Bruce in an appendix.

28. Some of Lessing's studies of the Eifel are illustrated together with works such as his Landscape with monastery, monk and choirboys of 1831 in von Kalnein Die Düsseldorfer Malerschule p. 86-97 in an article by Vera Leuschner entitled "Der Landschafts - und Historienmaler Carl Friedrich Lessing (1808 - 80)". Alexander von Humboldt had visited the Eifel and an old monastery to be found in the area in 1794, and had later made studies of the volcanic areas of South America. Later still (see note 39) two of von Humboldt's admirers, von Neumayer and Ludwig Becker, were also to make a study of the volcanic areas of the Australian region.

29. Hans Baumgaertel has written on Alexander von Humboldt's knowledge of Werner and geognosy in an article in *Cecil Schneer*, Toward a History of Geology.

30. *Hans-Jochen Kretzer* 'Georg von Neumayer 1826 - 1909' (archivist of the George von Neumayer Polar Archives, Bad Dürkheim) writes in his catalogue to the exhibition that Alexander von Humbdolt had also given Neumayer 'moral support for his research in Australia' (Catalogue published for Victoria's sesquicentenary in 1984 under the aegis of the Goethe Institute).

31. Von Guerard made his trip with Neumayer in 1862 (see *Kretzer*, Idem, p. 9), but the completed painting (Australian National Gallery Collection, Canberra) is generally dated at either 1863 or 1864. (See *Bruce*, Eugen von Guerard for further discussion of this date).

32. See *Bruce*, Idem, for further reference to the relevance of Friedrich and Carus to von Guerard.

33. *Timothy Mitchell*, "Caspar David Friedrich and Historical Geology", The Art Bulletin, September 1984, pp. 454-464.

34. *Hermann Puttmann*, Die Düsseldorfer Malerschule, Leipzig 1939, p. 203 gives an account of Schirmer's work which is also somewhat critical of its mixture of naturalistic and Romantic subject matter. I have written further on Puttmann's account of the "Düsseldorfer Malerschule", in a contribution to the 1987 Festschrift for *Leslie Bodi*, Antipodische Aufklärungen, Basel 1987. Puttmann's friendship for Ludwig Becker is expressed in his obituary for Becker in the edition of his Australische Monatszeitung für die Colonien und Deutschland of 15. February 1862.

35. *Georg von Neumayer*, refer to Neumayer's photograph of this area as "Jungle with tree-like ferns, Dandenong Mountains".

36. See also *Tipping*, Ludwig Becker, pp. 15-16.

37. *Alexander von Humboldt*, Ansichten der Natur Tübingen und Stuttgart 1808, 1826 and 1849, translated as Aspects of Nature in different lands and different climates Philadelphia, 1850 (Reprint by AMS New York 1970), p. 244 ff.

38. *Tipping*, Ludwig Becker., p. 21.

39. Ludwig Becker was interested in the geological investigations of von Neumayer (*Tipping*, Idem, p. 13), and was also particularly interested in the role played by volcanic formations on both the geology and flora and fauna of the Australian continent.

40. One further - if somewhat tenuous link between von Humboldt's mentor Forster and von Mueller may also be found in von Mueller's disagreement with the botanical researches of Sir Joseph Banks - the Forsters having replaced Banks on their journey with Cook and having discovered some specimens overlooked by Banks on his travels.

41. Transactions of the Philosophical Institute of Victoria, March 1859, p. 2 ff.

42. *Tipping*, Ludwig Becker, I, p. 39.

43. *Tipping* refers to a speech made by von Mueller on 15 April 1856 in which he recommends the use of camels. Idem.

44. *Humboldt*, Cosmos, I. p. 39.

45. *Kretzer*, 'Georg von Neumayer', p. 10.

46. See *Marjorie Tipping's* edition of these sketches, Ludwig Becker.

47. Illustrated in *Tipping*, Idem, p. 47.

48. Idem, p. 95.

"DEUTSCHTUMSPOLITIK" IN AUSTRALIA FROM KAISERREICH TO THIRD REICH

Problems of promoting Germany in Australia from Hirschfeld to von Luckner

John A. Moses

That there had been such a thing as a "Deutschtumspolitik" in Australia became clear to the present writer when he was invited to collaborate in writing a survey of the history of the German Club in Brisbane at the time of its centenary in 1983. This was published in the volume, New Beginnings: The Germans in N.S.W. and Queensland[1]. In that, there is passing reference to the von Luckner tour of 1938 because of the gala reception accorded to the famous Count as guest of honour on the occasion of the celebration of the club's 55th anniversary. Historical curiosity was then aroused to enquire just why a former enemy naval raider from the Great War was touring Australia precisely at a time of renewed Anglo-German rivalry. This led to an investigation of the relevant files of the Australian security services of the time which had maintained a close surveillance over von Luckner's activities. The results of that research were published in the collection of essays entitled: The German Presence in Queensland[2]. There it is argued, that the von Luckner tour was a specifically Nazi variation of a long-standing German "Deutschtumspolitik" for Australia. The aim of this policy was to keep Australians of German origin aware and proud of their cultural heritage and at the same time to project the most favourable possible image of the Reich to this part of the British Empire as a component of general Reich's policy towards Great Britain, the world's then largest naval power. The advantages to be derived for the Reich were expected to be reaped in improved trade relations as well as in keeping the British Empire in a state of mind pre-disposed to allow Germany the freest possible hand in world affairs, and as far as the Third Reich was concerned, to promote "defeatism", as it was termed by the officer in charge of security in Queensland when he submitted his assessment of the von Luckner tour.

With regard to the Wilhelmine Empire, it must be remembered that in the calculations of the Kaiser and his chief naval adviser, Grand Admiral Alfred von Tirpitz, as early as 1899, it would be possible to achieve so called world political freedom by destroying the Royal Navy

in one massive naval battle in the North Sea. All that the Reich needed to do was to build the necessary battle ships, and plans now revealed by Professor Volker Berghahn's research indicate that sixty such vessels were to be constructed by 1920 [3]. There can now be no doubt that Reich leadership in the period 1900 to 1918 and again 1933 to 1945, was striving for world domination, and that it could, by defeating Britain, gain effective control of sections of the British Empire, especially those parts where there were already elements of German settlement. It will be argued that the "Deutschtumspolitik" in Australia at least since the turn of the century can only be understood against the background of Imperial Germany's efforts to achieve her "place in the sun", the place that Almighty God had intended for her.

