



THE PATHFINDERS

A History of Australian Lutheran Schooling

1919-1999

R J HAUSER

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To all those who serve in Lutheran schools.

*“Let’s send men ahead of us to spy out the land,
so that they can tell us the best route to take.”*

Deuteronomy 1:22

Foreword

With Lutheran schools in Australia rapidly approaching their 175th anniversary in 2014, Lutheran Education Australia is endeavouring to list every Lutheran school that has ever existed and operated since 1839 – the year records best indicate we began with Nundah (Qld), Adelaide Parklands(SA), Klemzig (SA) and Glen Osmond (SA). This comprehensive list of all Lutheran schools, their locations and years of existence, will eventually feature in two ways. The first will be with the provision of an Australian Lutheran School Honour Board to be positioned in the National Office of the Lutheran Church of Australia. The second will be to place this list on the various Lutheran education websites as a significant reminder of our past and a key reference point for our future.

In a deliberate but similarly important way, Richard Hauser has been commissioned by Lutheran Education Australia to further his tales of the history of Australian Lutheran schooling, which began in 2009 with the publishing of *The Patriarchs: A History of Australian Lutheran Schooling 1839-1919*, and importantly continues with this second book titled *The Pathfinders: A History of Australian Lutheran Schooling 1919 – 1999*. In this second volume Richard Hauser writes about the challenges, achievements and daily grinds that several key Lutheran educators faced, taking in the period 1919 to 1999. In their life's journey each of these people gave a service to the Lutheran Church and to Lutheran schools which was unique, but clearly symbolises the service which thousands of other Lutheran educators have also given.

Both *Patriarchs* and *Pathfinders* explore the uniqueness of each individual written about as well as the special contribution that Lutheran education and its people have brought to the Lutheran Church and to Australian society. Richard Hauser uses words such as determination, loyalty, courage, faithfulness, passion, persistence and even stubbornness to describe this Lutheran uniqueness; those of us who have known some of the people written about can certainly smile knowing the accuracy of his words and the authentic portraits of the people described.

I thank Richard Hauser for capturing the human qualities and struggles faced by the people in *Pathfinders*. In doing so in such an honest, intelligent and reflective manner, he provides the reader with a deep appreciation of the contributions such a diverse range of Lutheran educators have made. Additionally, the reader gains a clear reflection of Richard Hauser's own contributions to Lutheran schools. For the stories he has told will live on and on, to provide a future source and path for those well beyond 2012.

I say thank you to Richard Hauser for treasuring our schools and honouring their people. He has given them the respect they have deserved, but did not seek. So we also acknowledge his service to us.

May God continue to bless all who serve in Lutheran schools.

Stephen Rudolph

Executive Director, Lutheran Education Australia

December 2011

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The limitations and failings of this work, naturally, are my own.

R J Hauser

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CHAPTER 1

Introduction: The Unclear Way

“He has hidden my path in darkness.” Job 19:8

This is a book about Lutherans and their schools in Australia. More specifically it deals with the eighty years of that history from 1919 to 1999. It is the second volume of an attempt to provide a comprehensive history of Australian Lutheran schooling. It draws together data from both primary and secondary sources in order to produce an integrated coverage. It starts just after World War I when Lutheran schools were at an historical low. The first great wave of Lutheran schooling which had reached its full height at the end of the nineteenth century was now dissipating on the harsh rocks of anti-German sentiment that accompanied the war. Only a handful of Lutheran schools remained. However, by the end of the twentieth century the Lutheran school movement was once again on the rise and reaching the peak of a second great wave that continued into the third millennium. Despite the years of war and depression the Lutheran schooling movement demonstrated a remarkable resilience, fuelled partly by government funds but also by its own intrinsic qualities which proved attractive to a wide range of Australian families. This book concentrates on the second wave that culminated in the Lutheran schooling system which, by the end of the twentieth century, was larger and better respected than ever. In 1919, however, its way was unclear; its future uncertain. This book tells the story of how in the next eighty years it found a broader and surer path.

Through Hard Times

In the years after World War I there emerged two major groupings of Lutherans in Australia. The one was the result of amalgamations, over a period of time, among various Lutheran synods to form the United Evangelical Lutheran Church in Australia (UELCA) in 1921. The other was a synod which had grown out of South Australia and was called the Evangelical Lutheran Synod of Australia (ELSA) which changed its name to the Evangelical Lutheran Church in Australia (ELCA) in 1944. In 1919 the ELSA had a membership of 17 374 people. Two years later when the UELCA came into being its membership numbered 12 710. By 1944 when the ELSA became the ELCA its membership had grown to 28 468 (including New Zealand) spread over 239 congregations and an extra 133 preaching places served by ninety-nine pastors. In

contrast the UELCA, which had made further amalgamations along the way, comprised a membership of 29 544 distributed amongst 323 congregations and preaching places ministered to by ninety-seven pastors. Just before the two synods united to form the Lutheran Church of Australia (LCA) in 1966, the ELCA had grown to a membership of 51 875 and the UELCA to 63 233. The original split in Australian Lutheranism had occurred way back at the Bethany synod in 1846 and even though the years of World War I had brought the Lutheran synods closer as they closed ranks in the face of public hostility to their German background, any union between the two bodies was still a long way from being realised. In 1936, for instance, the ELSA published a list of the theological issues which still divided them. These included different understandings about the inspiration of the Scriptures, whether or not the Pope was the Anti-Christ of Revelation, the status of Sunday in church life and worship, whether congregations alone had the right to call pastors, to what extent human will was involved in conversion, different takes on the doctrine of predestination, divergent understandings of the relationship between Christ's incarnation and state of humiliation, the status of the Lutheran Confessions and, finally, church fellowship. By the 1960s the major issue that remained was the last one. The ELCA, influenced by the Lutheran Church Missouri Synod in the United States, was strongly anti-unionistic. It opposed any fellowship or amalgamation between church bodies which had significant differences in doctrine. The UELCA membership of the Lutheran World Federation (LWF) was a major impediment for the ELCA. This problem was overcome, finally, when both synods withdrew from their respective alliances with other churches, including the ELCA from its close ties with the Missouri Synod.¹

Both major Lutheran synods historically operated schools, but by 1919 there were only a handful of them left in Australia. Those that had existed in Queensland in the nineteenth century had not survived the challenge of competition from the state schools which had become available from 1875 onwards. All the Lutheran congregational schools in South Australia had been closed down during World War I because their use of the German language and their German background connected them to a national enemy. Only the two higher education institutions, Concordia College in Malvern (ELSA) and Immanuel College at Point Pass (Immanuel Synod), were allowed to continue operations. In southern New South Wales two country schools (ELSA) in Jindera and Trungley Hall continued to function as well. The main group of schools which still maintained their existence despite the war and the hostility of some sections of the Australian community were a cluster of ELSA primary schools in western Victoria. They had survived the advent of state schools; they had survived the opposition of political voices in the media, parliament and society; they had survived the German language ban; and they had even survived the loss of support from some of their own people. These little country schools situated in Tarrington (Hochkirch), Katyil, Kewell, Minyip (Kirchheim), Lake Linlithgow, Ni Ni Well, Tabor, Warrayure, Pella and Vectis East struggled on through the vicissitudes of the period into the post World War I world providing a modest glimmer of hope for the survival of the system.²

The loss of momentum was deadly to the cause. There were forty-nine primary schools belonging to Lutheran congregations in South Australia with a combined enrolment of over 1 600 students which were closed down by the law enacted in 1917. Twenty-two

of these belonged to the congregations which would make up the UELCA, and twenty-seven to the ELSA. Because it no longer had any primary schools at all, the emerging UELCA discontinued its program of teacher training at Immanuel. Even though it still maintained schools in Victoria and New South Wales, such training in the ELSA was abandoned at Concordia as well given that it now had so many teachers without a job. After the closure of the South Australian schools in June 1917 many congregations continued to pay their teachers at least until the end of the year, but most could not maintain this effort for any longer than that. Some of the teachers went to serve in state schools, others continued to be employed part time by their congregations to run Saturday and Sunday schools. At least one decided to study theology. However, most of them took up places in the work force storekeeping, farming, doing clerical work and teaching music. Only one went over to Victoria to fill a vacancy in a Lutheran school there. In 1919 there were merely thirteen Lutheran primary teachers left in charge of 434 students in the whole of Australia. Even in those schools that remained open, numbers were down and morale was low. There was a continuing campaign from various quarters, including the newly formed Returned Soldiers League (RSL), for the closure of all Lutheran schools. Church leaders were active in defending the loyalty and patriotism of Lutheran schools where “prayers for the Sovereign and the government” were a regular feature of school life. Despite this some Lutheran parents bowed to the pressure and enrolled their children in state schools. In the Lutheran schools that remained open the banning of the German language meant that the traditional catechisms and hymn books and Bibles could no longer be used. The outlook for the Lutheran school movement was grim indeed.³



Light's Pass Lutheran School 1930s.

The legislation prohibiting the operation of Lutheran primary schools in South Australia was repealed in 1924. At the end of 1926, as a sign of new hope, two teachers graduated from Concordia in Adelaide to serve in ELSA schools. Gradually a trickle of Lutheran primary schools began to re-emerge in South Australia. Some of the more significant ones were in Eudunda in 1925, South Kilkerran in 1926, Gawler in 1928, Kunden in 1929, Lobethal and Springhead in 1930 and Lyndoch in 1935. In New South Wales a Lutheran school opened in Henty in 1930. These were all ELSA schools. In the UELCA there seemed to be little interest in opening Lutheran primary schools again until the arrival of Karl Muetzelfeldt from Germany in 1934. He joined the staff at Immanuel Seminary and began to advocate for a revival of the primary school tradition in the UELCA. He also resurrected the teacher's class at Immanuel Seminary. Soon after the UELCA began to open primary schools again, the first at Light's Pass in 1936 followed by three more in 1938 at Tanunda, Appila and Loxton. Besides one very small rural school at Downfall Creek in western Queensland in 1940 these constituted the modest resurgence of Lutheran schools between the end of World War I and the end of World War II. There were three main reasons for the small number: a strong anti-German feeling persisted in Australian society for most of the period; times were tough economically; there was no government funding allocated to support independent schools. After World War II there was a gradual growth of support for Lutheran schools in some church quarters as the national outlook brightened. Four new colleges appeared in the next two decades, two established within the UELCA, St Peters in Brisbane (1945) and St Paul's at Walla Walla in the New South Wales Riverina (1948), while the ELCA established Concordia in Toowoomba (1946), and Luther in Melbourne (1964). In the same period eleven Lutheran primary schools were established, seven of them operated by the ELCA, which continued its predominance at this level of schooling. In 1966 the UELCA and ELCA united to become the LCA. This coincided with a period when governments at state and federal levels were increasingly providing programs of financial support for independent schools. The increased participation in secondary schooling in a society where education was a



Immanuel Seminary and College Faculty 1938:

Back: S Held, JE Auricht, A Doecke, C Kurtz, P Pfeiffer

Front: GA Keller, K Muetzelfeldt, JP Löhe, W Riedel, WC Schneider

passport to social mobility, as well as community concerns about standards in state schools, ensured a burgeoning support for independent schools. There was also a growing movement among Christian parents to provide their own faith based schools. Lutheran schools were carried along by these forces and the next three decades were a boom period for them. Between 1970 and 2000 no less than sixty Lutheran schools were established and these included thirteen colleges offering a secondary education. The hard times were over. The unclear road had broadened into a bright, wide highway.⁴

The Australian Setting

During the last eight decades of the twentieth century Lutheran schools in Australia underwent a major transformation. The same is true of the society in which they existed and which they sought to serve. For understanding the context of Lutheran schooling in this period, it is an essential exercise to sketch in the wider Australian historical setting within which these developments took place.

Just as the Lutheran school system emerged from World War I irrevocably changed, the same was true of Australian society. Australians came out of World War I with a new sense of identity, a national pride forged at Gallipoli and the trench warfare in Europe and epitomised by their fiery prime minister, Billy Hughes, who ensured that Australia's voice was heard in postwar conferences and on the global stage. Over 35 000 soldiers returned from war with a broader and grimmer perspective on life, and some took up farming opportunities offered by a grateful government. They formed the RSL which established social clubs and provided its members with a political voice. Trade unions became more active and increasingly flexed their muscles in strike action. The place of women in society had changed, as they donned shorter skirts and very gradually, but in increasing numbers, went to university, joined the police force, won seats in parliament, drove cars, took up smoking, became doctors and moved from domestic service to light industry. Technological change filtered into Australian society at large and into Australian homes in particular. During the 1920s electricity and the appliances it powered began to appear in domestic settings. People could listen to *Dad and Dave* on the wireless or go to the pictures. They could buy ice cream and corn flakes at the local shop. Motor cars and airplanes were becoming commonplace. The safety net of social welfare had its first strands woven in place as Queensland introduced the concept of a living wage as well as unemployment insurance. New South Wales pioneered the provision of the widow's pension and child endowment. It was generally agreed that Australia had the potential to accommodate a hundred million people and there was a need to "populate or perish". So more than a quarter of a million British migrants were added to the Australian population which grew from 5.3 million in 1919 to 6.4 million in 1929. The federal government had gained in power and status as it directed the war effort. In 1927 it moved to Canberra and in the 1928 referendum gained control of the nation's financial system. In isolated areas, and on the fringes of urban society, Australia's 60 000 Aborigines suffered ongoing non-citizenship and general neglect.⁵

Billy Hughes, the "little digger", who had deserted the Australian Labor Party (ALP) in 1917 and formed a new Nationalist Party with members drawn from both sides of parliament, had lost his popularity with the Australian people and his own colleagues

and was forced to give way to the urbane Stanley Bruce as prime minister in 1923. In 1929 the ALP under Scullin returned to government at a time when the economic slide into the Great Depression had already started. For the next four years Australia, along with the rest of the world, struggled through a dire period of economic downturn where unemployment reached a peak of twenty-eight percent in 1932 and many Australians became not only jobless but homeless as well, lining up in the dole queues for survival. In 1931 the divided Scullin government was replaced by Joseph Lyons and his new United Australia Party (UAP) administration. While fascist regimes began to emerge in Europe and the threat of another war darkened the horizon, the Australian government, characterised by political stagnation and lack of direction, hoped for peace to continue as the country gradually emerged from the Depression. The people were buoyed up by the feats of Phar Lap on the race course and Don Bradman on the cricket field. In 1936 aviation services were enhanced by the formation of Ansett Airways which presented Qantas, set up in 1922, with some competition. The Australian Broadcasting Commission (ABC) was put in place in 1932 and Australia Day celebrations were introduced in 1934. The *Women's Weekly* was first published in 1933 and rapidly grew in readership. Kerosene powered fridges became common in Australian homes and in 1939 Robert Menzies took over as prime minister of seven million Australians just as World War II broke out on a grim and anxious world.⁶

Again, Australia was greatly changed by the experience of World War II. Although there were only half as many casualties compared to those suffered in the 1914 – 18 conflict, the war dragged on longer and invasion loomed as a real possibility. Darwin was bombed by the Japanese in 1942, the same year that Australia, under the inspirational leadership of John Curtin of the ALP who took over from Menzies in 1941, turned to the United States of America (USA) rather than Britain as its chief ally for the defence of the nation, and General Douglas MacArthur set up his Pacific headquarters in Australia. With the war came American soldiers, identity cards, the internment of enemy aliens, including many residents and citizens of German heritage, and the rationing of clothes, petrol and liquor. Conscription was introduced in 1943 and the federal government's power was greatly enhanced when it took control of taxation. During the war, besides the 52 000 women who joined the services, another 200 000 entered the workforce in addition to the half million of them already employed. Another migration scheme was introduced after the war and within three years half a million migrants from a much wider range of European backgrounds had been added to the Australian population bringing it up to nine million. When Curtin died in office in 1945, Ben Chifley took over the leadership of the ALP and the government which not only presided over the new immigration scheme but also the launching of the Holden car, the Snowy River hydro-electric scheme and the introduction of the forty hour week. Although initially popular, Chifley's government was replaced by Menzies and his Liberal Party who took over government at the end of 1949 and his second prime ministership was to last for the next seventeen years.⁷

During the 1950s, under the cautious and conservative government of Menzies, Australia experienced a steady growth in prosperity while, on an international scale, the Cold War confrontation between the free and communist nations held the globe in its chilly grip. Although there was an unsuccessful attempt to ban the Communist

Party in Australia by means of a 1951 referendum, the fear of communist infiltration and aggression remained a major mood that haunted the national psyche. Australian soldiers served in Korea and Malaya to keep this menace in check. Compulsory national service training for selected eighteen year olds started in 1953. In 1951 the signing of the ANZUS Treaty brought Australia and New Zealand even more closely under the protective wing of the USA against such forces. The South East Asian Treaty Organization (SEATO) put in place by an agreement signed in 1954 extended the alliance against communism to a number of regional neighbours. There were some diversions. Australia thrilled to the success of its athletes at the 1956 Olympic Games hosted by Melbourne, and avidly followed the triumphs of its tennis teams in the Davis Cup for most of the decade. The same year as the Melbourne Olympics the first motel opened in Canberra. Television, also introduced in 1956, began its transformation of family life. Australian society, though still supporting the White Australia policy, was becoming increasingly multicultural and by 1959 eight of its ten million inhabitants were urban dwellers.⁸