Naturally, this conception was not endorsed by all Germans but it was verifiably a fixed part of the unspoken assumptions of the power elite. They really believed that Germany was being called specifically to displace Britain as the dominant world power. Only the fact that not all Germans wanted to pursue this policy, of course, made it incumbent on Reich officials to exercise a subtle diplomacy both to persuade critical Reichstag deputies and wary Anglo-Saxons that their aims were essentially cultural and peaceful. Indeed, "Deutschtumspolitik" in Australia was a component of the Pan-German ideology central to which was the conviction that it was the Reich's world-historical task to displace the moribund Anglo-Saxon influence in the world by the culturally superior and more vital Germanic.

The most convenient way to approach this subject is to examine the difficulties of implementing a successful "Deutschtumspolitik" in Australia experienced by successive Consuls General in its three phases, i) Kaiserreich, ii) Weimar Republic and iii) the Third Reich. The key sources in each case are the sometimes extensive memoranda compiled by the Consuls General, Paul von Buri (1900-06), Georg Irmer (1906-11), Richard Killiani (1911-14), Hans Buesing (1926-32) and Rudolf Asmis (1932-39). Five earlier Consuls General had served for the Reich since 1879. Their goals, both commercial and political, have been investigated by Dr. Irmline Veit Brause of Deakin University[4]. She notes that from the establishment of the imperial German consulate in 1879, i.e. not long after the Reich was founded and was beginning to play a leading role in world affairs, concern was shown to keep informed about the extent of German immigration and settlement in the Australian colonies. Until then, the interest in Australia, as with the Pacific Islands, had been predominantly commercial, but now, against the background of an emerging German world policy, the existence of a sizeable minority of ethnic Germans in the British colonies of Australia begins to present new possibilities in the fertile imagination of some enthusiastic officials. Consequently, tours by Consuls General to the various centres became regular features of their duties.

What is of significance is the growing anxiety perceptible in the memoranda from the 1890's onwards, as the Anglo-German antagonism intensified, that the German born British subjects and their descendants in Australia would lose their "Deutschtum" . As Dr. Veit Brause has observed: "The interest shown by the Consuls General for the life in the German communities was increasingly more motivated by the desire to stem the tide of assimilation and to foster a German national consciousness vis a vis their British oriented fellow Australians" [5]. The underlying political ideological reasons for this are inadequately understood. Why, it must be asked, does "Deutschtumspolitik" become such an overriding concern? Why is it so important to prevent around 50,000 persons of German birth and/or descent from becoming Anglo-Saxonized? Perhaps only educated guesses can be made, but they have to be made within the context of the then prevailing Anglo-German rivalry and the two mutually irreconcilable political cultures. The Consuls General echo in their reports the developing German cliches about the decadence of Anglo-Saxon civilization, so in one important sense their "Deutschtums-politik" was undeniably a component of the German mission to check the spread of Anglo-Saxon values throughout the world and if possible to replace them with German ideas.

I

Paul von Buri saw this potential as early as 1903 on a tour of South Australian centres of German settlement to ascertain the desirability of subsidies for their German church schools. His enthusiasm for the policy of so called cultural maintenance led him to the somewhat over optimistic conclusion that Australia's future could become more distinctly German than English[6] . Of course, this assumed that Berlin would always be in a position to supply the necessary means. What von Buri's "unspoken assumptions" were can only be conjectured. But given that the Reichstag tended to insist upon exerting its minimal budgetary prerogatives to maximal effect precisely in colonial matters which were not constitutionally circumscribed (as in the case of the military budget); it was highly unlikely that Berlin could have given a high priority to such speculative ventures as von Buri had in mind. Nevertheless, the Consuls General continued in the traditional Prussian manner of wringing the maximum potential from the most meagre resources, to prosecute their "Deutschtumspolitik" on the existing slender basis. There is no doubt that this activity contributed fundamentally to the anti-German sentiment among Australians and thus played into the hands of those like Prime Minister Hughes during the war, who as both Gerhard Fischer and Raymond Evans have shown, wished to portray the German Australian community as the Reich's Trojan Horse which had to be eliminated[7].

In August 1910, after an extended tour of Queensland centres, Georg Irmer analysed the problems hindering a successful "Deutschtumspolitik". He began by reporting that the German communities in what are now the Brisbane suburbs of Nundah and Zillmere were declining rapidly. The reason was the proximity to the capital where the German population was seduced to find employment. Compensating for this, however, were the flourishing districts of German settlement at Rosewood, Fassifern, Logan, Hatton Vale and Plainlands. There, in the isolation of farming communities, good German peasant values were being cultivated. Almost all had their own churches and schools. Admittedly, they were not without some serious problems, but these could be overcome if there were sufficient money for better teachers and if the various churches could learn to get along better with each other.

Here, of course, was the nub of the matter: the German Lutheran churches were rightly seen as the key factor in any successful "Deutschtumspolitik". They were potentially the custodians of the essence of German culture with their German language services, sermons of German nationalist content as well as pastoral ministry from men of true Germanic stamp and education. Irmer was convinced that where there was a tight German community with church and school, the parishioners would retain their native tongue and cling to the old home land. Indeed, there was no doubt that the German Evangelical church with its associated schools constituted the mighty fortress "die feste Burg" of "Deutschtum". This was clear because, as Irmer had observed, Germans of Israelite confession (sic) were the first to discard their mother tongue and their "Deutschtum". They were also prone to Anglicize their names more readily. But even Germans of Roman Catholic confession lacked determination in the defence of their "Deutschtum", and here in Australia, an added factor was the policy of the fanatically socialist Cardinal Moran who apparently refused to appoint German born clergy to areas of German settlement[8]. Consequently, a healthy "Deutschtum" in Australia really depended on the vitality of the Lutheran church. But here there were serious anomalies. Firstly, Irmer discovered that the most outstanding champion of "Deutschtum" in Queensland was not a Lutheran at all, but the leader of the sect known as the Catholic Apostolic Church at Hatton Vale, H.F. Niemeyer. Irmer reported to the Imperial Chancellor :

> What has been built up out there at Hatton Vale over the past twenty years would be a veritable model for every German colony of Christian yoeman farmers and workers in foreign lands. Contentment reigns everywhere. Admittedly, the apostolic creed, if I may so describe the spiritual and ecclesiastical basis of the Apostolic parishes, contains a very strong element of enthusiasm ("Schwärmergeist") which is today still less understandable than it was in Luther's time. Indeed, according to the dogmatic position

> of our Lutheran church, that which these people practise is without doubt heresy ("Ketzerei") . Further, I find the sectarian style and the quaint ante-diluvian biblical exegesis of the Apostolic preachers personally repellent. But despite all that, I cannot withhold recognition of the fact that the fruits of Christian discipline in the Apostolic community are quite outstanding; above all, however, it may not be overlooked that this church community considers its most particular role to be the custodian of an energetic "Deutschtum" in Australia[9].

Here it must be observed that the German Catholic Apostolics, precisely because of their "heretical" nature, were the most successful at sustaining their community life which they do to the present day. But although they would not have had the slightest connection with or understanding for German imperial ambitions, given their belief that judgement day was in the calculable future, their leader was interned along with other German champions of a decidedly more political "Deutschtum". Certainly, the kind of "Deutschtum" which the Consuls preferred went far beyond the preservation of a certain peasant "Gemütlichkeit" and an obscurantist theological world view in the Australian bush; it should generate feelings of intense patriotism for the great Prussian German "Machtstaat" and the ideals of Pan-Germanism. Indeed, Georg Irmer regretted that both the Apostolics and the American financed Missouri Synod Lutherans had in fact better schools than the German Lutherans. He therefore pleaded with his masters not to be niggardly in funds for improving the educational potential of the German Lutherans. If one were serious about preserving the "Deutschtum" of Germans in Australia, help from home would have to be forthcoming.

The very same view was echoed by the next Consul General, Richard Killiani, reporting in early 1913 on his tour of South Australia[10]. He was most worried about how to combat the influence of Anglo-Saxon ways in subverting the intellectually, spiritually and physically superior Germans. Their "Deutschtum" was in danger of becoming irrevocably diluted. And here Killiani's image of Australians is significant because it conformed exactly to that of the notorious anti-British diatribe of Professor Werner Sombart from early in the Great War, namely Händler und Helden , when the innermost feelings of the educated German for England were frankly expressed[11]. For example, there was too much devotion to mind deadening sport; democratic institutions were a snare and delusion, the Australian variation being especially deleterious; worse still, good German values were not only exposed to the danger of extinction by an measures that would prevent or at least slow down the process whereby "Deutschtum" was being sucked into the Maelstrom of Australian Anglo-Saxondom.

In this context, Killiani suggested the automatic solution would be the affiliation of the German Lutheran parishes with the Prussian State Church. This would serve to unite them politically as well as theologically and thereby give some control over the nomination of pastors on whose unshakeable commitment to "Deutschtum" it all depended. Unfortunately, though, inter parish rivalries were so strong that it would have been virtually utopian to have achieved universal agreement to such a step. Some pastors wanted nothing to do with the Prussian State Church; still it would be a progressive move if even a few were prepared to affiliate. Killiani then had a confidential report prepared on the Lutheran churches in South Australia which he forwarded in April 1913. The core of the problem was the training of the pastors. Most regrettable was the fact that this was largely in the hands of American Lutherans of the Missouri Synod:

> The Australian Synod [as distinct from other Lutheran Synods] with its seminary is organized completely on Australian-American lines. They set no store by "Deutschtum". What they live and strive for is "Luthertum". They seek to retain the German language only for understanding Luther's original texts (cf. "Kirchboten"), not, however, out of political or national interest.[...] We regret very much that the Australian Synod contributes nothing more to the advancement of "Deutschtum" [12].

Kiliani's proffered solution was, in the light of the passionate division among Australian Lutherans quite illusory. The total Prussianization of the Lutherans in Australia was firstly not desired by the people, and secondly, the funding required to staff a seminary that would conform to the scholarly and ideological standards of those in Prussia would scarcely have been forthcoming from Berlin. This, of course, Killiani appreciated, so he moved to his back up position which was to advocate the sending of a high ranking Prussian Church official to inspect the German schools and churches in Australia and to assess them as a basis for maintaining "Deutschtum". To initiate this, Killiani urged the sending of Pastor Treuz of St. Andrew's Church, Wickham Terrace, Brisbane, directly to the Kaiser to outline the situation[13]. (The potency of these efforts ought not to go unnoticed; the Kaiser was the summus episcopus of the Prussian State Church and so every link forged with that church strengthened the bonds between German Australians and the Reich. Indeed, the aim was clearly to get them to identify more with Germany than with the decadent British Empire). These steps became all the more urgent because of the imputed machinations of the Missouri Synod Lutherans to frustrate all efforts to extend this kind of nationalist "Deutschtum" in their churches and schools. An illustration of just how split the rival Lutheran groups were on this question is provided by the ill fated attempt in 1913 by the honorary

German consul in Brisbane, Dr. Eugen Hirschfeld, to set up a German Language Association, something which landed him a little later in unimaginable difficulties[14]. Hirschfeld conceived the idea of founding the association on 10th June 1913 to mark twenty five years of the reign of Wilhelm II, and naively sent an appeal in the most elegant German to all Lutheran churches including those of Missouri Synod affiliation. The appeal lauded the Kaiser as virtually the symbol of unity for all overseas Germans, and because his jubilee fell on a Sunday it was urged upon the pastors in Queensland to honour him with a festival sermon and to mention that the day should be commemorated by establishing a German Language Association. As Hirschfeld enthused:

> For the Germans in Queensland the Kaiser personifies the German Fatherland. We look up to him as the protector and augmenter of the German Empire and the German name.[...] And we Germans in Queensland should celebrate the jubilee by taking the initiative to contribute something to the preservation of our dear mother tongue[15].