It was not until 1966 that Menzies retired as prime minister and the early part of the 1960s continued to be marked by conservatism in government as well as a growing fear of communism on the world stage. In 1960 the USA established a military base in northern Australia and in 1962 Australia, with the rest of the world, was transfixed by the Cuban missile crisis when the Cold War reached its climax and the superpowers, the USA and Soviet Russia (USSR), flirted with nuclear war. By the end of the decade Australia was slowly becoming embroiled in the conflict with Communist forces in Vietnam. Menzies was replaced as prime minister by Harold Holt, and when he accidentally drowned John Gorton took over from him in 1968. Australia's mineral boom started in the 1960s and by 1965 a third of married women were members of the workforce. The contraceptive pill was taken up with enthusiasm by Australian women after its introduction in 1961 and decimal currency was introduced in 1966. Each year the road toll grew and over the two decades of the fifties and sixties 50 000 Australians lost their lives in motor vehicle accidents. Towards the end of the decade a spirit of change was emerging in Australia and the wider world as the new generation of "baby boomers" began to make their presence felt in society. This involved a new cult of the young with its emphasis on political and sexual freedom, drug usage, popular music, anti-war protests, conservation awareness, population control, feminism, gay rights and anti-censorship. There were also signs that the power of the Christian church on Australian society, though never dominant, was in decline. In 1965 Australia appointed Roma Mitchell as its first woman judge, and in 1967 Ronald Ryan was the last Australian to suffer capital punishment. The White Australia policy met its demise in 1966, and in 1967, full civil rights were finally accorded to Australia's Aboriginal people. In 1969 Australia's population was approaching twelve and a half million.⁹

In 1972, after twenty-three years of conservative government in Australia, the ALP returned to power with Gough Whitlam replacing the Liberal Party's William McMahon, who had defeated Gorton in a party room spill in 1971, as prime minister. The Whitlam government only lasted until the end of 1975 but brought in a whole package of social and political reforms before being dismissed by the governor general in controversial circumstances. The last Australian troops were pulled out

of Vietnam, the Medibank universal health insurance scheme was implemented and tertiary tuition fees were abolished. *Advance Australia Fair* became the national anthem and the British honours system was replaced by an Australian one. There was also a breakout in wages and inflation and one of the major causes for the rapid demise of the Whitlam government was its handling of the economy. Malcolm Fraser replaced Whitlam as prime minister at the end of 1975 which ushered in a period of consolidation and few reversals of ALP initiatives. By 1980 there were 20 000 heroin addicts in Australia and colour television, bankcards, a rebel cricket organisation as well as a republican movement were claiming a place on the national landscape. As the 1980s proceeded equal pay for women was finally established, fast food outlets and wider cuisine offerings were becoming common, more females were being elected to parliament, “Ms” became a formal term for addressing women, the emergence of a new disease (AIDS) put a dampener on the sexual revolution, the Australian Institute of Sport (AIS) was established, there was a great demand for childcare centres and a plethora of conservation groups emerged to remind Australians of their environmental responsibilities. In 1983 the ALP’s Bob Hawke replaced Fraser as prime minister and, through his partnership with his treasurer Paul Keating who was to succeed him as national leader in 1991, Australia’s financial system was reformed and its economy opened up to international competition. In 1988 the bi-centennial celebrations in Australia were marked by a major international expo in Brisbane and the opening of a new Parliament House in Canberra. By 1979 the Australian population had reached fourteen and a half million and by 1989 had expanded again to nearly seventeen million.¹⁰

In 1999 Australia faced the new millennium with a fair degree of confidence and optimism. Despite a recession in the early nineties, the economy was in good shape, facilitated by the financial reforms of the Hawke and Keating governments which were continued by the Howard administration which came to power in 1996. It was an economy, however, where families needed a dual income to meet the cost of living and the demand for childcare centres continued to grow. In 1991 Roma Mitchell in South Australia became the nation’s first female governor, and in 1992 Australia’s first female Anglican priest was ordained in Western Australia. In the same year the landmark Mabo case resulted in enhanced land rights for Australian Aboriginals. In 1993 a new citizenship oath incorporated a statement of loyalty to Australia rather than to the Queen and an advisory committee was set up by the government to achieve a republic in Australia by 2001. In 1999 Australia’s population reached nineteen million.¹¹

Australian Education

During the years between 1919 and 1999, there was a huge change in Australian schooling. The period from the end of World War I through to the end of World War II might be designated as an era of low educational priority when schooling was not high on the national agenda. After World War II and into the sixties, education was becoming more of a focus but in a period of complacency it still suffered considerable neglect. It was in the last three decades of the twentieth century that education at all levels assumed a more prominent position in Australian politics and consumed larger portions of the national budget. Leaders like Menzies and Whitlam supported an

improvement in educational opportunity because of its advantages for the individual. Later leaders increasingly linked its advancement to a prosperous and competitive economy.

The decades of the 1920s and 1930s opened with universal, free and secular education available to all Australian children in their primary years. There was virtually no Commonwealth involvement in schooling and six highly centralised systems of education were administered by each of the states. Schools were small and the one teacher model predominated in country centres, especially in Queensland where sixty-two percent of schools were in this category. A minimum number of twenty students were needed to attract a teacher while those schools with fewer students were dubbed provisional and had to rent their own premises. By the mid-twenties there were more than 2 000 provisional schools in Victoria and New South Wales alone. A strong inspectorial system kept the schools in line with state policies. The focus of the curriculum was on reading, writing and arithmetic with some attention to history, geography, nature study, art, music and physical education as well as manual training (boys) and needlework (girls). Classes were divided into six to eight age groups and individual teachers could have up to forty or fifty students in their care. In New South Wales in 1933 seventy-seven teachers had to teach groups of more than sixty each and eleven teachers had classes of over seventy. Corporal punishment was common, for boys at least. Resources were scarce; facilities were often rudimentary with some students being taught in sheds, on verandahs and in corridors when classrooms were not available. The few students who went on to higher education had to pass an examination at the end of their primary schooling as they climbed the educational ladder to further opportunities. There was a variety of special days set aside for school celebrations: King's Birthday, Anzac Day, Empire Day, Magna Carta Day, League of Nations Day, Parents' Visiting Day. Between the wars there was a strong emphasis on producing patriotic citizens through daily flag ceremonies and declarations of loyalty. Radio broadcasts and school papers produced by the government were also used to bolster nationalism. Some innovations were introduced into schooling, mainly from the USA, like the Dalton Plan and the Dewey Project Method. By the 1940s it was becoming accepted practice to supply separate rooms for each class and some smaller schools were being consolidated into larger ones.¹²

The provision of an adequate Australian teaching service became more organised after World War I. Each state capital had its own teachers' college by the 1920s including three regional ones established in Ballarat, Bendigo and Armidale. Different systems persisted in each state. In Queensland, up until 1940 when all teachers started being trained at teachers' colleges, most candidates for the profession served five years as pupil teachers in schools being tutored and supervised by the principal. In New South Wales prospective teachers went to a training college for one or two years after finishing their Intermediate or Leaving certificates. In Victoria teacher students were recruited at sixteen years old to do three years of training as pupil teachers in schools with the alternative of doing one of these years at Melbourne Teachers' College; this lasted until 1949. In South Australia teacher students were recruited from high schools to study at the teachers' college. In all the states there was also a steady stream of untrained teachers who were accepted into the service on the basis of a short induction course. In



Veteran Lutheran Primary Principals: (from left) Kevin Oster, Bill Etscheid, Garry Matuschka, Bill Oster.

the training colleges students extended their general education. Their main professional training was in the areas of curriculum content, pedagogy, as well as the philosophy and history of education. Practical training took the form of observations and regular teaching practice. In most states students received a small living allowance while they trained and in return were bonded to the education department. Teachers were assessed by school inspectors and were promoted on the basis of their qualifications, skills, seniority and hard work. Teaching was increasingly a middle class profession and offered social mobility to many, especially women who comprised between forty-three and fifty-nine percent of the work force in various Australian states by 1939.¹³

Towards the end of World War II, out of the desire to produce an improved postwar social order, there was an attempt to provide better educational opportunities in Australia. The school leaving age was raised to fifteen in New South Wales, Western Australia and South Australia and to sixteen in Tasmania. Public examinations at the end of primary schooling disappeared in Tasmania, New South Wales, South Australia and Victoria. Secondary fees were abolished in Victoria and South Australia. The exception to all this reform was Queensland which lagged behind the other states in adopting similar initiatives, mainly because of the scattered nature of its population as well as its existing eight years of primary schooling. It was not until the mid-sixties that Queensland legislated to make secondary schooling compulsory. Despite earlier altruism, the 1950s in Australia was an era of uneven educational progress. In Victoria a conservative government was slow to take on change and state schooling was marred by slackening standards and teacher shortages. South Australia also experienced a dearth of teaching personnel and tended to neglect kindergarten and secondary

schooling. Similar problems marred education in Western Australia. It was also in the 1950s that small rural one teacher schools began to disappear. The 1960s saw a continuation of teacher shortages and a consequential lowering of teacher standards. One of the more important influences on Australian education arrived in 1961 in New South Wales with the introduction of the Wyndham Scheme. As Director of Education from 1952 to 1968 Wyndham oversaw a new system of advancement through the years of schooling based on numbers rather than standards, the idea of the education process being a conveyor belt which carried a set percentage of the student population through to the next stage of schooling rather than a ladder where a certain standard of achievement had to be demonstrated before promotion to the next level took place. This inevitably led to more participation in schooling, if, as some argued, at the expense of the standard of education they achieved. This became the norm as the idea of post-primary education was consolidated. As the 1960s advanced militant teacher unionism and student activism became other features of the Australian educational scene.¹⁴

The development of secondary schooling in Australia was a major feature of the era from 1919 to 1999. State high schools began to appear at a sluggish rate after the turn of the twentieth century. One reason for their slow adoption was the existence, in most states, of a private school sector which was the major provider of secondary schooling, ushering more privileged students through the gates of the universities. In New South Wales the first genuinely free high schools appeared only in 1911. In Victoria Frank Tate as Director of Education gently engineered the establishment of the first high school in that state in 1905 despite the opposition from a formidable array of private schools. South Australia had provided state secondary schooling for both genders before the turn of the century but Queensland and Tasmanian state high schools did not appear until 1912. After the delivery of the influential English Hadow Report in 1926 the notion of a secondary education grew into public acceptance. Secondary schools focused on an academic curriculum which prepared students for university studies. Hand in hand with the development of high schools went the establishment of technical education, often in separate institutions. After World War II there was a great growth in state secondary schooling. This was fuelled by population growth, an increase in white collar jobs, rising societal expectations, migrant aspirations, demand from employers, as well as influences from overseas. By 1966, for instance, there were ninety-four secondary schools in Queensland, and 2 676 in New South Wales with the state as the dominant provider. In the period from 1953 to 1962 secondary enrolments grew by 139%. In the period from 1956 to 1970 the proportion of sixteen year olds in Australian schools increased from forty percent to fifty-one percent. And in the two decades from 1967 to 1987 Year 11 numbers in Australia increased from thirty-six percent to seventy-one percent of the available population, and over the same period Year 12 retention rates moved from twenty-three percent to fifty-three percent.¹⁵

Even though there was a great growth in state secondary schooling in twentieth century Australia, private schools retained a strong foothold in the educational terrain and by the end of the century were increasing their profile. Coming out of World War I, despite the provision of free state schooling in Australia, there remained a significant private sector. This comprised a large system of Catholic schools, mainly primary,

staffed by religious orders as well as an array of prestigious secondary colleges with affiliations to the Anglican, Presbyterian and Methodist churches. The Headmaster's Conference of elite boys' schools had thirty-eight members by 1938, twenty-five of them from New South Wales and Victoria. There was also a growth in girls' colleges. In Victoria especially the private colleges like Scotch, Geelong and Melbourne Grammars, Geelong College as well as the Presbyterian and Methodist Ladies Colleges passed through a prosperous period. A similar situation existed in South Australia where colleges belonging to the Anglicans (St Peter's and Walford), Methodists (Prince Alfred and Methodist Ladies College), Presbyterians (Scotch and Presbyterian Ladies College) and Catholics (Rostrevor and Sacred Heart) were well entrenched. One could mention the Lutheran (Concordia and Immanuel) as well. Queensland had established its own unique system of grammar schools in the previous century. They were owned by the state yet operated like independent schools, but in addition to these there were over 150 private schools in operation in 1921, the vast majority of them Catholic. Elite schools like St Hilda's for girls and the Southport School for boys were in operation by 1912 and 1913 respectively. By 1960 twenty-four percent of Australian students were enrolled in the non-government sector. They comprised over a half million students attending over two thousand schools. In 1961, twenty-two of the 260 non-Catholic denominational schools in Australia were Lutheran. During the 1960s state school enrolments grew at a faster rate than private school ones, but with the advent of greater government funding to the private sector in the 1970s this trend was reversed. By 1984 twenty-five percent of students were in private schools, three quarters of them in the Catholic sector. By this time the first low fee Christian schools began to appear along with new growth in the Lutheran sector. A decade later there were 1 693 Catholic and 833 other private schools in Australia compared to 7 122 state schools. In 1999 the number of Lutheran schools had reached eighty-two, twenty-two of which were colleges offering a secondary education.¹⁶



Redeemer Lutheran College, Rochedale, Queensland, established 1980.

As educational participation in Australia broadened in the latter part of the twentieth century, the delivery, content and assessment of schooling changed its style as well. In 1962 the Wyndham scheme increased the length of secondary schooling in New South Wales from five to six years and introduced the concept of a compulsory group of core subjects: English, social studies, science, mathematics, music, art, crafts, physical education and religious education to which elective subjects could be added. A good example of new approaches to curriculum was evidenced in the Western Australian Robertson report of 1958 which nominated five core subjects for secondary schooling: health and physical education, intellectual development and basic skills, personal and group relationships, moral choices and responsibilities as well as environmental factors and forces. During the 1970s there were further developments in education in areas like the new mathematics, the rise of biology and environmental education, the reform of physics and chemistry, the discovery method of learning, new learning theory, a stress on community relations and local decision making, more informal pupil-teacher relationships and an emphasis on social equity. In 1970 the Queensland Radford Report ushered in a new era where external examinations were eliminated to make way for a system of school-based, continuous assessment. In Victoria a number of changes in curriculum and assessment procedures culminated in 1985 with the establishment of the Victorian Certificate of Education (VCE) as the end product of secondary schooling which still incorporated an element of public examinations. In New South Wales a similar development took place when in 1986 the Higher School Certificate (HSC) was put in place at the end of secondary schooling and was earned through equal amounts of internal and external assessment. In South Australia after 1984 a single certificate was issued on the completion of Year 12 as well.¹⁷

One of the reasons for the growth of private schooling was the availability of state aid. Under the Australian constitution education has always been the responsibility of state governments, but as education has become a higher priority for Australians and a rising area of government spending, the Commonwealth has been inevitably drawn into its funding. Gradually a situation emerged where the states administered the schools while the Commonwealth increasingly paid for them. The federal government's involvement in educational funding goes back to 1926 when it started making research grants to the universities. In 1937 the federal government initiated the provision of money to the states for the support of vocational education. In 1945 it passed an *Education Act* which established an Education Office as well as a Universities Commission at national level. During the 1950s the Menzies government introduced a variety of new schemes for the financial support of universities as well as the Commonwealth scholarship scheme to enable the best secondary graduates to go on to tertiary studies. In 1964 this same government set up a scheme to fund the erection of science facilities in secondary schools. In the tertiary sector the Commonwealth government began to establish colleges of advanced education as an alternative tertiary stream in 1965, and in 1967 provided funding for the establishment of teachers' colleges to support the massive increase in demand for teaching staff in the 1960s and 1970s. In 1966 a Ministry of Education and Science was established in Canberra, signifying that this was now an important area of Commonwealth activity. In 1969 per capita funding for independent schools was established by the Commonwealth and this ensured the

continued growth in the private sector that followed. Initially the ALP was divided over the issue of Federal funding for independent schools but the pressure of the Catholic vote ensured that they too supported the policy after 1966, but on a needs basis. When Whitlam came to power in 1972 he established the Australian Schools Commission to investigate schooling standards and funding needs. The Karmel Report recommended a \$660 million infusion of funds, including \$179 million into the independent sector. Both Commonwealth and state governments remained strongly committed to financial support for independent schools for the rest of the century.¹⁸

Government funding of independent schools has never attracted universal acceptance in Australia. The Defence of Government Schools (DOGS) movement which was initiated in 1964 constituted a major effort to challenge this support. It staged a public campaign, including a constitutional legal challenge, against it, unsuccessfully, as it turned out. By the end of the twentieth century a consolidated scheme of government funding in the form of capital grants as well as a means-tested per capita recurrent funding program for independent schools were firmly entrenched ensuring the continued financial health of independent schooling. In 1985 the Hawke ALP government introduced an Educational Resource Index (ERI) method of assessing schools' needs and this remained the basis of funding until the end of the century.¹⁹



Lutheran Teachers College, Ward Street, Adelaide

The Pathfinders

This history takes a biographical approach. It seeks to cover Lutheran educational history in Australia over the last eight decades of the twentieth century by telling the stories of some of its major players. As a group they have been called “pathfinders”. It is fitting, in this introductory chapter, to include some words of explanation about the thinking behind this designation. What reason is there to title a book about Lutheran educational leaders with such a name?

If the first eighty years of Lutheran schooling history in Australia was dominated by the patriarchs, those father figures who founded a church and its school system dominated by males, the next eighty years featured a different breed of leader. They were no longer the establishers of a tradition, but the inheritors of one which needed redefinition and adjustment as well as a new vision for the way ahead. By the end of World War I there was not much left of the schooling system which had been inherited from the Lutheran fathers. There was just a remnant of schools and a fragile skein of thread linking this new generation to the Lutheran educational past. The first task was survival. There followed a time of re-establishment. When momentum was restored new leaders had to show the way. At all stages there arose significant Lutheran educators who served as pathfinders finding ways of dealing with contemporary challenges and surveying a road for others to follow. There were some false starts, and some leaders pointed in what could be argued were wrong directions. Sometimes no-one seemed to be leading at all and the schooling system appeared to follow the blind rush of the crowd. However, in retrospect some clear directions were set, some sage counsel was given, and some significant leaders did emerge. Calling them pathfinders is at least partially apposite.