The honorary consul then explained how he thought the association should function to popularize the knowledge of German; expenditure would be derived initially from collections in Church on 10th June 1913.

Considering the timing of the appeal in the context of the then prevailing Anglo-German relations one can only conclude that Hirschfeld's enthusiasm for "Deutschtum" had clouded his political judgement. He could scarcely have been reading the newspapers of the day very attentively. The Kaiser was about as popular in the British Empire as his cousin, George V, would have been in parts of Ireland. On receipt of Hirschfeld's appeal, the Missouri Synod sent a withering reply. While they acknowledged the person of the Kaiser as a Christian monarch, and the right of his subjects living abroad to honour him, they protested emphatically that they as British subjects, should be required to participate in the Jubilee celebrations for a foreign ruler. Further, they repudiated the idea of a German language association. As Christian pastors they saw their prime task as the pure, undistorted proclamation of the Gospel not as missionaries for German "Kultur"! Of course, they fostered the German language, but only insofar as it served their purpose of bringing the truths of the Gospel closer to their Lutheran flock.

Unfortunately for Hirschfeld the Missouri Synod pastors' reply was published in the church press from where it was picked up by the secular press. The honorary consul's embarrassment was so acute that he was compelled to beg the editors to hush the matter up. It meant, though, that Killiani's plan to advance the cause of "Deutschtum" had received a major set back. He could now only urge the sending of an itinerant

pro-German pastor around the country on a regular basis to maintain cultural bonds[16].

Allusion has already been made to the fact that the Consuls General prior to 1914 had been energetic promoters of a German nationalistic style of "Deutschtum" as opposed to the mere peasant style rural "Gemütlichkeit" devoid of political content. Naturally, as loyal servants of the Wilhelmine power elite they shared the common assumptions about the superiority of German "Kultur", especially over Anglo-Saxon civilization, and could therefore never endorse the proposition that a good German could really become an Australian. An overwhelming regret comes through each time it is noted that Germans have married English or Australian women or when pastors replaced German with English in their parish work. But although these highly educated and otherwise rational officials could analyse statistics and even acknowledge that "Deutschtum" was virtually doomed to extinction, they still clung defiantly to the belief that somehow it was of crucial importance to keep fostering it. This is the very point made by Professor Johannes Voigt from his investigation of the German National Festival in Sydney prior to 1914 [17]. Instead of using the occasion to promote German Australian cordiality, the Consuls General encouraged it as an opportunity to infuse into the German-Australians a decidedly Pan German spirit. This can only be attributed to the "unspoken assumption" that sooner or later a kind of social Darwinistic struggle for world domination would have to take place between the ageing, moribund and essentially frivolous British civilization and the youthful, vigorous and spiritually superior German Empire. One could, perhaps, call it a policy of "world revolutionary attentisme"! [18]

II

The nervously anticipated global conflict erupted in due course, and for German Australians it proved to be, as Gerhard Fischer has so sensitively portrayed, their darkest chapter[19]. In a real sense they were the hapless victims of the official "Deutschtumspolitik", though this in no way excuses the absurdities and outrages perpetrated on harmless individuals and families by the Australian authorities. No matter how German-Australians behaved they could land in internment. If, for example, like H.F. Niemeyer they cultivated what might be termed a pious peasant obscurantism quite remote from the realities of power politics they could be interned. If like Pastor Gutekunst of Toowoomba, they really believed Germany to be an instrument of God's will on Earth leaving it entirely, of course, to the Almighty to guide Germany's sword, meaning it was not necessary to engage in any anti-British conspiracy, they were interned. If they were simply successful businessmen such as the naturalized Carl Zoeller of Brisbane, they, too,

could be arrested at the whim of the minister for defence and ultimately deported for life[20]. In short, if they were remotely associated with "Deutschtum", were prominent in some way, the undiscriminating authorities could act against them. None was interned for an indictable offence against the State only for their association with "Deutschtum".

Both official Australian policy and the German conduct of the war ensured an enduring anti-German feeling deep in the Australian community. W.M. Hughes, for example, wanted every vestige of "Deutschtum", cultural as well as commercial, eradicated from Australian soil. The war-time animus generated towards the enemy was so virulent that it spilled over until well after the Peace Treaty was signed so that it was 1926 before a German Consul General was re-admitted to represent the fledgling German parliamentary republic. Dr. Hans Buesing clearly had a difficult task; he was extremely puzzled by the continued bitterness of Australians towards his country, especially as Britain and France had relatively quickly resumed normal diplomatic relations. He complained, too, that even educated Australian politicians still believed in sole German war guilt despite the concerted effort of public relations by the Weimar Republic to convince the world at large that such a charge was a gross miscarriage of international justice. Why else would the country erect a statue of Edith Cavell to commemorate a German atrocity as late as 1926? The negative impact of pre war "Deutschtumspolitik" was everywhere to be seen. German place names had been altered, the German clubs had only been allowed to re-open years after the war, people of German origin had Anglicized their names and consciously dissociated themselves from their "Deutschtum". Pre-war German firms were still negotiating for the return of their confiscated assets, not to mention the fact that notable German-Australians were still barred re-entry from exile (e.g. Eugen Hirschfeld and Carl Zoeller)[21].

Against this dismal background, Buesing sought to reconstruct a positive "Deutschtumspolitik". He analysed the broken building blocks after a formal visit to the German Club in Brisbane in 1929 where he was accorded an enthusiastic welcome, not only by the club's members but by government officials and other consuls. He reflected later that nobody really cared anymore about the Reich in distant Europe. The overriding concern had been to emphasize the fact that the Germans in Australia had been responsible for outstanding pioneering achievements. They may have been German originally, but now they had become good Australians. Now, in 1929, nobody minded if they used their old language in either church or folk festivals, and noted Buesing with thinly veiled sarcasm, 'It is permitted that they cultivate a certain sentimental, somewhat nebulous and thoroughly platonic attachment to their old fatherland' [22].

The prospects of reviving even a semblance of pre 1914 enthusiasm

for "Deutschtum" seemed bleak indeed, especially when on tour of towns in districts of German settlement where the war memorials listed, "far too many good German names" [23]. Given this situation, Buesing recommended that the old style "Deutschtumspolitik" be replaced by a "Kultur-propaganda", the aim of which would simply be to convince the various segments of the German community that they should be just as proud of their homeland as British-Australians were of theirs. Germany was, after all, a great cultural nation, and the war, of course, had been everybody's fault, not just the Germans'.

Back in the mid 'twenties and early 1930s it simply made good commercial sense to prosecute a cultural propaganda which would assist in normalizing German-Australian relations. Any suggestion of wanting to win the Germans back to the Fatherland was strictly to be avoided. For example, when a German language scholar, Professor Carl Schneider, later of Königsberg University, lecturing to the then two Lutheran Synods on behalf of the Gustav Adolf Verein to promote the idea of a formal affiliation with the German Lutheran Church, he succeeded only in exacerbating the estrangement in Australian German relations[24]. It now sufficed to project the image of Germany as a great cultural nation. The hundredth anniversary of Goethe's death in 1932 provided just such an opportunity. But the Germany of the turbulent end phase of the Weimar Republic was "light years" removed from the politically tranquil Biedermeier era of Goethe's declining years. The news of the rise of the Nazi party swamped any impact which the recollection of Goethe could possible have had[25].

There had, however, been one "visitor" in 1928 whose recommendations were to be followed up with enthusiasm. That was the cruiser "Berlin" which called at Fremantle and whose officers and men had not only been warmly welcomed by the citizens of Perth but also by the highest government officials and the business community. Her captain waxed eloquent that such visits by warships would achieve positive results for the prestige of Germany and for the self esteem of the local German community[26]. Subsequently, in 1932 the cruiser "Köln" was dispatched on a world tour to include the Australian ports of Adelaide, Melbourne, Hobart and Sydney. The vessel arrived, however, after the momentous events of January 1933 in the Fatherland. Departing as an emissary of a democratic republic, the "Köln" arrived under the sinister aegis of the Third Reich. Nevertheless, the tour was so successful from the point of view of "Deutschtumspolitik" that an officer produced a glossy volume depicting the voyage devoting some twenty seven pages to Australia full of profound observations about the essential mediocrity of Australians. While the country produced a healthy, natural, life affirming type of people, they were spiritually and intellectually impoverished. They were, after all, just like their vast country, essentially empty! More ominously, though, when steaming

out of Sydney Harbour on 15 May 1933 the "Köln" exchanged salutes with the cruisers, "Australia" and "Canberra". "A solemn moment of farewell of two nations", reflected the observing German officer. "How will they meet again?" [27]. However, before the half expected return contest of arms one more German cruiser was to visit Australia, exactly one year later for the purpose of inspiring yet more pride in German Australians for their "Deutschtum". That was the "Karlsruhe" which was expressly to call at Brisbane, the main purpose of which was to make contact with as many of the surrounding German communities as possible. The crew made excursions to such localities as Beenleigh, Boonah and Dugandan. A point was made to conduct memorial services at Anzac monuments[28].

III

As indicated, Dr. Hans Buesing was replaced by Dr. Rudolf Asmis in 1932, i.e. before Hitler's seizure of power. However, as a conscientious Prussian German official he eagerly set about serving his new masters transforming his predecessor's bland "Kulturpropaganda" into a re-vitalized "Deutschtumspolitik" according to the philosophy of the "New Germany" [29]. Indeed, the rejuvenated national feeling in the Reich could not permit the dying out of enclaves of "Deutschtum" throughout the world. It was a virtual obligation to rescue these for the Fatherland. Of course, Dr. Asmis continued his predecessor's policy of projecting Germany as a great cultural nation, though now returned as a major force to the community of Great Powers. However, Asmis was astute enough to observe, as did German civilian visitors sent out to survey commercial possibilities in 1935, that a pronounced Nazi "Deutschtumspolitik" in Australia would be counter productive. Such low key visits of warships to stimulate the feeling of "Waffenbrüderschaft" (brotherhood of arms), as well as the sensational flight, crash and rescue of the aviators Hans Bertram and his co-pilot in 1932, had had positive results, it seemed, in promoting the image of Germany. By 1935, however, given the very negative press coverage of events in Germany and the arrival of Jewish refugees, Dr. Asmis was finding it very difficult to project Germany as a great cultural nation. How could he win the German-Australians for the Third Reich if the Fatherland was portrayed as a brutal, racist, anti- democratic country[30] ? What German-Australians could openly declare their pride in being of German extraction? Not even the famous Nazi propaganda film, 'Triumph of the Will', shown here in 1936 could really contribute to arousing their pride in the "New Germany" or impress Anglo-Australians[31].

It is in solving this dilemma that the von Luckner tour of May to September 1938 is, I suggest, to be understood. Dr. Asmis' task had been rendered additionally difficult by a chain of events in which he was undoubtedly involved. His carefully planned policy of using every

opportunity to project a positive image of the Third Reich had received the most serious set-back imaginable from the quarter he should least have expected it, viz. the Department of History of the University of Sydney. In 1937 Professor Stephen Henry Roberts published his remarkable book, The House that Hitler Built, which proved to be the most devastating indictment of the Nazi Regime. The work became an instant world-wide success and earned for Stephen Roberts the reputation of being perhaps the foremost authority in the English speaking world on the subject of National Socialism. It also reinforced his already established reputation as a regular news commentator on Sydney radio stations for world affairs. With such a high profile academic propagating an emphatically negative image of Germany to the Australian public Dr. Asmis must have felt profoundly frustrated. This would have been acutely so in the person of Stephen Roberts of whom Asmis had every expectation of being favourably inclined to Germany. His mother was a German-Australian, and Roberts as a boy had actually spoken German with his grandfather[32].