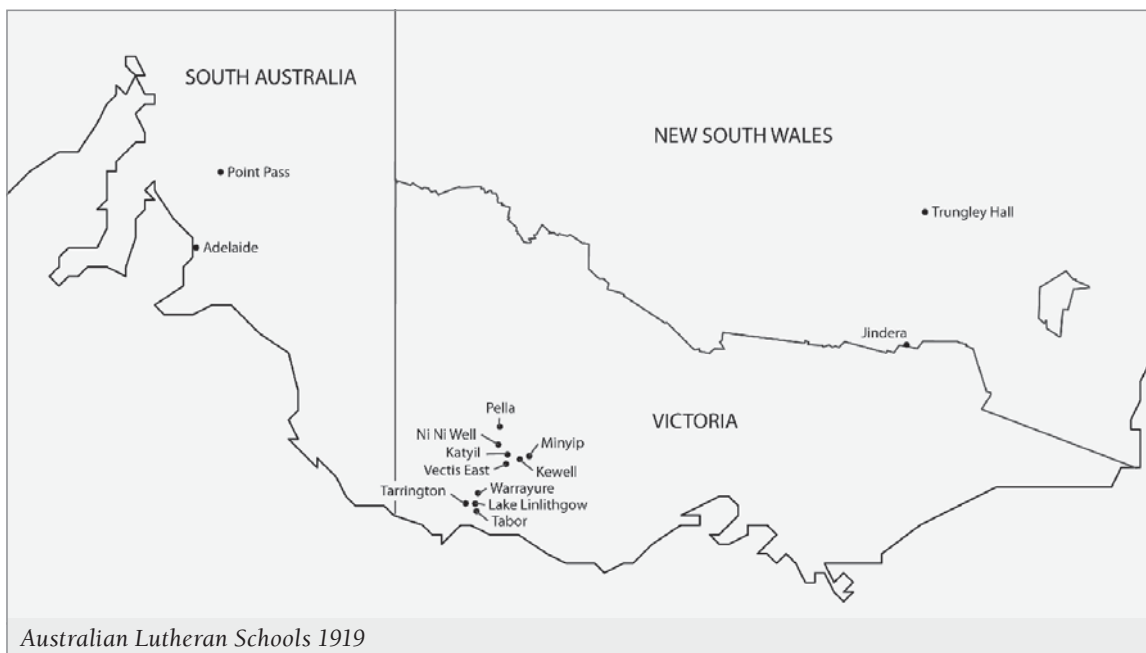
For the purposes of this history, the designation of Lutheran educational leaders of the twentieth century as pathfinders is loosely applied. There is no claim to their being divinely inspired or ordained to speak a special message to their contemporaries any more than any Christian would have been. Nor did any of them ever see themselves as chosen by God as the leaders of a special movement. What each one of them did accomplish was to influence, by word and action, the development and practice of Lutheran schooling in Australia. Over the duration of the twentieth century they emerged to remind us how important Lutheran schools were and gave a lead in how they should run. Each one was an educational leader who not only committed their life to Lutheran schooling, but by word and example made a difference to its history. Their common message was that Christian education could make an important contribution to society and that Christian schools had powerful potential as agencies of the church. There was some disagreement in the detail of how they saw this playing out in the twentieth century world, and all of them had their take on what was the essential character of a Christian school. Some of them may have even played the role of misleader at times. All of them made a contribution. Above all their witness reminded twentieth century Lutherans of the great biblical imperative to teach!

The body of this history consists of eight major biographies, as well as some supplementary ones. The choice of these people in no way suggests that they were the most important or that they made the greatest contribution. The subjects of these

biographies have been chosen, not because they were necessarily the most important or effective Lutheran educators of their times, but because their stories in combination provide an integrated and comprehensive coverage of the eras, regions and themes relevant to this history. All of them also began their formal involvement in Australian Lutheran schooling after 1919 and had concluded it by 1999. They are not treated as heroes or saints but as the gifted and sometimes flawed human beings who helped lead the Lutheran educational cause. The telling of their stories will be guided by the twin lights of truth and compassion.

Here is a list of the pathfinders, a selection of the leading actors and voices of Australian Lutheran schooling, chosen for this history as well as a brief indication of their involvement in Lutheran schooling from 1919 to 1999. The first is **Henry Hamann** (1885 – 1985) who came to Australia from America as a pastor and teacher when he was forty years old and served as principal of the ELSA's Concordia College and Concordia Seminary in Adelaide. His story illustrates the continuing influence of American Lutheranism on one sector of the Australian Lutheran school scene. The second is **Karl Muetzelfeldt** (1881 – 1955), a native of Germany who came to Australia in the 1930s to teach at Immanuel Seminary from which base he offered another vision for Christian education and inspired a revival of Lutheran primary schooling in the UELCA. The third is **Garry Matuschka** (1921 -) a long-serving Lutheran primary school principal and eminent churchman who was a pioneer educator during the revival of Lutheran schooling in postwar Australia. His story sheds light on the development of the primary school movement in Australian Lutheranism. The fourth is **Gertrude Jacob** (1921 -), also a principal and primary teacher whose story provides an insight into the emergence of females as teachers and leaders in Australian Lutheran schools. The fifth is **Elvin Janetzki** (1921 – 2004), a pastor, teacher, principal and theologian whose writings and lectures made him a prominent educational theoretician and a leading influence on the thinking behind Lutheran school practice during the era. The sixth is **Carson Dron** (1939 -) whose entire participation in Lutheran schooling was served out at St Peters Lutheran College in Queensland, both as a teacher and a principal. His story offers an opportunity to examine the Queensland model of Lutheran schooling. The seventh is **John Zweck** (1937 – 1994) a Lutheran secondary school teacher, a college principal, a missionary, an educational historian and a tertiary lecturer, whose diversity of roles and variety of working contexts offer a unique perspective on the Lutheran school boom of the latter twentieth century. The eighth is **Thomas Reuther** (1929 -), a pastor, school chaplain and principal who later became the inaugural Director for Lutheran Schools in Australia. His story will be utilised to trace the emergence of an organised Lutheran school system as the LCA strove to co-ordinate this growing sector of the church.

Through the life stories of these pathfinders there will gradually emerge an integrated and fulsome account of the second great wave of Lutheran schooling history in Australia between 1919 and 1999.



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CHAPTER 2

Henry Hamann A Common Road

“He was wiser than any other man.” 1 Kings 4: 31

It lasted for about eighty years. The common road travelled by the Evangelical Lutheran Church of Australia (ELCA) and the Lutheran Church Missouri Synod in the United States of America was one of the more significant and enduring influences on Lutheranism in Australia. Beginning in 1881, there were seventy-two Lutheran pastors and theologians from the Missouri Synod who came to work in the Australian church with which it shared strong bonds of fellowship. However, it was not an equal relationship because the Missouri Synod was the bigger brother and gave much more than it received. One of the stronger connecting points between the two churches was the area of schooling. The ELCA copied much of its approach to education from the Missouri model and this was especially true of its only place of higher learning until 1946, Concordia College in Adelaide. One of the Missouri Synod educators who came to teach at Concordia, and later to lead it, was Henry Hamann, a man revered for his learning and knowledge. As a respected leader and teacher he was in a position to shape the hearts and minds of several generations of pastors, teachers and lay leaders. He reinforced what was already a strong tendency in the ELCA, namely the dissemination of the theological and educational ideas of the Missouri Synod. Henry Hamann's story provides a suitable perspective for a closer examination of this joint journey.¹



Henry Hamann

German Background

Heinrich Paul Augustus Hamann was born in the northern German city of Lübeck on 22 October 1885. Situated on an island at the mouth of two rivers that flow into the Baltic Sea, Lübeck, a former free city of the Hanseatic League, retained its independence as a separate German city state up until the 1930s. The city's skyline, in the late nineteenth century, was dominated by seven steeples belonging to five ancient churches, a vista implanted on Henry Hamann's mind from childhood. He was also left with a memory of his first family home on the edge of a pond near a huge windmill which powered the grinding of grain. People moved about the city by means of ferries and horse-drawn trams as well as the recently invented bicycle. The Hamanns were a middle class family. One of Henry Hamann's grandfathers had been a carpenter, the other a barber. Among his uncles there was an actor, a marine engineer and a teacher. His father had wanted to be a sailor but was prevented from doing this because of his poor eyesight, so he tried his hand at shopkeeping instead. A self educated, well-read man he was also a gifted singer and books and music were commonplace in the home environment. Henry Hamann inherited from his father a strong interest in ships and an enthusiasm for walking. His mother was a kind and gentle woman whose frail appearance belied the underlying health and strength which allowed her to survive well into her nineties. She coped well in a household without running water or electricity and a need to tend to so many labour intensive jobs including the sewing of her children's clothes. Henry Hamann was the second of four sons.²

Henry Hamann inherited his mother's slight form as well as his father's poor eyesight. Originally delicate, he grew into a healthy and active child with a talent for gymnastics. Blessed with a curious and retentive mind he took early to books. He liked school as well. In Lübeck school was compulsory and Henry Hamann attended a *Mittelschule* for boys which provided nine years of education. He was often top of his class. His teacher considered him a bit of a dreamer. His parents thought he was cut out for a profession and after three years sent him to a *Gymnasium* which, in addition to the primary years, provided a full secondary education. Here he could study a classical curriculum which, after the twelfth year, would lead to university. However, a reversal of family fortunes meant that after eighteen months he had to return to the *Mittelschule*. The schooling he received was of a good standard but marred somewhat by an over reliance by some teachers on corporal punishment towards which he, as a future teacher, developed an early antipathy.³

Lutheranism had become the state church in Lübeck in 1530. Lübeckers had not joined the Prussian Union Church in the early nineteenth century and remained true to their Lutheran confession and worship. The Hamann family seldom attended church, but the boys were baptised and religious instruction was a regular feature of school life. Students studied Bible history and memorised Luther's small catechism. Henry Hamann's mother said prayers at bedtime and read aloud the passion history at Easter. The Christian faith was accepted and respected but had little to do with everyday life and thinking.⁴

After a number of economic reversals Henry Hamann's family decided to emigrate to the United States. In the middle of 1896 his father left his wife and children behind

and preceded them to America to set up a home. Over a year later the rest of the family followed, the four boys travelling on a separate ship from their mother. Henry Hamann celebrated his twelfth birthday half way through the voyage which took nearly two weeks. The boys reached New York on 28 October and were met by their father. Their mother arrived a week later.⁵

America and India

The Hamann family struggled to make a living in the United States. It took them five years, with various changes of jobs on their father's part, plus their mother having to take in outside needle work, before they had established themselves with some economic security. For a few months the boys attended a public school, but their father was dissatisfied with the standard of education offered there and sent them to a two teacher Lutheran school called St Mark's instead. The principal, a man by the name of Holthusen, was not only an excellent teacher but also a dedicated catechist. Through him Henry Hamann came to understand the Christian gospel for the first time and was markedly affected. Shortly after, the Hamann family moved to Brooklyn where they joined a Missouri Synod congregation and the boys attended Trinity, one of more than 1 300 Lutheran elementary schools belonging to the Missouri Synod. By the time Henry Hamann finished his elementary education in 1899 he and his family had decided he should enrol at Concordia College, a Missouri secondary school in a country area called Neperan just north of New York City. In later life Henry Hamann often thanked God for this accidental discovery of Missouri Synod Lutheranism. In his mind it was not an accident at all and he could discern God's hand at work in these times, choosing him and setting him on his life's vocation.⁶

Concordia was a small boarding school for boys seeking to enter the ministry. It provided the first three years of a six year preliminary preparation. There were only twenty-five students when Henry Hamann started, and on the basis of his academic achievements they allowed him to skip the first year. He studied English, German, Latin, Greek and history. Instruction was in both English and German. Henry Hamann had good teachers and did well. In 1900 he was confirmed in his home congregation. In 1901 he graduated with seven other lads. He then moved on to the next phase of his studies at Concordia College in Fort Wayne, Indiana, 750 miles from New York. Fort Wayne, with a population of 75 000 inhabitants, was a stronghold of the Missouri Synod and, besides the college, it boasted six congregations each with its own Lutheran primary school. In this larger college Henry Hamann was shocked in his initial year to find a negative tone and bad behaviour rife amongst a significant element of the student body, resulting in the mental breakdown and eventual suicide of a faculty member. With new leadership the situation improved, and Henry Hamann formed some solid perceptions about good order and its contribution to the healthy culture of a Christian school. Again, he did well at his studies. The curriculum incorporated a strong emphasis on the ancient languages of Hebrew, Greek and Latin. There were also English and German as well as mathematics, religious studies and some science. German was the main language of instruction. In 1902 he walked a mile to a doctor's surgery where his tonsils were removed without anaesthetic before he walked back to college again. In 1904, along with twenty-three others, Henry Hamann graduated

from Concordia and was given the honour of speaking as class valedictorian.⁷

The next step, to study theology at a seminary, was an inevitable one. Henry Hamann's decision to become a pastor had been a gradual process, but by the time he finished the preparatory years it was well established. Always stretched for money he was buoyed to learn that a prominent Lutheran from New York had undertaken to pay his way. So he enrolled at Concordia Seminary at St Louis in the mid-western state of Missouri. He found this institution in its ascendancy. It boasted a faculty of fine theologians who themselves had been students under Dr CFW Walther, the founding father of the Missouri Synod. They included lecturers like Dr Pieper whose classes in dogmatics were conducted in Latin, and Dr August Graebner whose younger brother took over Concordia College in Adelaide in 1904, the same year Henry Hamann entered the seminary at St Louis. Henry was impressed not only by their erudition but also by their unanimity as Scripture-based and Christocentric Lutherans whose common orientation was: "Abide by the word!" There was very little emphasis on the "artificial stimulus" of tests and examinations, and the high academic standards of the institution were maintained through the natural desire of the theology students to learn, encouraged by the standing and influence of their lecturers.⁸

In his final year of studies Henry Hamann spent a couple of months back at his old preparatory school at Neperan as a replacement English teacher, and picked up a taste for teaching. After three years of study at Concordia he graduated and was ordained as a pastor in July 1907. His first parish was a small mission field in Ontario, Canada, demanding work in a cold climate for a young bachelor learning to be a pastor. It was relieved in 1911 by a visit to Germany with his mother. In 1913 Henry Hamann moved to Manhattan in New York where he had accepted a call as an assistant pastor in an established parish. However he had only been in this position for about six months when another call came from the Missouri Synod to take up a position as superintendent of its schools in India. Always interested in teaching, Henry Hamann decided to accept the call. First of all he had to complete a Master of Arts degree at Columbia University to qualify himself for his role. This was followed by several summer courses in education for which he received a diploma. This study took him more than a year while he continued his work as a pastor. He received his degree just before the outbreak of World War I. A young lady from his parish, Lillian Dachsel, a teacher in a business college, helped him in his studies, especially in the typing of his papers and essays. In 1914 Henry and Lillian were engaged. Because of the war Henry Hamann's move to India was postponed and he spent some months teaching English at his old school at Fort Wayne. However, in February 1915 he was solemnly commissioned as a missionary, he and Lillian were married a few days later, and on the first day of their wedded life they set out together to work in India.⁹

For Henry and Lillian Hamann their years in India were ones of huge challenge. It had emerged that the rather grand title of his call materialised into the headship of a lower secondary college in Ambur, a community of 25 000 inhabitants in southern India. The Lutheran school there, in the eyes of government authorities, enjoyed only higher elementary status. The mission hoped to gain recognition for its delivery of the higher years of learning which it had already started. There was a difficult bureaucracy to deal with, not helped by the anti-German sentiment generated by the war which seriously

impeded their efforts, especially when some colleagues from Germany were deported. There was also the difficulty of establishing a Christian school in a society dominated by Hindus and Moslems. The local Tamil language had to be mastered. The political environment was often volatile, although the main opposition was to the government of the English overlords rather than to the missions. The tropical climate was difficult for missionaries to adjust to, as were the living conditions. Dysentery was common and there was always the threat of more serious diseases like malaria, smallpox and even bubonic plague necessitating the thorough cooking of food and boiling of water. Despite precautions Henry Hamann experienced a bout of typhoid fever which totally incapacitated him for six weeks soon after his arrival. Their housing was without the amenities of power or running water. They used bicycles to get around. Their two children were born in India, Henry in 1916, and Dorothy in 1918.¹⁰

As time passed Henry Hamann took on more responsibilities for mission administration. He had fifteen schools and a hospital to visit as well as keep the books and pay the staff. The majority of students came from Hindu or Moslem homes, and many of the staff had non-Christian backgrounds. The strategy was to gradually employ more Christian teachers as they became available after passing through the schools. Despite opposition from established religious groups, the rate of new Christians being baptised continued to grow. By the end of 1921 the number of American missionaries once more increased and there were new building programs to supervise. It was in this period when the mission and its schools had begun to flourish that Henry Hamann took his family back to the United States on furlough in 1922. While he was home his relations with the mission board of the church soured when a colleague in India was falsely accused of adultery and dismissed from service. Henry Hamann defended him, but when that was to no avail he decided to resign from his role as a missionary. For a short time he served as a Missouri Synod pastor in Pennsylvania. He had been ministering there for less than two years when he received a new call in October 1925 to be a teacher at Concordia College in the Australian city of Adelaide. His first reaction was that at forty years of age he was too old to take on such a different challenge. His wife persuaded him otherwise. So it was that Henry Hamann sailed off to become a teacher in a Lutheran college in another country. It was in this fourth continent that he was to make his home for the vast majority of his next sixty years.¹¹

The Graebner Story

Henry Hamann came to Australia in 1926 to teach at Concordia College in Adelaide. In one sense he was returning to much that he already knew. The name of the college had been borrowed from the Missouri tradition as was the way its levels of schooling were structured and its teachers called professors. The director of the college and the theological seminary on the same campus was Friedrich Graebner. He was another Missourian and his early development as a teacher and theologian had much in common with that of Henry Hamann.