In addition, Roberts had been invited to publish a series of articles on Australia's place in the world (specifically concerning commercial relations outside the British Empire) in the magazine which Asmis had recently established to improve knowledge about the "New Germany" in Australia, viz. Die Bruecke (Vol. I, Nos. 21 & 22, July 1934). So, in the Consul General's mind Professor Roberts had to appear as a most suitable Australian to give an unbiassed opinion of the Third Reich. The Robert's papers left in the Archives of Sydney University no longer contain the correspondence which must have taken place between Asmis and the Professor when the latter was arranging to spend most of the year 1936 in Germany on sabbatical leave. Ostensibly, Roberts was travelling as the emissary of the Premier of N.S.W., Sir Bertram Stevens, to survey the possibilities of improving trade relations between that State and Germany, and the Roberts' papers contain the records of his numerous appointments with the most senior Reich officials in charge of trade and commerce[33].

Clearly, if Dr. Asmis had thought that Professor Roberts' extensive tour of the Third Reich was going to make his task in Australia an easier one, he must have been bitterly disappointed. "The House that Hitler Built", published already in 1937 so angered the Fuehrer that not only was Roberts declared persona non grata, his name was placed on a long list of personages in the British Commonwealth to be executed once the Nazis had taken over! [34]. At any rate, one thing was certain: the appearance of Roberts' book throughout the world virtually negated any chance of reviving a credible "Deutschtumspolitik" in Australia. It did not, however, deter Reich policy. The von Luckner tour had, of course, been already planned, and, indeed it had gotten underway before the Roberts book had appeared. It is, therefore, not possible to

conclude that Dr. Asmis had suggested the tour to counteract the negative impact of Professor Roberts. Nevertheless, it is unthinkable that such a tour could have been mooted without consultation with the Consul General. From his point of view, the anti-Nazi thrust of The House that Hitler Built which got its first Australian review in the Sydney Morning Herald 20th November 1937, was added justification for a high profile public relations exercise to promote the Reich as a benign power.

Just who conceived the idea of a tour by the redoubtable Count Felix von Luckner can only be guessed at, i.e. until the files of the von Ribbentrop bureau now housed in Bonn are made accessible. There are, however, indications that the Nazi Foreign Minister, as von Ribbentrop became early 1938 after his sojourn as Ambassador in London, was involved in the scheme. That the visit was being planned did not escape the notice of British intelligence who apprised their Australian contacts well in advance. They warned that while it was meant to be a private visit, von Luckner was known to be an ardent Nazi[35]. In due course the Australian press got to know about it, and "Die Bruecke", too, ran several innocuous articles on the Count's projected voyage well in advance of his landing, 20th May 1938, in Sydney in the schooner, "Der Seeteufel".

Prior to the Count's arrival, there were various voices raised in protest, notably from elements of the Australian Left and the Jewish community against allowing such an agent of the Third Reich to land. These took the view that if the government would go to extreme lengths to try to frustrate the tour of the Czech communist, Egon Kisch, in 1934-35, they should be consistent and ban the tour of Felix von Luckner. The official reply was always that the Count was coming as a private individual. Australia was only part of a world voyage during which the old sea dog was merely visiting some of the scenes of his war time exploits and holding public lectures on these and on these only. Dr. Asmis, when approached for information about the tour replied that all he knew was what he read in the newspapers [36].

As related elsewhere, von Luckner's Australian tour was officially regarded as a strictly non political, private venture. Clearly, if he had come openly as a representative of his government, the visit would have provoked a diplomatic incident, something which Asmis had to avoid at all costs. Indeed, a week before the docking of the "Seeteufel" in Sydney the Consul General had entrained for Brisbane on his way to New Guinea on consular business! [37]

On the surface, the form of the tour was that of a series of theatrical performances in which the Count addressed paying audiences in

dozens of Australian cities and towns about his daring and gallant war time exploits as a naval raider. His experiences were legendary, the maritime Lawrence of Arabia, as Lowell Thomas had designated him[38]. Having broken through the British blockade in 1916 in a raiding vessel disguised as a Norwegian timber trader, von Luckner proceeded to destroy fourteen Allied ships without killing a man. Only a hurricane in the Pacific called an abrupt end to his rampage. The recounting of these adventures in a bluff and hearty style to Australian audiences formed the content of von Luckner's extensive tour. He studiously avoided making propaganda for the "new Germany". All he would say when asked questions about what was going on there was simply that what was appropriate in one country may not be so in another. He was not a spokesman for the "new Germany"; all he wished to do was to extend the hand of comradeship to the fighting men of the British Empire. Indeed, he insisted that the future of the world depended on the friendship of Britain and Germany, whereby Britain was the head and Germany the heart of Europe[39]. While this line of argument seemed, at least on the surface, to strike a chord of approval in some Australian circles (United Service Clubs), it provoked the hostility of the Left, and in Innisfail, for example, there was an angry demonstration of some 1200 allegedly communist cane cutters who tried to disrupt von Luckner's public lecture there. Further, a remarkably perceptive open letter to von Luckner from students at Melbourne University shows how they interpreted the real reasons for the tour, namely to stir up enthusiasm for the barbaric Third Reich. That there were some elements in Australia ready to be enthused is illustrated by the fact that when von Luckner first arrived in Brisbane by 'plane, none in the welcoming party of mostly German-Australians ventured the Nazi salute. After four days of receptions and public lectures the enthusiasm for the "New Germany" was unbounded and at von Luckner's farewell the Nazi salute was made without apparent inhibition[40].

Indeed, the tour really did give a much needed boost to Dr. Asmis' policy of winning German-Australians for the Third Reich, and here is the sinister element in the calculation, namely, to make Germany so popular in Australia that the Australian people would never again feel obliged to take up arms against such a benevolent State on the side of Britain. Certainly, not a few German Australians were deluded into believing that the aims of the Third Reich and those of the British Empire could be harmonized. The local Nazi Party membership went up significantly after the tour, something the members were to regret the very next year when arrests and internment followed[41].

IV

In this chapter, it has been attempted to illustrate that a

"Deutschtumspolitik" with the purpose, either to advance the cause of Wilhelmine "Weltpolitik" or later, Nazi world domination, as it was conceived by its authors, was grossly flawed and could only result in terrible damage being inflicted on basically harmless people who had migrated to Australia to build a better life for themselves and their children. The authors of "Deutschtumspolitik" were never content merely to donate books to schools and universities or to promote tours by German artists and writers, they wanted to capture the hearts and minds of at least all German-Australians for political ideologies which were indefensible.

In short, the continuity of the idea of a German mission to the world based on the force of arms and then a master race theory reinforced by and rooted in the conviction of the inherent superiority of German "Bildung" and "Kultur" which all the Consuls General endorsed and pursued, found its culmination in the tour of a reputedly gallant German naval hero because it was thought that such a sporting old sea dog whose colourful past included an adventurous sojourn in Australia as a sixteen year old youth (when he worked his way from Perth to Brisbane) was exactly the right kind of German to win over the simple minded, superficial, culturally impoverished but basically good natured and trusting Australians[42].

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2. *John A. Moses*, "German/Australian Cultural Policy and the Count von Luckner Visit to Queensland in 1938" in The German Presence in Queensland edited by Manfred Jurgensen & Alan Corkhill (Brisbane, Department of German, University of Queensland, 1988) pp. 89-112.

3. *V.R. Berghahn*, Der Tirpitz Plan, Genesis und Verfall einer innenpolitischen Krisenstrategie (Duesseldorf, 1972) and "Die Pläne des Herrn von Tirpitz" Journal für Geschichte (1982) Heft 3, p. 7. As well, see P.M. Kennedy, "The Development of German Naval Operational Plans against England, 1896-1914" in "The War Plans of the Great Powers", edited by P.M. Kennedy, (London, 1979), pp. 171-198.

4. In *Veit Brause*, "Australia as an 'object' in nineteenth Century World Affairs: The Example of the German Consular Representation in the Australian Colonies", Australian Journal of Politics and History XXXIV No. 2, (1988).

5. Idem. see footnote 66 plus text thereto.

6. Idem. see footnotes 68 & 69 plus text thereto. On a closely related subject, see R.B. Walker, "Some Social and Political Aspects of German Settlement in Australia to 1914", Journal of the Royal Australian Historical Society Vol. 61, Pt. I, pp. 26 40.

7. See *Gerhard Fischer*, "The Darkest Chapter: Internment and Deportation of Enemy Aliens in Queensland 1914 1920" in The German Presence ... pp. 22-52. Raymond Evans, "The Pen and the Sword. Anti Germanism in Queensland during the Great War, and The Worker", in The German Presence ... pp. 3-21.

8. Irmer to Reich Chancellor 30/8/1910 L26655 92 (Reel 274). This and the following citings of the Consuls' General reports are taken from the microfilm copies of the German Foreign Offic documents donated to the Australian National Library. [Irmer clearly had the most optimistic views about the potential of "Deutschtumspolitik" in Australia. In a public lecture held in Berlin (reported by the Vossische Zeitung 14/12/1913) he claimed there were a good 100,000 German Australians who wished to "remain German".]

9. Idem.

10. Killiani to Reich Chancellor 1/2/1913 L266610 28 (Reel 274).

11. *Werner Sombart*, Händler und Helden, Patriotische Besinnungen, (München-Leipzig, 1915). Here the famous professor of economics draws a distinct contrast between the essentially heroic, chivalric and profoundly spiritual/philosophical German character and the frivolous, sport loving, superficial and commercial/mercenary English character.

12. Killiani to Reich Chancellor 9/3/1913 L266646 47 (Reel 274).

13. Killiani to Reich Chancellor 12/8/1913 L266687/88 (Reel 274) and ditto 5/9/1913 L266664, and Hirschfeld to Evangelischer Oberkirchenrat Berlin 26/8/1913 L66666 (Reel 274).

14. Killiani to Reich Chancellor 12/8/1913 (as in note 13).

15. Hirschfeld's text as cited by Killiani in his report 12. August, 1913. See also Gerhard Fischer's evaluation of this incident in "The Darkest Chapter...." pp. 41-50.

16. Idem.

17. *Johannes Voigt*, "Das deutsche Nationalfest in Sydney vor dem ersten Weltkrieg" in New Beginnings ... pp. 139-148.

18. The phrase, "revolutionary attentisme" was coined by Professor Dieter Groh to characterise the the attitude of the German Social Democratic Party prior to 1914. Its leaders were convinced by virtue of their Marxist ideology that all they had to do was to wait patiently, continuing their parliamentary and trade union activities in the normal way, and when the revolution errupted, they would be ready to assume the leadership of society. In a remarkably similar way the Hegelian historicism of the conservative German "Bildungsbürgertum" (i.e. educated middle class) together with the Wilhelmine "power elite" genuinely believed that the final imperialist division of the world would be decided in an inevitable great conflict between Germany and her allies on the one hand and those powers who were so misguided as to resist German expansion throughout the world. Cf. Dieter Groh, "Negative Integration und revolutionärer Attentismus", Die deutsche Sozialdemokratie am Vorabend des ersten Weltkrieges. (Frankfurt am Main,1973).

19. See above, Note No. 7.

20. On the Zoeller case, see Robert Paterson. Internee 1/5126 (Annerley, Brisbane, 1983).

21. On Hirschfeld, see also *Johannes Voigt*, "A Man of Two Nations: Dr. Eugen Hirschfeld(1866 1946)" in New Beginnings ... pp. 130-138.

22. For a more complete analysis of Buesing's assessment, see *John A. Moses*, "German/Australian Cultural Policy..." p. 92 f.

23. Idem.

24. Mentioned in Dr. C.R. Hennings "Reisebericht Australien" L262272 76 (Reel 269). Hennings toured Australia on behalf of the Hamburg East Asian Association for purposes of trade, 17/9 1/12/1935. His report, placed at the disposal of the Consul General, was forwarded to Berlin and contained numerous observations about the condition of "Deutschtum" in Australia. Clearly, he saw no future in efforts from Germany to manipulate Lutheran synods in Australia in the interests of German cultural policy. Organizational affiliations with German synods were definitely not desired by Australian Lutherans.