As in Australia, Lutheranism in America had a history of division and schism. There had been a Lutheran presence in the United States as early as the seventeenth century when Scandinavian settlers formed a congregation in what is now known as New York. At about the same time another Lutheran church emerged in Delaware. But the true

father of American Lutheranism, Pastor Heinrich Muhlenberg, arrived in Pennsylvania in 1742 where he helped amalgamate several Lutheran congregations into a synod in 1748, the first of a number of American Lutheran synods established over the next century. One of the more significant ones was the Lutheran Church Missouri Synod. It emerged in 1847 when twelve Lutheran congregations in the mid-west formed a single synod. Another was the Ohio Synod, which was formed in 1818. Both established close ties with Australian Lutheran churches over the next hundred years. The Missouri Synod had its roots in German Saxony from where its main adherents had emigrated. Some of its leaders were graduates of the Neuendettelsau missionary training seminary in Bavaria run by Wilhelm Löhe. The most influential of these men was CFW Walther. Continued correspondence and contact between Australian and American Lutherans ensured that various issues and debates in one country were often taken up in the other. Gradually, the Missouri Synod and the ELSA (later ELCA) became allies by adopting similar stances on various theological issues. At the same time the other Lutheran synods in Australia which would later unite and form the United Evangelical Lutheran Church in Australia (UELCA) grew increasingly critical of the Missouri Synod and its perceived narrowness.¹²

By the turn of the twentieth century the relationship between Missouri and the ELSA had grown to such an extent that a Missouri representative was invited to visit Australia and adjudicate on issues pertaining to the Lutheran college at Murtoa in western Victoria. Pieper, the President of the Missouri Synod, sent August Graebner, a member of the faculty at St Louis Seminary, as his church's representative. This Graebner had an interest in church constitutional issues as well as the Australian church. When he arrived, however, he found that the chief issue he had to deal with was not doctrinal or constitutional, but a conflict of personalities. He called a conference in Melbourne, and later another one in western Victoria. He delivered two essays, including one on Christian education, and was, quite remarkably, elected to serve as chairman of the district convention. He helped sort out the dispute at the Murtoa college and promised the ELSA that he would supply a replacement director for the ailing school from the United States. The Missouri Synod Lutheran who finally fulfilled this promise was August Graebner's younger brother, Friedrich.¹³

Friedrich Graebner was born on 8 October 1862 in St. Charles, Missouri, where his father Philip was pastor of a Lutheran church. He attended a Lutheran primary school and later enrolled in Concordia Seminary at St Louis to study theology for three years under a faculty led by Dr CFW Walther. Friedrich Graebner graduated in 1885, one of twenty-nine young men about to become Lutheran pastors. After his ordination, he was called to a new mission congregation in Sedalia, Missouri, as its first pastor. He married Charlotte Stoeppelwerth in May 1887 and they went on to raise a family of seven children, one of whom died in childhood. His two sons, Edwin and Rudolph, later became Australian pastors. In 1889 Friedrich Graebner received a call to serve another Lutheran congregation in Topeka, Kansas. Here he had to deal with several problems which were major issues for Missouri Synod Lutherans: membership of lodges with their secret rituals, the involvement of Christians in worldly amusements like dancing and the practice of burying non-members of the congregation whose families had requested such a rite. Graebner refused to "budge from the standpoint of the Lutheran

Church” which opposed all these things, but he handled these matters in a diplomatic manner. He also served in Bay City Michigan. In all three parishes Friedrich Graebner spent part of each week teaching in congregational primary schools.¹⁴

Early in 1903 Friedrich Graebner received a call to take charge of the Lutheran college at Murtoa in Victoria, Australia. After some hesitation he accepted and on his arrival he found that the future of the college was very uncertain. The community was divided, the school had closed and the situation was quite volatile. Part of the problem was the continuing lack of support from South Australian Lutherans for the project. Friedrich Graebner set about utilising the diplomatic skills that he had learned in Topeka and Bay City, but he had to wait until September for some resolution to the situation when General Synod met in nearby Minyip. Here the ELSA decided to take over the regionally owned college and Friedrich Graebner was delegated to travel around to congregations in three states to rally support for the project. In 1904 the college reopened, but within a short time influential church members began to campaign for it to be moved to another centre. One of these, a layman named Noske, was aware of a school campus for sale in Adelaide. Sited on two acres of land, it offered a large two-storey building constructed of white sandstone and comprising thirty-two rooms, including seven classrooms, seventeen bed-sitting rooms, a large dining room, two bathrooms, a kitchen, a pantry and a cellar. With Friedrich Graebner’s blessing Noske took the floor of synod and tabled photos and plans of the Adelaide property, immediately donating £100 (pounds), and pledging another £500 (pounds) towards its cost. This inspired others to do the same. Synod agreed to the purchase, and within a few months the complete price, £2 135 (pounds), had been raised.¹⁵

At the end of 1904 the Graebners moved to Adelaide where they settled into the new college, occupying a number of rooms in the west wing with their family of eight. After weeks of hectic preparation, Concordia College held its opening service on 22 February 1905. Attendance totalled 500 and the president of the ELSA, Dr Nickel, preached the opening homily before dedicating the premises. There were twenty-six enrolments, twelve carrying on from Murtoa plus fourteen new ones. By 1919 these numbers had increased to fifty-one: nineteen juniors, seventeen seniors and fifteen theological students.¹⁶

Coming to Concordia

When he arrived at Concordia in Adelaide for the start of the 1926 school year, Henry Hamann found a college which Friedrich Graebner had fashioned in the form of an American institution. Enrolments in 1926 amounted to a modest sixty-two. Originally Friedrich Graebner had been the sole instructor, supervising and teaching two classes in adjoining rooms simultaneously. By the time Henry Hamann arrived at Concordia there were three extra men who had been employed as full-time teachers, all of them pastors, and all of them either Missouri born or Missouri trained. In 1907 Pastor George Koch, an American serving in an Adelaide parish, had been recruited as a teacher at Concordia. In 1908 Pastor Martin Winkler, an American missionary in New Zealand, became the third professor and went on to serve at Concordia until 1942. Then in September 1911 Pastor Wilhelm Zschech, an Australian who had attended the Lutheran school in Tarrington, trained to be a Lutheran teacher at the Hahndorf



The Hamann family arrive in Adelaide, 1926

College before later studying theology at Concordia in St Louis, joined the faculty as the fourth teacher. The fifth professor was added in 1926 when Pastor Henry Hamann, yet another Missourian, joined the faculty. At the same time as Missouri was exerting this profound influence on the ELSA through its major training institution, its products had also taken up the executive leadership of the synod. The President of the ELSA from 1903 until 1922 was Dr Theodore Nickel, and he was succeeded from 1922 to 1941 by Dr Wilhelm Janzow, both of whom came from a Missouri background.¹⁷

Henry Hamann soon realised that the Missouri Synod and its schools system were much larger than its Australian counterparts. For instance, in 1922

the Missouri Synod operated 1 345 elementary schools with an enrolment of over 76 000 students. In 1919 the ELSA had only 434 students enrolled in its eleven primary schools. But there was much in common. Both synods had been established by Lutherans who had fled persecution in Germany. German mission societies, very active in the religious revival of the nineteenth century, also produced pastors for both countries. Many ELSA pastors subscribed to Missouri papers, and articles were often borrowed from them for publication in Australian church periodicals. The ELSA adopted a number of its infrastructure arrangements from Missouri including parts of its constitution (1903), its budget system (1925), the Lutheran Layman's League (1921), the Australian Luther League (1926), Lutheran Publishing House policies (1944), as well as the Lutheran Hour broadcast on radio (1945). The Missouri Synod emphasised the importance of Lutheran schools, including institutions of higher education. The fact that the ELSA adopted a similar enthusiasm for Christian schooling, which was to a much greater extent than in the UELCA, can be traced to this source as well. Another by-product of this American influence was a much faster adoption of the English language by the ELSA in contrast to the UELCA.¹⁸

Henry Hamann, finely tuned to theological emphases prominent in the Missouri Synod, found these same beliefs and teachings strongly imbedded in the ELSA. For instance, the disallowing of marriages with brothers-in-law or sisters-in-law, engagement being tantamount to marriage, and the rules governing the suitability of baptismal sponsors had all been adopted by the Australian church. Missouri men also brought with them their particular antipathy to membership in masonic lodges and opposition to worldly amusements. Henry Hamann himself was not as dogmatic on these issues as some of his fellow Missourians. In his Pennsylvanian parish he had tolerated lodge members attending funerals. He also appreciated the chance to relax with a cherooot and a beverage. He rebelled against pietistic and legalistic attitudes. When a lady told him



ELSA pastors originating from or trained in the USA. Henry Hamann back row, second from left.

once that she detested four things: alcohol, tobacco, pork and the devil, he informed her that she had placed the devil in company that was too good for him.¹⁹

The Hamanns found Adelaide a little backward and homes and buildings not sufficiently heated. An antipathy to Lutherans left over from the war lingered amongst the Australian population. He thought that Australian Lutherans were strong in doctrine, but tended to be legalistic about issues like gambling. The Lutheran Church was predominantly rural and Adelaide was the only capital with a strong ELSA presence. Pastors were respected as spiritual leaders, but their abilities in church administration were questioned. He found his colleagues at Concordia, especially Graebner and Koch, to be able and effective. At this stage Concordia enrolled only males, mainly those who wanted to be trained as pastors or teachers, with a new enrolment intake every three years. As in the USA the course ran over nine years, the first four years covering secondary schooling and the five after that of a tertiary nature. In the secondary school, besides religious teaching (catechism) there was an emphasis on languages (English, Latin, German) and humanities, as well as mathematics and some bookkeeping and physiology. The first two tertiary years were largely focussed on religion (including symbolics) and German, Latin, Greek and Hebrew, as well as some physics, chemistry and elocution. Teaching was mainly in English as were the majority of textbooks like *Meiklejohn's Grammar* (UK), *Language Lessons for Common Schools* (US), a locally published history of Australia as well as a book with a title of unintended ambiguity: *Short Lives of Great Englishmen*. In the final years of seminary the curriculum consisted of dogmatics, church history, New and Old Testament studies, exegesis, pastoral theology, homiletics and catechetics. An aspect of the college that was different to Henry Hamann's previous experience was the Australian emphasis on examinations. To his mind the pressure to provide notes and summaries that could be regurgitated in formal assessment was overwhelming and interfered with genuine



Concordia College, 1935.

educational activities. Schools too tended to be judged on examination results rather than on a broader range of attributes.²⁰

Initially Henry Hamann taught history, English, Latin and German in the six pre-theological years. When Professor Koch died in 1929, the education committee of the college decided that Henry Hamann would be promoted to replace Koch as a seminary lecturer. Here he taught hermeneutics, comparative religion, exegesis, homiletics and even a course in psychology. He found a real sense of fulfilment in this role and was happy to give full reign to his propensity for study and teaching. He acquainted himself with Australian literature and was most impressed (and a little depressed) by *The Fortunes of Richard Mahoney* by Henry Handel Richardson. His reputation as a man of deep and broad scholarship grew among his students as well as the wider church. He was regularly called upon to deliver papers, write articles and to preach in congregations. In 1930 the ELSA decided to publish a theological journal, *The Australasian Theological Review*, and Henry Hamann was appointed as its editor in 1932, an arduous position he was to fill for thirty years. It gave him great influence among the pastors of the church. In 1939, when Friedrich Graebner retired from the position, Henry Hamann followed him as head of Concordia College. And in 1941 when Friedrich Graebner also retired as head of the seminary, Henry Hamann took over that position as well. In the same year he was honoured with the degree of Doctor of Divinity by his *alma mater*, Concordia Seminary in St. Louis. At his installation service, his son, also called Henry Hamann, was installed as a teacher at Concordia along with him.²¹

Life at Concordia

Shifting Concordia College from Murtoa to Adelaide at the end of 1904 proved to be a sensible move. The most obvious advantage was its proximity to a much larger pool of potential students. Perhaps one of the greatest moments for the college came on 12 December 1912 (12/12/12) when twelve theological students graduated from Concordia and were ordained as pastors in the church. In 1921, an excellent year, there were fifteen. Enrolments naturally waned during the difficult years of war and

depression: there were only thirty-nine students in 1915, seventy-eight in 1933, and sixty-four in 1941, the year Henry Hamann assumed headship of the seminary. There was even a debate at synod about closing down the college and sending theological students to the USA instead. On the other hand it was clear that Concordia was providing a valuable service to the church. In 1927 females were enrolled for the first time, and ninety-nine students, including nineteen girls, attended the college. In 1935 a total of nine consecutive classes were enrolled for the first time. At the end of 1957 when Concordia College and Concordia Seminary divided into two separate institutions, albeit still occupying the same property and sharing some facilities and staff, 167 pastors, ninety-four teachers and twelve deaconesses had been graduated for service in the church.²²

Concordia was proving a successful school in other ways as well. Despite Henry Hamann's reservations about public examinations, Concordia students continued to do well in them when Henry Hamann (the son), Bertram Haebich and Martin Darsow topped the state in German, Greek and Latin. Female students Theodora Doecke, Esther Darsow and Helen Graebner produced top results in the state as well and subsequently became Lutheran teachers. The trend continued with John Paech, later a Lutheran educational leader in Victoria, topping Ancient History in 1939. Ron Blaess (1940) and Stella Altmann, Everard Leske and Jean Eckert (1941) achieved similar successes. These results suggest that Concordia's American faculty were adjusting well to Australian conditions. The college eventually achieved some success at sport as well. In 1926 a new gymnasium was officially opened and proved a popular facility. In 1930 students at the college formed their own athletics club and in a short time David Pahl (later a seminary lecturer) and Herb Rosenblatt won championships in broad jump, shot put, hammer throw and javelin. In 1935 the Old Boys Association helped provide a turf wicket as well as lawn tennis courts. There were also premierships in football, cricket and netball. Australian cricketer, Clarrie Grimmett, was engaged to coach the First XI in 1939. It must be admitted, however, that the American dominated faculty had less to do with the success in cricket and football than the enthusiasm and the initiative of the students themselves. There was also the fact that originally there was no age limit placed on Concordia's school teams.²³

Nor was the cultural life of students neglected. Future teachers received free individual tuition in the piano or violin from 1906, and future pastors were accorded the same privilege from 1909. Professor Winkler organised an early orchestra and there was always a program of choral and instrumental music offered at major school events. In 1927, with the appointment of Adele Wiebusch to teach piano to the girls, a new era of musical attainment began, including public performances by orchestras and choirs in prestigious venues like the Adelaide Town Hall. One feature was the college octet called "Euodia". During the 1930s Concordia organised promotional concert tours through the southern states, featuring musical items, drama and comedy as well as gymnastic displays. Henry Hamann sometimes accompanied these trips himself and it was he who introduced Australian Lutherans to the satirically barbed rendition of *Der Schnitzelbank*.²⁴

Originally, Concordia had been established to provide teachers and pastors for the church. Gradually students seeking a more general education were also enrolled. From

early on there was also a movement to make the college co-educational. It was raised at the ELSA's synodical convention in 1912, but it was not until the 1920s that the movement gained momentum. In 1923 the Lobethal convention agreed to establish a separate ladies' college. The matter was given some urgency in 1924 when the law banning Lutheran primary schools was repealed. Concordia, which had discontinued training teachers during the war, now had reason to reactivate this programme. By the end of World War II Concordia was actively encouraging the enrolment of "intelligent, industrious girls who are willing to qualify as teachers in our schools." There was also a fear that girls seeking a higher education might go to schools run by other denominations and gradually be lost to the church. It was admitted too that there was some merit in providing opportunities for raising the educational standards of females.²⁵

In 1925 a crucial meeting held in Adelaide resulted in the formation of a Society for Higher Education (SHE) with Professor Koch from Concordia as its chair. On his arrival at Concordia Henry Hamann was welcomed onto the committee and was soon serving as its treasurer and then, within a couple of years, as its chair, a role he filled and a cause he supported for the next thirty years. It was decided that the girls would also attend Concordia. Instead of paying tuition to the college, however, girls' fees were paid to SHE which had the responsibility for providing suitable boarding, which it did when one of the seminary students, Philip Zweck, invested an inheritance in a house that was rented for the purpose. When the school year started at Concordia in 1927 there were eighty males and nineteen females attending the college. It began in a shaky fashion with adverse whispering campaigns in the church about problems in the girls' hostel which discouraged some parents from sending their daughters. Henry Hamann, in the pages of the church's newspaper, assured parents of the benefits not only to the girls, but also to their families and congregations when they received a Christian education. The enrolment of girls at Concordia did not really take off until 1936, but it did grow thereafter. At first it was far from an integrated co-educational situation. Girls sat in their own section of the classroom, and in the early years were not allowed to talk to the boys. At opening services boys were addressed separately from the girls. On the other hand, because of economics, there was no separate curriculum for girls, which meant they studied the same subjects as the boys and attended the same classes. In 1959 SHE, a separate organisation with its own finances and its own assets, was handed over to Concordia College as girls finally gained an equal footing. Henry Hamann, who had been responsible for the girls as chair of SHE for so many years, was pleased to hand over such duties to someone else.²⁶

One of the more taxing periods of Henry Hamann's leadership at Concordia were the years of World War II. It did not help that they coincided with his first years as principal of the dual institutions. Enrolments declined during this period, partly because of the college's German background, but also owing to the economic strictures of the period. Even though without substance, there were always rumours of Lutheran schools propagating pro-German propaganda and dubious stories of disaffection and disloyalty on the part of church members were rife. In a time of war, people found it difficult to distinguish between an inherited connection with German language and

culture and potential acts of betrayal and sabotage. As in the previous one, this world war also provided some cases of internment for the Lutheran community. It also brought a huge influx of American servicemen to Australia, including significant numbers of Lutherans who were quick to make contact with local congregations. Concordia and other Lutheran schools were not closed down during the war, despite some calls that they should be. Wartime regulations and precautions were observed on campus, the blackout rules, the digging of trenches, the building of an air-raid shelter and the evacuation drills that went with them. For Concordia the most telling moment of the war occurred in March 1942 when the military inspected the college and announced that it was about to be taken over as an army hospital. There would be only a week to evacuate. Of course Concordia was not being victimised in this way because a number of other state and private schools suffered a similar fate. The girls' hostel was not affected, but the boys had to be housed with local families and the premises of Bethlehem Lutheran congregation in the city were used for classes. Thankfully the military occupation only lasted three months and the hospital was removed to the Adelaide Hills where its recovering occupants were less likely to wander into the city without permission.²⁷

In the years of his leadership at Concordia Henry Hamann left his mark on the college. There were always the problems associated with overworked staff and the lack of resources and facilities to contend with in a church that continued to be slow in providing funding and support. In 1940 he relieved the pressure somewhat when he introduced a new timetable which saw twenty-five minutes cut off the start of the day, and the introduction of a daily timetable consisting of chapel plus eight forty-minute lessons. He did not believe in overtaxing students just as he did not like to impose too many regulations. He contended that the more rules you made for people, the more opportunity they had for breaking them or developing a negative mindset. He also believed that patience was the educator's long suit and that it took a long time for scholars to emerge and for Christian character to develop. Teaching and learning should be characterised by joy and discovery, not by drudge and drill. In 1941 physics and French were added to the curriculum of the secondary school. In 1946 a new deaconess course was introduced to the seminary. In 1950 Concordia boys were required to wear a uniform for the first time. In 1953 an additional wing, which included science and library facilities, was added to the college. In 1958 a separate tertiary building was built on one end of the Concordia campus as the college and the seminary officially parted ways. And over the years a steady flow of pastors and teachers and deaconesses continued to graduate from the seminary. Pastors, unless they acquired some university qualifications before hand, did all their training at Concordia. The same was true of deaconesses. Teachers, on the other hand, usually did one year of study at Concordia, but also attended a teachers' college for their professional training. At Concordia the teachers and deaconesses had their own classes, but combined with seminary students for subjects like Bible introduction and church history. In 1954 Concordia celebrated fifty years of operation on its Adelaide campus. It calculated that during that time it had graduated 149 pastors, eighty-six teachers, ten deaconesses to serve in the church, as well as providing a Christian education for a total of 1 426 students.²⁸

The Hamann Legacy

Henry Hamann sometimes lamented that he had to wait until he was in his fifties before he was called upon to become a teacher of theology. Despite this, perhaps the greatest contribution he made to Australian Lutheranism was his role as the principal theological scholar and teacher in the ELCA through the decades of the 1930s through to the early 1960s. He was in regular demand to deliver papers at church conventions, teachers' conferences and inter-synodical meetings. He not only edited the *Australasian Theological Review* for over thirty years but he was also its most prolific contributor. He penned scholarly articles on a wide variety of topics, as well as providing detailed news items on theological trends and issues which he had encountered in his wide reading of books, periodicals and journals. The articles encompassed such areas as detailed exegeses of Bible passages, as well as exhaustive discussions on the meanings of Greek words like "aion" (eternity) and "allotriepiskopos" (busy body).²⁹ There were also sermon outlines, practical papers on homiletics and liturgical practices, critiques of contemporary theological ideas, analyses of other creeds and religions, church and missionary histories and the elucidation of finer points of theology to be found in the Lutheran Confessions. True Missouri man that he was, he reserved his greatest eloquence and keenest rhetoric for those matters concerning ecumenism and unionism, especially as they pertained to world Lutheranism. At the end of World War II he took up a number of social and ethical topics like total war and industrial strikes. There were also articles on education. He wrote a detailed analysis on Concordia's public examination results from 1930 to 1938 and, although they were favourable to the college (a pass rate of sixty-five percent compared to forty-two percent for state schools), he questioned their educational value. In another issue he defended Lutheran schools against charges of independent school "snobbishness". And when a private school principal suggested in the press that religion should be taught in state schools, Henry Hamann wrote an article opposing it because he saw the potential it provided for Christianity to be shaped to serve the needs of the state.³⁰

Over the years Henry Hamann took the opportunities that were offered to articulate a clear philosophy of Lutheran schooling. For him the first duty and highest object of Concordia continued to be the provision of pastors and teachers for the church. But it also offered all Lutheran students an opportunity for thorough religious instruction as well as for secular knowledge imparted in a Christian atmosphere. The aim was to produce graduates for a useful life of good works in society. Henry Hamann insisted that the great gem of the Reformation was Luther's catechism which exemplified the church's calling to teach the next generation the truths of God. Despite a contemporary mood of scepticism the church's foremost call was to pass on the fundamental truths of the Bible. Of course a general education was also important. Lutheran schooling at all levels should not only broaden and deepen religious knowledge, but also pass on those aspects of societal culture which were in harmony with true Christian thought and feeling to produce both a competent and consecrated laity. The ultimate authority for the Lutheran school was God's word which directed conduct and discipline as well as providing the measuring stick for whatever human opinions posed as truth. Although admitting that the "exact sciences" were useful and relevant, he believed that the humanities, as well as an engagement with theology and philosophy, provided

the best preparation for life. He also warned against early specialisation in practical subjects which denied a broadening exposure to a general education. However, at bottom, the secret ingredient of Christian education was a balance of law and gospel that not only created a proper attitude towards God but to fellow humans as well. This reorientation of each person to God and his neighbour was the basis of genuine Christian schooling.³¹

Henry Hamann provided a long period of distinguished service at Concordia. In 1953 he handed over leadership of the secondary school to Fred Blaess, but continued as principal of the seminary until the end of 1961 when he passed that responsibility to his son Henry. In the intervening years the college had experienced the difficult era of economic depression and global war and had survived them. From a college primarily focussed on producing men as pastors and teachers for the church it had broadened its aims to include a general education for Lutherans of both genders. During all the time he served as head of this dual institution he did so without any significant respite in his teaching duties or the help of a secretary outside of the voluntary contributions of his wife Lillian.³²

A small, slight figure of a man, Henry Hamann projected a considerable physical presence. He stood very erect and held his head at an imperious angle, his piercing eyes accentuated by the thick-lensed spectacles he wore. His voice was deep and booming and young people could feel intimidated by him. His older theology students grew to respect and admire him. They nicknamed him “Hoosh” after the sound he made when he cleared his throat. Some of them had a saying: “Next to God – Hoosh Hamann!” He dressed well, sometimes sporting a bow tie and a bowler hat. He read widely, had a gift for languages, loved history and literature and appreciated good music. Blessed with a retentive mind he was given to peppering his lessons and conversations with quotes from the Bible and from poets and writers both classic and modern. His students considered him a masterly theologian whose ideas and pronouncements were always based on clear principles and eloquently enunciated. When, in 1942, he received a Doctor of Divinity degree, his response before the assembled students at Concordia was spoken in Latin. His theology was based on the Scriptures, and the ultimate justification for any position he took was that it came from God’s word. Although tempered by his childhood experiences in Germany and his missionary days in India, his thinking remained staunchly, if not rigidly, Missourian: Scripture based, true to the Confessions, balanced in law and gospel, wary of unionistic causes and with a strong belief in the value of Christian education. He kept up with developments in the Missouri Synod whose president from 1935 to 1962, William Behnken, was a former classmate. His attitude to his students was firm but reasonable. He had a good sense of humour and employed it to create a friendly classroom atmosphere. He understood that good discipline was not something forced on students by threats and punishments but was rather an inculcated habit of self-discipline born of the gospel.³³

Even without the problems it raised for him as a principal, World War II was a difficult time for Henry Hamann. Because he was German born and had not applied for citizenship in Australia, he feared that he might be interned. Because of his German roots it was a particularly painful time for him as he saw the country of his birth reviled abroad and suffering at home. But there was something even more profound

which affected his sensibilities. After the war he gave voice to this in a series of articles in the *Australasian Theological Review*. The theme was “Christian Conscience and War”. Central to his line of argument was the concept of “total war”, where indiscriminate attacks were made not only on military targets but also on civilian populations, including doctors and nurses, women and children. He considered such warfare to be contrary to the teachings of the Bible and the Confessions. He was also concerned about the propaganda that each country engaged in during wartime which made it extremely difficult for the individual citizen to objectively judge the moral issues. His final article was an impassioned plea on behalf of conscientious objectors to any war. He was disappointed that he found little support among Lutherans to voice these concerns publicly. To his mind the churches had lost an important opportunity to witness against a huge evil, the threat of which continued to hang over the cold war world. He also had reservations about the trial and execution of “war criminals”, all from the losing side, which he considered a form of barbarism continued from wartime.³⁴

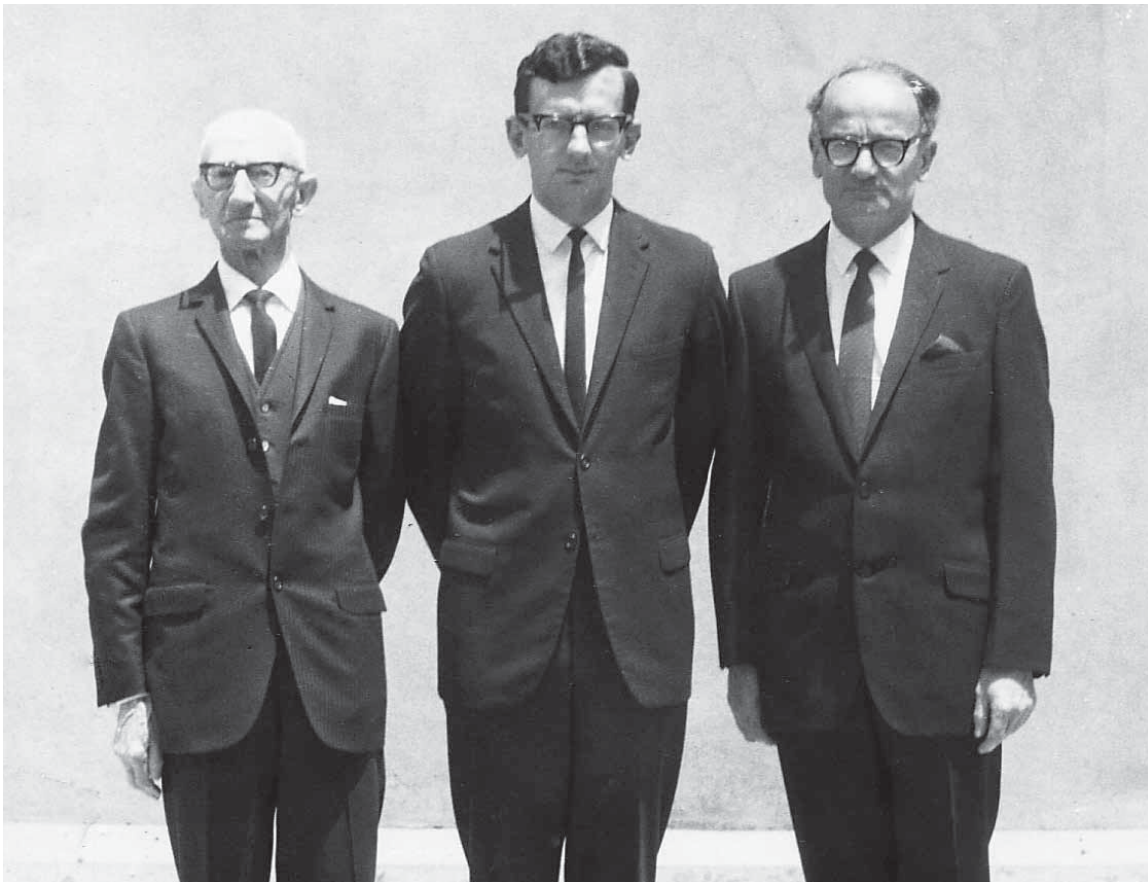
The Later Years

In 1946 Henry Hamann took leave with his family to visit the USA for ten months. It was a time for catching up with relatives as well as visiting congregations and colleges from Chicago to California. He included his old schools at Fort Wayne and St Louis where he addressed faculty and students. He found the Missouri Synod somewhat changed and beset with internal rifts. He discerned less emphasis on the Scriptures and a stronger focus on liturgical matters in some quarters. The clear proclamation of law and gospel was being tricked out with political, economic and social ideas which Henry Hamann considered to be of doubtful value. Missouri had changed and left him behind. Although the Hamanns were happy to return to Concordia in Adelaide, their daughter Dorothy remained in the USA and a few years later their son Henry left his wife and children with his parents and attended Concordia at St Louis in 1948 and 1949 to further his studies. This formed the basis of a theological doctorate which he was awarded in 1956. In 1954 Lillian Hamann died after a short illness and left Henry Hamann to live his last thirty years as a widower. In 1956 his mother also died and he took a quick trip back to the USA. While on this visit he was astounded to receive a call to teach theology in the tiny Lutheran Church in England. He declined. It was about this time that his sight began to deteriorate more markedly due to a form of glaucoma. In 1959 he had an operation to remove his appendix. After finishing his work at Concordia in 1961 Henry Hamann went to live with his daughter in the USA for a couple years before returning to Australia.³⁵

For many years Henry Hamann was a member of the inter-synodical committee set up in 1941 to bring about a single Lutheran Church in Australia. As an historian he saw that the issues separating the two synods flowed from the different origins of their pastors. The ELCA had earlier obtained its pastors from the Hermannsburg Seminary in Germany and then more latterly from the Missouri Synod in the USA. The UELCA, for its part, recruited its pastors from Neuendettelsau in Germany and formed ties with the Iowa and Ohio Lutheran synods in the USA. The issues that divided Australian Lutherans reflected this history. The finer points of doctrinal differences between the

two churches were ironed out, point by point, and as a Missouri Lutheran with a strong sense of being true to Scripture and not glossing over doctrinal differences just for the sake of union, the issue for Henry Hamann became this: at what point were minor disagreements no longer significant enough to prevent an amalgamation? The remaining issue preventing union concerned relations with other Lutheran bodies. The UELCA membership of the Lutheran World Federation (LWF) and its fellowship with the American Lutheran Church (ALC) were impediments that ELCA members could not overcome. In the end the Lutheran Church of Australia (LCA) only became a reality when both the ELCA and UELCA cut all formal ties with other Lutheran bodies. Included in this, of course, were the ELCA ties with the Missouri Synod. Henry Hamann had retired by the time of the formation of the LCA but he was supportive of the *Theses of Agreement* that created it and was resigned to the gradual demise of Missouri Synod influence in Australia that resulted from it. In 1962 and 1963 while living in the US he witnessed firsthand the serious ructions that were developing within the Missouri Synod between conservative and liberal factions. That would have made the diminishing Missouri connection more palatable to him.³⁶

After he retired, Henry Hamann realised that he had become a stateless person. Years of living elsewhere meant that any citizenship rights he had in Germany and the USA had lapsed. He had not applied for Australian citizenship because he had always intended on returning to the USA. Despite his ineligibility for a passport, he spent some time in retirement travelling in America, Asia and Europe. It was quite a feat



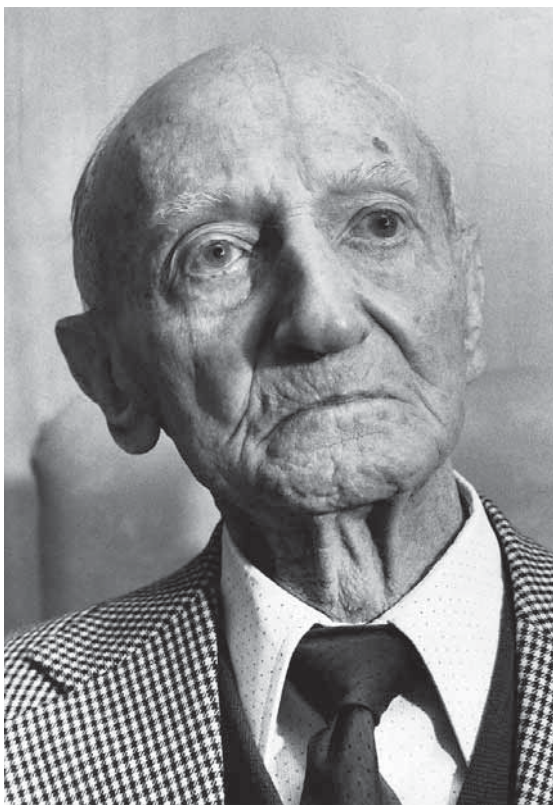
Three generations of pastors, from left, Henry Hamann, grandson Robert, and son Henry.

and involved considerable bureaucratic wrangling wherever he went. On one occasion he found himself ejected from a tourist bus at a border in Europe, stateless, alone, in the snow, on a country road, in his seventies, partially blind, but not at all daunted. As he trudged along the roadside he consoled himself with the words of one of his old teachers: "The man who does not know how to help himself does not deserve to get into difficulties". When he returned to Australia after two years abroad he finally applied for citizenship in the country in which he had spent the longest time. He was told that his absence for two years meant that he was not eligible! Finally in 1965 aged almost eighty he became an Australian citizen.³⁷