25. On the Australian press response to the triumph of National Socialism in Germany, see *M.B. Hayne*, "Australian Reaction to Hitler's Accession to Power, February June 1933" Journal of the Royal Australian Historical Society Vol. 71, Pt I, June 1985, pp. 59-74.

26. Kolbe to Auswärtiges Amt reporting on the visit of the cruiser "Berlin" to Fremantle/Perth 28/8 - 12/9/28. L259658 (Reel 266). . Understandably, Kolbe stressed the impact that naval visits would have on raising the prestige of Germany and at the same time of restoring the pride German Australians in the land of their forefathers. Asmis echoed these very same views in a report dated as late as 28/10/37 to the Auswärtiges Amt.

27. *Hans Fuchs*, Heimkehr ins Dritte Reich. Die Weltreise des Kreuzers Köln zwischen zwei Epochen der deutschen Geschichte, (Dresden, 1933) pp. 67 & 89.

28. See the photographic record of this visit to south-east Queensland by the crew of the "Karlsruhe" located in the Oxley Library, Brisbane.

29. On Asmis, see *John Perkins*, "Dr. Rudolf Asmis and the 'Rescue of Deutschtum' in Australia in the 1930's" Journal of the Royal Australian Historical Society Vol. 73, No. 4 (1988) pp. 296-312.

30. Cf. *Konrad Kwiet*, "Responses of Australian Jewry's Leadership to the Holocaust" in Jews in the Sixth Continent edited by W.D. Rubinstein (Allen & Unwin, Australia, 1987), p. 203.

31. Cf. reports in the Sydney Bulletin 19/2/1936 and Smiths Weekly 25/2/1936 which critically analyse the Nazi regime as portrayed in Leni Riefenstahl's famous film, "Triumph des Willens". Also at the same time, the American "March of Time" documentary film which covered the Third Reich was circulating in Australian cinemas. Both films served, understandably, to intensify the negative.

32. On Roberts' career, see *D.V.R. Wood*, Stephen Henry Roberts, Historian and Vice Chancellor: A Short Biography. (Sydney University Monograph, No. 2, 1986).

33. Roberts Papers University of Sydney Archives.

34. Idem.

35. See the relevant document in the appendices to *John A. Moses*, "German/Australian Cultural Policy...." p. 103f.

36. Idem, p. 98.

37. Idem.

38. *Lowell Thomas*, The Sea Devil ; The Story of Count Felix von Luckner, the German War Raider (London, 1929).

39. See *John A. Moses*, "German/Australian Cultural Policy..." p. 100.

40. Courier Mail (Brisbane), 28/6/1938.

41. For information about Australian policy towards German born residents at the out break of the Second World War see Kay Saunders, "Enemies of the Empire? The Internment of Germans in Queensland during the Second World War" in The German Presence in Queensland ... pp. 53 72.

42. Felix von Luckner's adventures as a youth are portrayed in his autobiography, Seeteufel: Abenteuer aus meinem Leben (Leipzig, 1928 & München, 1984). See also Lowell Thomas' version note 38.

* *I wish here to record my indebtedness to Dr. Ian Harmstorf for his kind cooperation in drawing my attention to the microfilm series of German Foreign Office records relating to Australia now available for research from the Australian National Library without which this chapter could not have been written.*

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Ian Harmstorf (M.A., Adelaide), (Ph.D., Flinders), was born in 1936. After graduating in History from the University of Adelaide, he taught as a high school teacher in England, Germany and Italy and for the United States Armed Forces in Germany. His Masters degree, began in 1967 on German migration to South Australia, was completed in Australia where he was appointed to the now South Australian College of Advanced Education in 1971. He was co-author of *The Barossa Survey* (1976), *The Hahndorf Survey*, (1979) and *The Germans in Australia* (1985). He has frequently appeared in Australian and German film and radio documentaries as well as having published numerous articles on the Germans in Australia.

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Bernard O'Neill (M.A., Adelaide) was born in 1956 at Mt. Gambier, S.A. and is a consultant historian based at Klemzig, the site of an early German settlement near Adelaide. He has tutored at the University of Adelaide and been a research assistant there as well as at the S.A. College of Advanced Education. He contributed to the Australian Bicentennial series, *Australians: a historical library* (1987) and was involved in preparing a two-volume text, *Living in South Australia: a social history*. His M.A. thesis, *In search of Mineral Wealth: The S.A. Geological Survey and Department of Mines to 1944*, was published in 1982. He has written on Menge for a forthcoming edition of the *Neue Deutsche Biographie*.

Pauline Payne (B.A., Dip. Soc. Stud., Dip. Pub.& Soc.Admin.) (née Schomburgk) was born at Waikerie, South Australia in 1939. After training to be a social worker at the Universities of Adelaide and Oxford, she practised in the fields of social work practice, teaching and research and community development. In 1984 she took early retirement and began research for a biography of Dr. Richard Schomburgk, which led to her Ph.D. candidature in the University of Adelaide. In 1988 she was awarded a research grant by the Australian Garden Society to write on the development of the Adelaide Botanic Gardens during the period of Dr. Schomburgk's directorship.

Carola Robson (B.A.) (née Chlap) was born in Cloppenburg, Niedersachsen, F.R. Germany in 1947 and emigrated to Australia with her parents in 1951. A graduate of the University of Queensland and a teacher of High School German and History in Townsville, North Queensland, Carola has returned to Germany on several occasions, including a memorable visit to Düsseldorf with her husband Dr. Robert Robson, a physicist and an Alexander von Humboldt Fellow in 1979-80.

Margaret Rose (Ph.D.), (F.A.H.A.) is the T.R. Ashworth Reader in the Faculty of Arts at the University of Melbourne. She first took up an Alexander von Humboldt Fellowship in 1978 to pursue research in Düsseldorf and Konstanz. She has written on subjects which include the History of Ideas, Social Theory and the History of Art. Her books include *Die Parodie in Heine* (1976), *Reading the Young Marx and Engels* (1978), *Parody/Meta-Fiction* (1979), *Marx's Lost Aesthetic* (1984) and *Victorian Artists* (1988). Her paternal great-grandfather was a member of the German Union to which belonged several of the Victorian admirers of von Humboldt mentioned in her article.

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