Henry Hamann spent the ninth and tenth decades of his long life living in Adelaide. At first he occupied a flat at Concordia Seminary taking his meals with his son's family. Volunteer students and his grandchildren were rostered to read to him and his son taped hours of theological readings for him as well. Each afternoon, fitted out in a suit, hat and umbrella he took a vigorous walk around the streets of Highgate. When the family were away he ate in the Concordia refectory where students helped him distinguish the food on his plate while he engaged them in erudite, one-way conversation. He completed his memoirs, roughly typing them and having them read back. In 1968, when his son moved to Luther Seminary in North Adelaide, Henry Hamann took up residence in the Lutheran Rest Home at Fullarton. Encroaching blindness impeded his scholastic pursuits as well as his daily walks, so he spent his time listening to tapes and the radio and walking the passages of the home for exercise. He saw his grandson Robert ordained as a Lutheran pastor in 1968 and his son Henry installed as principal of Luther Seminary in 1980. He was always delightful company

and his mental faculties remained acute to the end, which came shortly before his hundredth birthday on 3 April 1985. Six days later he was buried beside his beloved Lillian.³⁸

In 1983 a newspaper interviewer described the ninety-seven year old Henry Hamann as "a splendid, immaculately groomed old eagle". He was still exercising each day although he had given up doing push-ups the previous year. Being blind he entertained himself by talking to friends, browsing through his prodigious memory and in listening to recorded books ranging from C. S. Lewis to Agatha Christie. In 1984 aged ninety-eight, he spoke at the opening of a refurbished wing of Concordia College which had been named in his honour. It was a lively and wise and colourful speech and included these sentiments: "If these halls and rooms had intelligence



The old eagle: Henry Hamann at 97.

and speech, they might join in the words of Tennyson: *Men may come, and men may go, but I go on forever*. Headmasters and other teachers may come and go; one generation of students takes the place of another. But Concordia College must remain an institution dedicated to sound education, that is, education based on divine truth, acknowledging God as ruler of all and Jesus Christ as Saviour . . . May Concordia live, grow, and flourish under God.”³⁹

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 - 2 J. P. Weiss, *Short General and Statistical History of the Australian Lutheran Church*, Adelaide: self published, 2003, p. 256; H. P. A. Hamann, *On Four Continents*, unpublished autobiography, pp. 1 ff., Lutheran Archives (LA).
 - 3 Hamann, pp. 11 ff.
 - 4 Ibid., pp. 20 ff.
 - 5 Ibid., pp. 22 ff.
 - 6 Ibid. pp. 26 ff.; *Lutheran Witness*, 9 April 1972, pp. 16, 17.
 - 7 Hamann, pp. 29 ff.
 - 8 Ibid., pp. 46 ff.
 - 9 Ibid., pp. 53 ff.
 - 10 Ibid., pp. 79 ff.
 - 11 Ibid., pp. 100 ff.; H. Hamann, *In Retrospect*, a manuscript, LA.
 - 12 *The Lutheran Witness*, (USA), 9 April 1972, p. 145; Koch, pp. 22ff., 24ff., 50, 76 ff.
 - 13 Koch, pp. 82, 83; Hauser, pp. 156 ff.
 - 14 CF Graebner, *Notes On My Sojourn On Earth*, handwritten manuscript, Concordia College Archives (CCA), Adelaide, pp. 1ff.
 - 15 Hauser, pp. 153 ff.; El. Leske, *Concordia 100 Years*, Adelaide: LPH, 1990, pp. 34 - 37; Graebner, pp. 68 ff., 79, 80, 83 ff.
 - 16 Graebner, p. 93; Leske, pp. 42, 156; *Advertiser*, 23 February, 1905, p. 7; *Australian Lutheran*, 3 March 1920, pp. 37, 38.
 - 17 Leske, pp. 44, 45, 46; Graebner, pp. 93, 94; A. Brauer, *Under The Southern Cross*, Adelaide: CPH, 1985, p. 442; Koch, p. 73; *Australian Lutheran*, 17 March 1926, p. 43; 21 December 1921, p. 221; 19 November 1947.
 - 18 Koch, pp. 29, 32, 33, 55 ff., 138, 150 ff., 223, 226; *Lutheran Witness*, 9 April 1972, p. 17; *Australian Lutheran*, 6 March 1919, pp. 36, 37.
 - 19 Koch, pp. 76 ff.; Hamann, *On Four Continents*, p. 145.
 - 20 Hamann, *On Four Continents*, pp. 163 ff; Text Book list, CCA; *Australian Lutheran*, 20 February 1919.
 - 21 Leske, pp. 186 ff.; Hamann, *On Four Continents*, pp. 175 ff.
 - 22 Leske pp. 158 ff, 161, 163, 166, 177, 186, 208; Hamann, *On Four Continents*, p. 191.
 - 23 Leske pp. 160ff., 171ff, 180 ff.
 - 24 Leske, pp. 132, 157, 159, 161, 162, 182; Hamann, *On Four Continents*, p. 186.
 - 25 Leske, pp. 55 ff.; *Australian Lutheran*, 14 January 1946 p. 7.
 - 26 Leske p. 67; Hamann, *On Four Continents*, pp. 180 ff.; *Australian Lutheran*, Vol. 19, January 1931, pp. 15-17.
 - 27 Hamann, *On Four Continents*, pp. 191 – 196.
 - 28 Hamann letter to a colleague, 27 December 1946 LA; Leske, pp. 184 – 214; Hamann, *In Retrospect*; *Australian Lutheran*, 19 January 1949, p. 9.
 - 29 *Australasian Theological Review*, Vol. IV, July-September & October-December 1933, Nos. 3 & 4; Vol. VIII, October-December 1937, No. 4.

- 30 *Australasian Theological Review*, Vol. X, January-March, 1939 No. 1; Vol. XIII, July-September, 1942, No. 3; Vol. XV, October-December 1944, No. 4.
- 31 *Australian Lutheran*, 1942, pp. 295-6; 1941, pp. 304-7; May 1929, p. 109; August 1926, p. 127; January 1928, pp. 5-7; April 1950, p. 118; January 1946, p. 9; November 1940, p. 275; H. Hamann, *Definiteness versus Vagueness in Religious Education*, 20 January 1929, LA.
- 32 Leske, pp. 170, 204; Hamann, *On Four Continents*, p. 211; *Australian Lutheran*, 14 December 1960.
- 33 Leske, pp. 96, 97, 189; Hamann, *On Four Continents*, pp. 189 ff.; Koch, p. 145.
- 34 Hamann, *On Four Continents*, pp. 187ff., 196, 197, 203; *Australasian Theological Review*, Vol. XVI, October-December 1945, No. 4; Vol. XVIII, January-June 1947, Nos. 1 & 2; Vol. XIX, December 1948, No. 4.
- 35 Hamann, *On Four Continents*, pp. 199 ff., 211 ff.; *Australian Lutheran*, 20 October 1954, p. 326.
- 36 Hamann, *On Four Continents*, pp. 207 ff.; Koch, p. 239; Ev. Leske, *For Faith and Freedom*, Adelaide: Open Book, 1996, p. 239.
- 37 Hamann, *On Four Continents*, p. 221 ff.
- 38 El Leske, pp. 96 ff.
- 39 S. Cockburn, "Out of Sight, Never out of Mind", *Advertiser*, 18 April 1983; Weiss, p. 256.

CHAPTER 3

Karl Muetzelfeldt The German Injection

“If you listen to me, you will know what is right, just and fair.” Proverbs 2:9

Unlike the Evangelical Lutheran Synod in Australia (ELSA) which continued, despite difficulties, an uninterrupted Lutheran school tradition through the first third of the twentieth century, the United Evangelical Lutheran Church in Australia (UELCA) placed much less emphasis on Christian schooling. In fact, from 1917 until 1936, the only Lutheran school belonging to the UELCA and its predecessor Immanuel Synod (IS) still in operation was Immanuel College in Adelaide. During this period there were no UELCA Lutheran day schools at all. While the ELSA continued its ties with the USA, the UELCA maintained its strong links with Lutheranism in Germany, despite severe restrictions placed on this connection during the world wars. Up until World War I, the Neuendettelsau seminary in Bavaria continued to be the tertiary training institution for graduates from Immanuel College who wanted to become pastors. Germany was also the study destination and source of most of the theological lecturers who formed the faculty at Immanuel Seminary after it was established in Adelaide in 1923. One of the most influential and effective lecturers at Immanuel was Karl Muetzelfeldt, an educator and theologian from Germany who joined the Immanuel faculty in 1934. He played a major role in re-establishing educational pathways in the UELCA during the interwar years. His story provides a convenient vantage point from which to view the development of Lutheran schooling in the UELCA in the first half of the twentieth century.¹



Karl Muetzelfeldt

Early Life

Karl Heinrich Theodor Muetzelfeldt was born on 30 April 1880 in the German province of Hanover. His father, also called Karl, was a mission inspector at the Hermannsburg Lutheran seminary. His mother was the former Maria Lehmitz. His childhood years were spent in Osnabrueck, a city in Lower Saxony about a hundred kilometres to the west of Hanover where his father was the pastor of a small Lutheran congregation. They belonged to the free Lutheran Church which had continued a strong confessional orientation through the period of the enforced union between Lutheran and Calvinistic Protestantism in the 1830s and 1840s, and the family maintained an enthusiastic commitment to the distinctive Lutheran teachings which had been formulated at the time of the Reformation. Karl Muetzelfeldt was confirmed in this faith in 1895 and after he had finished primary school his family sent him to attend the *Gymnasium* at Elberfeld, a Protestant city and educational centre over 150 kilometres to the south. The school had been founded in 1592. He lived there with a Schmidt family until he had passed the examination that entitled him to serve one instead of three years in the army. He then returned to Osnabrueck where he completed his high school years and obtained his matriculation, followed by the required year of service in the army at Goettingen, where he was also enrolled at the university as a theology student. After leaving the army he studied philosophy and theology at Goettingen until 1903 and became a member of *Wingolf*, a Christian student association.

Karl Muetzelfeldt continued his studies at the university of Rostock. This city sited in northern Germany on the Baltic Sea coast was an established commercial centre and had been a member of the Hanseatic League of free trading cities. Its university was one of the oldest and largest in Europe and had been founded by the papacy in 1419. After the Reformation it became, in 1542, a centre of Lutheranism. It was at Rostock that Karl Muetzelfeldt blossomed as a student, forming close associations with his lecturers and growing in academic stature. His most influential teacher was the church historian Wilhelm Walther who became a personal friend. He also took courses in biblical studies, practical theology, philosophy, music and German language and culture, and came into contact with modernism which sharpened his doctrinal acumen and honed his approach to systematics and apologetics. During his student days he also encountered the writings of the great German New Testament scholar Theodor Zahn who treated the Bible as God's inspired word to the world. But perhaps the greatest influence on his theological development was a summer he spent at the theological school at Bethel, where the Bodelschwingh family not only offered study courses in the Scriptures, but also provided help for the poor and disabled. His experience here moved his theological focus away from a study of Christian doctrine in its own right to a deeper appreciation of the Bible in the ways it led to practical help for people in distress. From Rostock, at the urging of his father, Karl Muetzelfeldt moved on to the Lutheran seminary at Breslau. Although his own inclination was to become a high school teacher, his father wanted him to qualify in theology. He graduated from Breslau at Easter 1907 and though not planning to be ordained as a pastor he did receive his licence to preach in the Evangelical Lutheran Church which he often exercised in the years to come.²

However, Karl Muetzfeldt's calling was to be in education. After graduating from Breslau he found a temporary position as a teacher in a Lutheran secondary school at Godesberg on the Rhine River where he took charge of the boarding house. He joined a group called the *Keplerbund* which was dedicated to reconciling religion and science and battling a materialistic worldview. At the same time he continued his studies at Bonn University in the German language and culture and history. He also did courses in gymnastics and swimming which broadened his teaching skills and provided some variety to his classroom teaching. At the end of 1908 he returned to Rostock to complete his studies to qualify him as a high school teacher. The subjects he took were Hebrew, religion and philosophy. Having accomplished this goal he returned to Godesberg as a permanent member of staff in 1909. The next year he took a position at a women's teachers' college in Düsseldorf. This was also a state institution and these two years of service qualified him to teach in government schools. He became a senior master at Düsseldorf in 1913, a short-lived position because he was called into the army for the duration of World War I. He returned to Düsseldorf in 1919 and in 1923 he received a call from the Bethel organisation to implement the restructuring of its school system. This was part of a major shake-up of Prussian education in the wake of the world war. For various reasons Karl Muetzfeldt was unable to take up the Bethel challenge, but it was followed a few months later by the offer of a job with the educational wing of the Kaiserwerth system, which had been founded by Theodor Fliedner in the 1830s. Fliedner, a Lutheran pastor, had established a series of mother houses staffed by Christian deaconesses who were trained to do social and medical work. At the time that Karl Muetzfeldt became involved, the Kaiserwerth organisation operated three elementary schools, two middle schools, and a training seminary for women. At the latter it offered a variety of secondary courses to equip women for special ministries as well as tertiary studies. There were courses for practical homemaking as well as studies in music, art, gymnastics and domestic arts, in addition to a course for academic girls. There was also training for kindergarten teachers and childcare workers. Karl Muetzfeldt's job was to take over the higher education and training centre. He modernised and unified the institution on a biblical and gospel foundation. He was able to create a solid Christian education system which was recognised and accredited by the state.³

Beside his regular work in schools Karl Muetzfeldt was also involved in a broader range of activities. In his early teaching days at Godesberg he assisted one of his colleagues, Dr Dennert, in the production of a *People's Encyclopedia*, for which he wrote over two hundred articles in the areas of theology and philosophy, eventually taking over its editorship. He authored articles and published pamphlets defending the Christian faith against new atheistic philosophies, including being a regular contributor to a Christian monthly magazine called *Faith and Knowledge*. After the war he became a member of the German National People's Party dedicated to rebuilding the nation. He partook in public debates on political and philosophical issues, especially as an opponent of the prevailing free thinking movement. He was a keen advocate for Christian schools and their place in the new Germany, and founded a journal called *School and Gospel* to support this movement. During this period he maintained active membership and served as an elder and occasional preacher in the free Lutheran church in Düsseldorf.

He was the joint author of a text book on religious instruction which was used in 150 high schools. It championed the teaching of religion through the proclamation of God's word according to the Lutheran Confessions. Karl Muetzelfeldt was also a leader in developing a religious instruction curriculum for high schools in Prussia. He was a board member of the body overseeing Christian boys' schools and chairman of the parallel girls' body. In connection with this latter role he published a booklet in 1925 calling on German Protestants to make sure their children were receiving an adequate Christian education.⁴

Even in wartime Karl Muetzelfeldt's accomplishments were formidable. He spent the entirety of the 1914 – 1918 war as a soldier in the German army. He saw action in the trenches and observed and experienced the horrors of that life first hand. He served also as an ordinance officer organising supplies for the men on the front line. Later he became a regimental officer. At one stage, as a result of the wounds and hardships he experienced in battle, he became seriously ill. By the end of the war his educational expertise was being put to work in training young recruits. He was awarded the Iron Cross for bravery on two occasions. And more than once he took the opportunity in both formal and informal settings to witness as a Christian to his fellow soldiers. The war left him with permanent injuries including a lame leg and a hearing problem which were to mar, but not diminish, his performance as a teacher and lecturer in later life. It also confirmed in him strong feelings of patriotism and a commitment to *Deutschtum*, a belief in the high value of German culture and identity. His behaviour after the war demonstrated his zeal for creating a future for his country where society would be permeated by Christian beliefs and values.⁵

In 1909, shortly after becoming a high school teacher, Karl Muetzelfeldt married Gertrud Herzfeld. He had met her during his days at Rostock. Her father was a music teacher there and Gertrud was a friend of the Walther family where Karl Muetzelfeldt was often a house guest. She also was a student who in time gained her qualifications as a high school teacher. The Herzfelds were committed and practising Lutherans and the young couple shared a common Christian belief. During the war, while her husband was in the army, Gertrud occupied herself with voluntary charity work. After the war she became involved with a Christian women's organisation, on whose behalf she was often called upon to deliver lectures at public meetings in various parts of the country. They had five children, one of whom died prematurely. The other four, Elfriede, Hannah, Bruno and Dorothea, accompanied them to Australia in 1934. Their decision to emigrate right at the time when Karl's career was at its zenith was largely a result of the rise of Hitler and his Nazi party. It was in 1933 that Hitler, after a decade of notoriety as a provocative public figure, and exploiting the national discontent arising out of the Great Depression, finally came to power as Germany's chancellor. The Muetzelfeldt family watched his rise with strong apprehension. Through his interactions with Nazi party members at conferences and in dealings with the government Karl Muetzelfeldt developed a strong distaste for their policies and political methods from the earliest days. As a Lutheran who believed in a proper respect for state authorities he had to make some fine judgments about his behaviour as a citizen in what was rapidly becoming a totalitarian state. On one occasion when he refused to fly the Nazi flag instead of a Christian banner over his college he was taken in for questioning and his office was

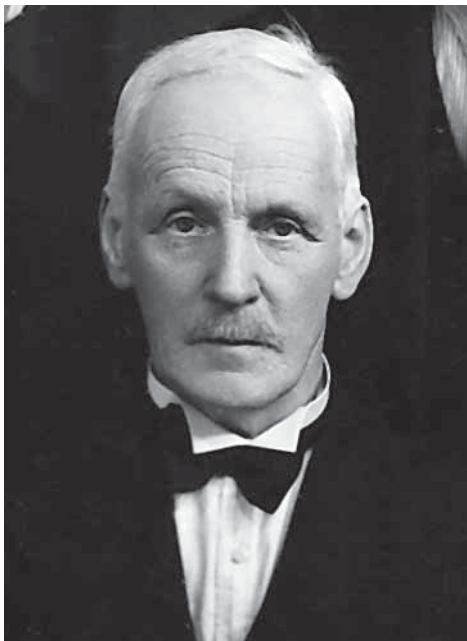
ransacked. Also he was prescient enough to realise that Hitler's anti-Semitism would inevitably manifest itself in severe repercussions for his family, because the Herzfelds had some Jewish ancestry. As his opposition to the regime became known he was spied on and persecuted. His wife was somewhat traumatised by all this. With his family under threat Karl Muetzfeldt wrote to various Lutheran churches in other countries, North and South America, South Africa and Australia, looking for employment. The leaders of the UELCA, desperate for another lecturer at Immanuel Seminary, were the only ones to oblige with an offer.⁶

The Löhe Story:

When Karl Muetzfeldt arrived at Immanuel Seminary in 1934 it had been established in Adelaide for eleven years. Although the UELCA had been operating Immanuel College at Point Pass north of the Barossa Valley in South Australia since 1895, their policy for the next twenty-five years had been to send their candidates for the pastorate to study theology at Neuendettelsau in Germany. This tradition, of course, ran into difficulties in World War I and some Australian students studying there were actually interned. So after the war the UELCA began to look to the USA for theological training. It also decided to start its own centre in Tanunda. Called Wartburg Seminary it opened in May 1921. Its chief lecturer was Wolfgang Riedel from Immanuel College and he was assisted by Richard Held and Theodor Hebart who were local pastors. At the beginning of 1923 Wartburg Seminary was relocated to North Adelaide, where it was renamed Immanuel and co-located with Immanuel College which had moved from Point Pass. The joint principal of the campus was Pastor Paul Löhe who had been called to the position to replace his old schoolmate from Neuendettelsau, Pastor Friedrich Leidig, who had been forced to retire prematurely because of bad health. Paul Löhe had been the pastor at Natimuk in Victoria since 1902. To him was given the responsibility of establishing Immanuel College and Seminary in the city. He was installed at the joint institution which was officially opened on 23 February 1923. In its first year it enrolled a total of twenty-seven students.⁷

Paul Löhe was the grandson of Max Löhe, the business manager of the Lutheran seminary and mission society at Neuendettelsau in the southern German province of Bavaria. This remarkable institution had been founded by Wilhelm Löhe after he had been installed as the Lutheran pastor at Neuendettelsau in 1837. Wilhelm Löhe was the older brother of Max Löhe. Paul Löhe's great-uncle Wilhelm was one of the towering figures of nineteenth century German Lutheranism. From his small base at Neuendettelsau his initiatives in mission training and social work were to have a profound effect not only in his own country but also on the development of Lutheranism in Australia and America. Among other things he provided a training institute for girls for work among the disabled, the sick and the insane. In 1841 Wilhelm Löhe heard about the need for spiritual leaders amongst the Germans who had migrated to America. He responded by publishing an article appealing for volunteers and funds. He himself trained the first two men to offer their services and they arrived in America in 1842. They were eventually ordained. In 1846 Wilhelm Löhe founded a theological seminary at Fort Wayne, Indiana, to produce pastors for the American church. Some of their training was done in Germany and after 1852

this was based at Neuendettelsau where a seminary for missionaries was opened the next year. By 1853 Wilhelm Löhe had sent thirty-four men to serve in America. In 1845 Löhe's people were involved in discussions with CFW Walther, a Lutheran from Saxony who was the pastor of a congregation in St Louis, Missouri. By 1847 these negotiations resulted in the formation of the Missouri Synod, a new Lutheran church with a strong adherence to the Lutheran Confessions as well as a policy to retain the German language. CFW Walther was its president. It was not long before Walther and Löhe were at odds over doctrinal matters and in 1853 Löhe's followers moved to Iowa where they established Wartburg Seminary and formed the Iowa Synod of the Lutheran Church. This laid the foundations for the friction and antipathy between the Iowa and Missouri Synods in the decades that followed. It flowed over into Australia where two camps also developed. The Missouri Synod and the ELSA formed one and ranged against them was the Iowa Synod in fellowship with the UELCA.⁸



Paul Löhe

Johannes Paul Löhe was born on 18 August 1869 at Neuendettelsau and was baptised by his eminent grand-uncle Wilhelm. He was raised in the village of Windsheim, where his father ran a postal centre including large stables for quartering horses used on mail runs. Paul Löhe lost his mother when he was five years old and he and his older brother experienced a fairly free upbringing dotted with boyish escapades and adventures. In 1881 Paul Löhe was sent off to study in a *Gymnasium* in Nördlingen, from where he hoped to matriculate in order qualify for entrance to the highly reputable University of Erlangen to study theology. His father refused to support this ambition. Instead, with the help of his mother's relatives, Paul Löhe left Nördlingen to study at the Neuendettelsau seminary in order to become a missionary. Between 1885 and 1889 he completed his studies there, not

without some problems. He had little encouragement from his father, caused concerns for his teachers and did not enjoy the strong discipline and steady ritual at the institution whose atmosphere he found belittling and constraining. He excelled at music and was adept at gymnastics. He did appreciate the theology he learned there and his Christian faith was strongly nurtured. He left for South Australia in August 1889 and was ordained as a pastor by President Julius Rechner at Point Pass that same year. In 1890 he moved to Steinfeld from where he initiated new Lutheran congregations in surrounding districts. In 1893, after she and her family had considered it for a year, he became engaged to Hildegard Voelter, a pastor's daughter and governess he knew only by sight from his days as a student. They were finally married when she joined him in Australia in 1896. Their long marriage ended in 1952, when they both died within a month of each other, and produced a formidable family of pastors and teachers. One son, William, became an influential head of St Peters Lutheran College in Brisbane

for over fifteen years and Adolph served as a lecturer at both Immanuel and Luther Seminaries. In 1902 Paul Löhe and his young family moved to Natimuk in western Victoria where he served as a pastor. In 1921 he was elected as president of his church, a position he held until 1925. He moved to Adelaide in 1923 where he took up his role as the head of Immanuel Seminary and College. He handed Immanuel College over to Pastor Edwin Auricht in 1942 and the Seminary to Dr Siegfried Hebart in 1945, although he continued to lecture at the seminary until 1952.⁹

While Paul Löhe was the official head of Immanuel College, Teacher Keller was the senior master who taught most of the mainstream subjects as well as being in charge of daily operations and the boarding house. He was assisted by Teacher Doecke (Commercial) and Teacher Leidig (Latin, Greek) the son of Immanuel's founder, Friedrich Leidig, who was also a product of Neuendettelsau. Friedrich Leidig had shaped Immanuel in the image of his *alma mater*. So when Paul Löhe took over from him he found a familiar regime. There was the regular schedule of private devotions and community worship: before breakfast, before school, after dinner and before bed. Lessons were interrupted in the middle of the day for an extended break before school finished around 6.00 pm. In Adelaide, Paul Löhe, a collector of good books, introduced the practice of reading to students after lunch each day. On Sundays he took his place at the organ and led them in lusty hymn singing after their midday meal. Students had to contribute their share of labour in sweeping and cleaning and chopping firewood for the college. Paul Löhe was an enthusiastic supporter of musical pursuits, but was less keen on sports which he considered a distraction from academic effort. He took personal responsibility for the welfare of boarders, mostly from the country, and though aloof in manner, was capable of showing compassion and care to students and their families. Eventually he introduced a system of rules and punishments. There were four levels of penalties, the last one, rarely invoked, being expulsion. He made sure students were taught good manners and that they looked after property. There is a well known story of him finding a half-eaten apple in the yard and consuming it in front of the assembled students as a lesson against waste. Like Friedrich Leidig, Paul Löhe was an advocate of *Deutschtum*, a belief in the superior quality of German civilization, including its language, learning and culture. By the 1940s the college's governing body had resolved that English had to be the preponderant language used in lectures at the seminary, a move not welcomed by Paul Löhe who considered it would lead to a deterioration in academic standards.¹⁰

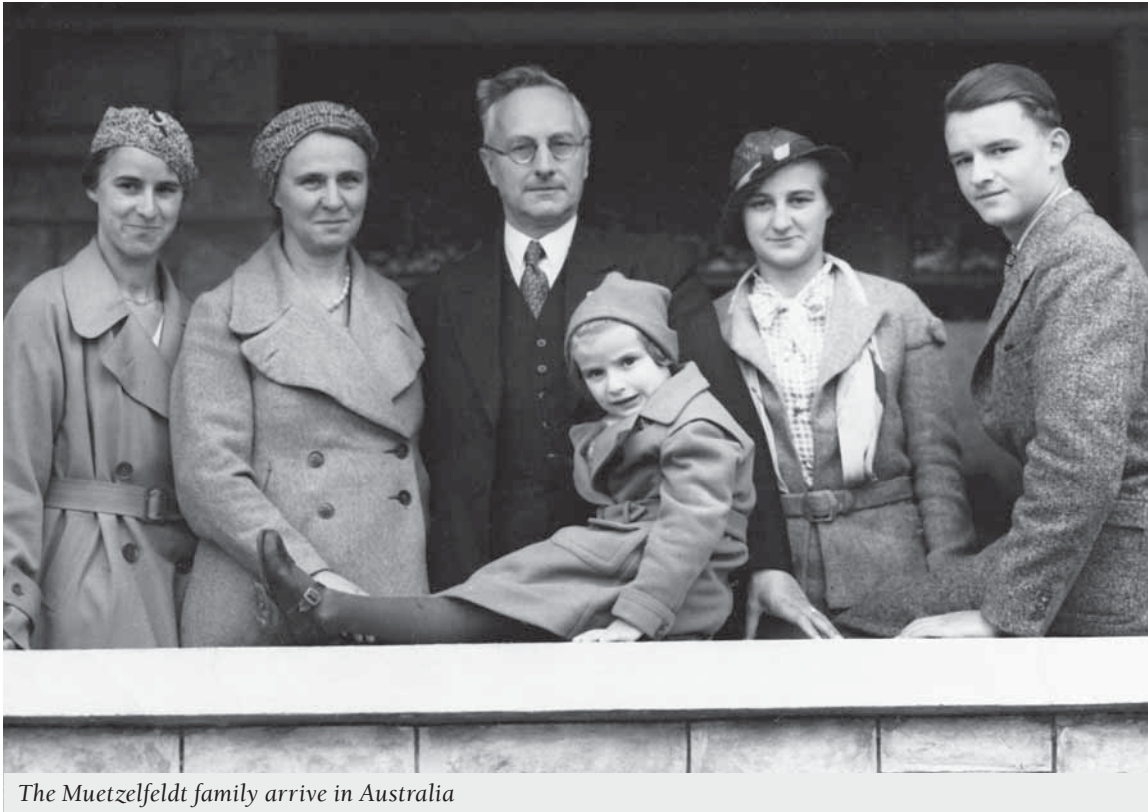
During his first days in Australia in 1889 Paul Löhe attended a special meeting between the Immanuel Synod (IS) and ELSA pastors at the Bethlehem Lutheran Church at Flinders Street in Adelaide. He was appointed minute keeper and he observed at first hand the divisions that existed between the two main Lutheran synods. As a graduate of Neuendettelsau, which had adopted a charter to unite the various strands of the Lutheran *diaspora* scattered in other countries, he maintained a strong enthusiasm for a reconciliation of these two churches. He practised the custom on a special day in September each year of returning to Bethlehem, which belonged to the opposing synod, to pray for unification. It is rather fitting then that when this union did eventuate in 1966 the first president of the new Lutheran Church of Australia (LCA) was his eldest son Max. This ecumenical enthusiasm was tempered by his distaste for the Missouri Synod and its strong stands on doctrinal issues, especially against syncretistic unionism.

In fact during the 1890s Paul Löhe was the writer of some of the more sarcastic and outspoken articles hostile to the ELSA and its Missouri influences. In his later years he did not impress his students with his abilities as a lecturer. His eccentricities, like his habit of drawing deep, audible breaths before he played the organ, amused them. He took a long walk nearly every day and appeared to his students, most of the time, as a very dignified and stern old gentleman. More broadly he maintained a childhood interest in horses. It also appalled him that Australians ring-barked trees. To the end he was always scathing about his own education at Neuendettelsau, perhaps because it was always second best to his original dream of studying at Erlangen University. He was an avid collector of books and when he died he left 21 000 of them in his library. He was a gifted musician who composed his own tunes for popular hymns.¹¹

After World War I, the theological training of pastors in the UELCA posed a considerable dilemma to church leaders. With Neuendettelsau no longer available, immediately after the war a number of UELCA college graduates, including Edwin Auricht who was later to become the head of Immanuel College, went to study at the Wartburg Seminary in Iowa. However, there always lingered in the UELCA a strong feeling that American educational institutions lacked the thoroughness and rigour necessary for training pastors. So after many years during which it was thought that Australia did not have the theological expertise to provide its own tertiary training, Wartburg Seminary was opened at Tanunda. In 1923 it moved to North Adelaide where it became Immanuel Seminary with Paul Löhe as its director. The theological education provided there during its first decade of operation was of fairly modest proportions. Paul Löhe and Wolfgang Riedel were the only full time lecturers and neither of them had a strong academic background. They simply passed on to students what they had learned from their own basic training as well as what they gleaned from books. In 1934, the year Paul Löhe turned sixty-five, at a meeting between him and Pastor JJ Stolz, the President of the UELCA, it was agreed that it was time the Immanuel Seminary faculty had some reinforcement, not only to augment the current staff but also to add extra expertise, especially in the area of education. This coincided with an application for a position from Karl Muetzelfeldt.¹²

Adelaide Days

The job Karl Muetzelfeldt was offered in Adelaide gave him a chance to get his family out of Germany, but the nature of the work itself was also attractive to him. They wanted a confessing Lutheran, an education specialist and someone steeped in German culture and language, and he fitted the bill. Before he left Germany, because he was to be involved with the training of pastors in Australia, Karl Muetzelfeldt decided to become a Lutheran pastor which his earlier seminary studies had qualified him to do. He was ordained on 13 May 1934. When he arrived in Australia and took up his teaching duties at Immanuel he found that academic standards were different and that student culture was more relaxed than in Germany. However, he soon adjusted and became a respected lecturer. Originally he was given the role of teacher to pre-seminary students, but he soon graduated to teaching the later years as well, especially after Wolfgang Riedel was interned for a short period during World War II. Karl Muetzelfeldt's main subjects were Bible history, Old Testament, philosophy,



The Muetzfeldt family arrive in Australia

apologetics and catechetics. The latter subject was especially dear to him as someone interested in Christian education. For a number of years he taught his Australian students in German, as did the other lecturers. This was partly because all three had been born and educated in Germany, but it also underlined the close identification the UELCA maintained with its German roots, as well as the respect they had for German scholarship and academic traditions. At the 1931 UELCA synod in South Australia the loss of German schooling was lamented because it was regarded that the language was inextricably tied to “instruction in the Christian way”.¹³

Increasingly, however, Immanuel’s Australian students were becoming less and less familiar with the German language and their complaints on this issue resulted in a decision for lectures at the seminary to be delivered in English from 1943 onwards. This was particularly difficult for Karl Muetzfeldt because of his lack of familiarity with the English language which was exacerbated by his hearing problems. It was also troubling for him because he considered that the future of the Lutheran Church in Australia depended on preserving the German language. Despite these reservations, Karl Muetzfeldt maintained his effectiveness as a teacher even though some students struggled with his heavy accent. He passed on his knowledge with great verve and enthusiasm. He introduced students to texts like Fankhauser’s four volume work on Bible history that became a staple of many of the pastors and teachers who sat in his classes. His keen enthusiasm for the German acculturation of his students was reflected in the selection of texts like Ditmar’s *Leitfaden der Weltgeschichte*, Wilke’s *Evangelische Kirchenkunde*, and Kluge’s *Geschichte der Deutschen National Literatur*. His more gifted students, in particular, were impressed with his philosophy lectures and his introduction to books like Pitirim Sorokin’s *The Crisis of our Age*, as well as McNeil

Dixon's *The Human Situation*, which brought his students to the cutting edge of modern thinking and, no doubt, alarmed some of the more conservative pastors who were occasionally confronted with student thinking.¹⁴

Karl Muetzelfeldt rapidly became popular with his students. The main element in all of this was his ability to engage them. He never used the blackboard but just talked. He was always happy to alter his agenda to answer questions of importance to them as well as deal with the big issues of the day. The earlier ones nicknamed him "Klopstock" because of his lame leg, and the later ones referred to him as "Mitzi", both names reflecting the clear affection they had for him. He exercised a pastoral concern for them, mingled with them between classes and invited them into his home. When his wife died he asked his students to serve as pall bearers. His array of interests was wide, ranging from the occult to social issues like the legalisation of prostitution. He was open enough to discuss sexual matters with his students. He had a good sense of humour which he exercised for positive ends in his classes. Where the other lecturers were more text orientated and read and dictated to their students, Karl Muetzelfeldt revelled in interaction and performance. The gifts he had as a teacher began to create complications for the seminary. Other lecturers were not as well-trained or as skilled as he was and the students inevitably made contrasts. He learned to walk a difficult line between loyalty to his colleagues and remaining open to his students. The 1941 graduating class, a gifted group of future church leaders and intellectuals, drew up a petition of complaint about the standard of some lecturers, which caused considerable consternation after it was delivered to President Stolz. They were reprimanded and the issue subsided. In 1942 some of his students, including future seminary lecturer Erich Renner, were so inspired by Karl Muetzelfeldt's teaching they decided to publish a theological periodical called *Faith and Fortitude*. It drew criticism from the clergy, but eventually it served as the forerunner to *The Lutheran Quarterly* which became the official theological journal of the UELCA. Karl Muetzelfeldt also took an interest in those Lutherans who were students at the University of Adelaide. He met with them regularly in his home to discuss those issues arising from their studies and pertinent to their faith. These meetings were formalised, in time, as the Lutheran University Study Circle, and again later as the Lutheran Student Fellowship (LSF). Karl Muetzelfeldt was a prime player in this genesis. Yet another area of activity was his efforts in the 1930s helping Jewish refugees to escape to Australia. This took the form of an aid office which was established in the UELCA under the auspices of a committee with Karl Muetzelfeldt as its most active member.¹⁵

One of the most important areas of Karl Muetzelfeldt's endeavours was in the Lutheran school movement of the UELCA which, in the 1930s, was picking up again after a period of inactivity in the years after World War I. Karl Muetzelfeldt became a strong advocate for the revival of this tradition. He wrote and spoke extensively on the subject and was effective in his campaign. In 1936 the Lutheran school at Light's Pass reopened and others were to follow in the years to come: Tanunda, Appila and Loxton in South Australia in 1938, and Gulugaba (Downfall Creek) in Queensland where Dore Serotzki, a former Immanuel College student, was installed as the teacher in 1940. Along with the establishment of schools came the need to revive a program for the training of Lutheran teachers. Karl Muetzelfeldt began this in an informal way

in 1937, when he gave special tutoring to Dulcie Gehling who was doing a course at Adelaide Teachers College. Three more students were tutored the next year. In 1941 the Teachers Class became an official course at Immanuel Seminary with Karl Muetzfeldt as its lecturer. He also led an attempt, eventually unsuccessful, to provide evening sessions with the teachers of Immanuel College in order to improve their theological and educational prowess. As well he became an involved member of the UELCA's Schools Committee. Besides the general promotion of schools this committee organised inservice programs for teachers in Lutheran schools. For instance, in 1945 a refresher course for Lutheran day school teachers was conducted at Light Pass. It included sessions on prayer, miracles, and Bible art, as well as psychology and religious instruction. Karl Muetzfeldt contributed lectures on the pharisees, church history and the fundamentals of music. In 1947 he was also instrumental in getting the agreement of synod to start a deaconess movement in the UELCA, although it did not get off the ground until 1961.¹⁶

During his later years at Immanuel Seminary, Karl Muetzfeldt was joined by some auspicious colleagues as the academic standing of that institution began to grow. Not least of these was Siegfried Hebart. He joined the faculty in 1942 when he was only in his thirty-third year. The son of a pastor he was born in 1909 in Tanunda, South Australia. He was educated at Immanuel College when it was still at Point Pass, and then attended Adelaide University where he completed a Master of Arts degree in classics, history, philosophy and English. From there he moved to Immanuel Seminary before spending some years at the Erlangen University in Germany from where he obtained a doctorate in theology in 1939 with a masterly dissertation on the theology of Wilhelm Löhe. He was ordained as a pastor in the same year and returned to Australia to take up a position as a teacher at Immanuel College. Three years later, he became a lecturer



Immanuel Seminary Teachers Class 1941. (From left) V. Stolz, G. Jacob, M. Fuhlbohm, M. Rosenzweig.

at the seminary, the first home grown Australian to fill that position. When Paul Löhe retired from the principalship of the seminary in 1945, Siegfried Hebart succeeded him. He was to continue in that position until 1967, when Immanuel gave way to Luther Seminary after the union which brought about the formation of the LCA. In 1968 Siegfried Hebart became the inaugural principal of Luther Seminary, a position he filled until his retirement at the end of 1978. A gifted intellectual and theologian and an impressive teacher and lecturer, he was also, by nature, a diplomat capable of listening to others and willing to compromise on the inessentials.¹⁷

Another colleague of Karl Muetzelfeldt at Immanuel Seminary was Hermann Sasse, a theologian of considerable stature from Erlangen University in Germany, who came to live in Australia in 1949 after opportunities for him in post-war Germany looked less promising. Born in Lower Lusatia in 1895 he graduated in philosophy and theology from the University of Berlin in 1916, before he, like Karl Muetzelfeldt, served in World War I and was involved in horrific action at Passchendaele, where he was one of only six survivors from a company of 150. After the war he continued his studies at Berlin gaining a Doctor of Theology degree in 1923. In the 1920s he studied in the USA. Back in Germany he emerged as one of the major theological leaders in an era when the church had to navigate the difficulties of postwar disillusionment, the Depression and the rise of the Nazi Party. In 1933 he took up a position as Professor of Church History, History of Dogma and Symbolics, at the prestigious Erlangen University in Bavaria, where one of his students was Siegfried Hebart. Although he became a marked man with the Nazis and an associate of the martyred Lutheran pastor, Dietrich Bonhoeffer, Hermann Sasse survived those dark days of German history. Somewhat disillusioned with church politics, in 1948 he accepted a call to Immanuel Seminary in Australia. This was quite a surprise because Hermann Sasse had, by this time, established an



Immanuel Seminary Faculty 1950: (from left) H. Sasse, W. Riedel, S. Hebart, K. Muetzelfeldt.

international reputation as a major Lutheran theologian. To have gained someone of his standing to serve in the Australian church was a major achievement. In Australia he taught church history at both Immanuel and Luther Seminaries, maintained a global network of communication with prominent theologians and authored a classic work of Lutheran theology entitled *This Is My Body*. He was also one of a group of Lutheran theologians who inspired an international resurgence of interest in the life and work of Martin Luther. He not only raised the reputation of Immanuel but played a positive role in bringing about the union of Australian Lutheranism. He retired from Luther Seminary in 1969.¹⁸

Educational Philosophy

At the South Australian Synod of the UELCA held in Eudunda in February 1936 Karl Muetzfeldt delivered a major lecture entitled *Why We Again Must Have Parochial Schools*. In four major parts, he outlined his philosophy of Lutheran schooling. This lecture was printed in the church magazine over a series of issues, as well as being published in booklet form, and it played a major part in reviving the Lutheran school movement in the UELCA which had been moribund for nearly twenty years. It is a thorough summary of his philosophy of Lutheran schooling.¹⁹

In the first part of his lecture Karl Muetzfeldt made an analysis of secular schooling. His verdict was that state schools were not the answer for Christian parents. Australia, he suggested, had a fairly good standard of state schooling in terms of passing on information and knowledge from one generation to the next. However, education was more than just transferring information; it involved the imparting of values and beliefs as well. The fundamental flaw with state education was that it was based on a false understanding of human nature which it saw as good and capable of choosing what was best. Christians knew that human nature was marred by sin and it was only through redemption and sanctification that it could be genuinely improved. Also, secular education saw schooling as relevant only to this world, while Christians knew that God's kingdom was broader and deeper and would flow into eternity. Because secular education did not recognise God it was prone to passing on inadequate and foolish ideas. Nor was it valid to argue that the church could supplement what was offered in state schools with a Sunday school program, because even secular educators understood that the best education catered for the whole person and should be done in an integrated fashion. Besides, there was no such thing as value-free schooling and every school, including a secular one, would advance a certain worldview. A school child spent more of their waking hours with teachers than parents and the influence of that exposure could not be underestimated. The culture of a school, over and above the knowledge imparted there, was a powerful influence on any child. If the church just provided Sunday schools for its children, not only would their weekday secular schooling dominate their consciousness, but it would also give the impression that thinking and acting like a Christian was a one-day-a-week affair. For all these reasons secular schooling was inadequate and even harmful for the full and proper education each Christian parent should provide for their child.²⁰

In the second part of his lecture on Christian education Karl Muetzfeldt turned to what he termed the "pedagogical" argument for providing Christian schools. His

contention was that for Christian parents, Christian schools were the only real answer. He claimed that every school, either sacred or secular, should reasonably be expected to employ a consistent philosophical approach. Teachers working in the same school should have a common understanding of the aims and purposes they were trying to achieve. But who had the final responsibility for choosing what these aims and purposes might be? That in turn raised the question: to whom do children really belong? Certainly not the state. Only in totalitarian countries where the government controlled the lives of everyone, even down to what they were allowed to say and think, would anyone argue this way. Certainly not the school. Teachers might be experts in the pedagogical process, and they might be powerful influences on the young in their care, but they did not have the ultimate responsibility for the children. Not even the church did. At times in history churches claimed the right to take children and dominate their thinking and learning, but it was never valid. The truth was that God used parents to create children and to nurture them. Parents, far more fundamentally than the state or the school or the church, were responsible for children and their education. In the final analysis, however, children did not even belong to their parents; they belonged to God and were gifts which parents held in trust. Christian parents, then, had to conscientiously choose how their children were educated according to God's purposes. Schools could provide pedagogical expertise, the church could set up schools with a Christian worldview and the state could support and regulate their operation, but parents had to choose. In a free and democratic society it was obvious that church schools operating according to a consistent worldview were the natural choice for Christian parents.²¹

For the third part of his lecture Karl Muetzelfeldt focused on the biblical foundations of Christian day schools. What did the Bible say on the issue? After all, for every question in life the Christian's first recourse for an answer was God's word. When you looked you found a copious amount of material in the Scriptures directly or indirectly related to education. It told you that the fear of God was the beginning of wisdom, that man did not live by bread alone, that parents were to bring up their children in the fear and admonition of the Lord and that little children should be allowed to come to sit at the feet of Jesus. These words and plenty more like them provided a clear biblical mandate for Christian education. In addition to this was the obligation, inherent in the sacrament of Baptism, to build on the faith created in the hearts of new believers by a thorough program of teaching about God and his church. Baptism was not only a reason for Christian education, it was the basis of it in that it was the major reality in the Christian's life which placed everything else in perspective. The Scriptures provided three fundamental truths that must permeate all Christian education. The first was that all people were made in the image of God and shared his creativity and were the heirs of his goodness. The second was that human nature was marred by original sin. Any education had to cope with this reality. The third was that Jesus through his sacrifice redeemed the world and this was the background for all good plans and educational programs. Furthermore, the law and gospel, as proclaimed in the Scriptures were of huge relevance to education. Before they could be properly educated each child had to face the judgment of God and so be prepared for

the wonderful news of the gospel. The law and gospel were God's pedagogics and there was no more fundamental teaching any person needed. The Scriptures also taught us about the last day when we all must face God. Our education must prepare us for that encounter too. In summary the Bible supplied us with not only the command to teach, it also provided education with a list of the great realities of existence that everyone needed to be taught.²²

In the final section of his lecture Karl Muetzelfeldt took a look at the role that the church had in Christian schooling. As we have seen he emphasised that the main responsibility for teaching children rested with parents. However, it was too large a role for them to cope with in contemporary society. In the current era the state had decided that every child needed to be educated as well and had taken responsibility to provide it. For Christian parents, the state could not offer an adequate education for their children. So, they had to provide their own schools. To do this they needed to be united so that they could make it possible. Their best focal point for unity was their congregation. Although this put great pressure on the congregation, it had to rise to the occasion. How should children be properly taught if not in Christian schools? How would these schools be provided unless the congregations supplied them? And where would suitable teachers come from? This need could only be met by the whole church, and so it too had a major responsibility. The church should stand by its schools. This thinking was nothing new. It was Luther's thinking in his many pronouncements about the necessity of Christian schools and an integral part of Reformation tradition. Luther also championed the importance of the Christian teacher whose calling he regarded as second only to the preacher. For Luther, church and school belonged indissolubly together and the role of teacher could be seen as a church office. The necessity for parish schools was also a key belief of the first Lutherans to migrate to Australia. Wherever they set up a church they built a school beside it. Really, the church had no option. The Scriptures, history and common sense demanded it. The church had to provide its people with Christian day schools.²³

In closing his lecture Karl Muetzelfeldt made a few further observations about Christian schools. He contended that Christian schools were not just secular schools with a bit of religious instruction and worship tacked on to them. They had to be thoroughly distinctive places with a unique atmosphere and focus. God's word had to be central and permeate everything, and Jesus should be Lord in all things, not just some things. Even the rhythm of the church year with its seasons and festivals should be echoed in the school. A Christian school was something which could only be gained by a lot of hard work and was always in a state of becoming. It would be a place too where relationships were different. There would be a sense of mutual responsibility between people, and co-operation rather than competition would be the chief method of ensuring achievement. He also promoted the idea that a Christian school would be a place of constant prayer. Overall his presentations made a considerable impact. In fact they were even picked up and printed in the church magazine of the American Lutheran Church.²⁴

A Considerable Impact

Karl Muetzelfeldt had been a prominent figure in Lutheran circles in Germany. After he left one of his supporters actually protested the necessity for his emigration with Hitler himself, to no avail. Most Lutherans in Australia were probably unaware of his standing in the church in Germany before he migrated. However, although he only came to Australia when he was in his fifties, there was no mistaking the major contribution Karl Muetzelfeldt made to the Lutheran church in his adopted land as well, especially to its education program. It would be a mistake to claim that he singlehandedly revived the Lutheran schooling tradition in the UELCA. That movement was well under way before he arrived in Australia in 1934. Ten years earlier the UELCA newspaper had already noted with interest the details pertaining to the repeal of legislation banning Lutheran schools in South Australia, observing that such schools could only be reopened if no state school would suffer as a result. At UELCA district conventions in South Australia in the early 1930s congregations were urged to consider the reopening of their Lutheran day schools. In 1932, two years before Karl Muetzelfeldt's arrival in Australia, Dr Johannes Flierl delivered a paper which proclaimed Lutheran day schools as a necessity for the church. A resolution from the pastors' conference preceding the convention supported this call. This was followed by an article in the church's newspaper which advocated the agency of Christian day schools as one method of keeping children in the faith. Another article the next month also championed the provision of Lutheran day schools from the point of view of parents who did not have the time to provide their children with thorough Christian instruction. One of these articles asked the question of where the teachers for the proposed schools were to come from. The answer, of course, was the North Adelaide seminary. It was against this background that Karl Muetzelfeldt's role in the revival of UELCA schools must be seen. The interest was there and the movement was already underway. He provided the energy and expertise to articulate the philosophy and train the teachers. No wonder the president of the church and the head of Immanuel Seminary received his application for work in Australia with such enthusiasm, and that his arrival was heralded with comments about his calibre and standing as an educator in Germany and the prediction that he would leave his imprint on the Australian Lutheran church.²⁵

Karl Muetzelfeldt retired from Immanuel Seminary at the end of 1953. By this time the UELCA had not only established five primary schools between 1936 and 1940 but also had three secondary colleges in operation after St Peters Lutheran College in Queensland (1945) and St Paul's College in New South Wales (1948) had been opened as interstate extensions of Immanuel. Karl Muetzelfeldt also ran a Teachers Class at Immanuel Seminary and there was a regular flow of information and promotion of the schools to the people of the church. Every year reports on progress in the schools appeared in the church's newspapers including details of the schools' finances. The community involvement in these schools was echoed in reports as well. Tanunda, for instance, reported in 1944 that it had forty-three enrolments, that its school committee met six or seven times annually, and its School Welfare Guild had raised £200 (pounds), and that 200 library books, a school banner, woodwork equipment, a sewing machine, a piano and a projector had all been purchased for the school, and that there had been

a successful annual picnic and break-up concert. Even the financial details of schools were printed, as in 1925 when Immanuel College reported that it had an income of £2 132/19/8 of which £603/4/2 had been collected or donated. This was expended on salaries (£1 042/4/7) and household costs (£604/10/-). Articles also appeared which provided parents with detailed arguments for sending their child to a Lutheran school: secular schools were inadequate, the Sunday school was not extensive enough, Christian schools alone fulfilled the command for parents to raise their children in the Lord. Each stage in the development of a new school was mentioned with an air of excitement and expectation: how a group of locals had started the drive to provide the school, the details of the crucial congregational meeting, concerns about teacher accreditation with the state as well as financial support in the congregation and reports on likely staffing decisions. Public pronouncements in the church's paper declared that Lutherans who failed to foster their own schools were "untrue to their principles and history."²⁶

There were also articles about the need for Christian colleges where students would not be subjected to doubtful literature or information that might be harmful for them. The special program at Immanuel for girls was highlighted: geography and physics that affect everyday lives, aural culture, voice training, drawing and needlework, as well as preparation for a professional career. In 1941 a whole edition of the church's newspaper was published in support of gaining enrolments for Immanuel College. It was aimed at parents of students who were approaching the end of primary schooling. It featured an article adapted from Karl Muetzelfeldt's brochure on why Christian day schools were necessary. It printed photos of the teachers at the college and the faculty at the seminary. Another article broached the need for Lutheran leaders in the community and Immanuel's role in producing them. There were recommendations and testimonials ranging from Martin Luther to a somewhat poignant one from "A Mother", as well as a lengthy article by an old scholar. A summary of the college's program was provided and a closing article was addressed to boys and girls of high school age, and another to their parents.²⁷

After World War II the enthusiasm for Lutheran schooling in the UELCA gathered pace. In 1947 Pastor Carl Pfitzner published six theses in support of Lutheran schooling. In them he asserted the primary responsibility of parents to provide Christian instruction and nurture for their children, but that they needed some institutional help to do this. State schools and Sunday school were both inadequate, therefore Christian day schools were a necessity. The future of the church depended on a day school system which had the added advantage of producing model citizens. Pastor Mervyn Stolz in another article asserted that the recent experience of Germany where Hitler had used the state education system for propaganda purposes showed how secular schooling was open to abuse. Because it was based on a false understanding of human nature it would always be prone to take wrong directions. Christian schools were therefore essential. Pastor Hugo Stiller in a paper he presented to the South Australian synod in 1948 developed the thesis that Christian education had always been of supreme importance in the church. The apostles had practised it, Luther had advocated it and it had always been a Lutheran tradition to have schools. State schools were inadequate because education involved more than just passing on information. Because they



Ophie Renner, UELCA Lutheran Day School Teacher.

did not recognize the centrality of Christ in all things they were susceptible to the influence of false ideologies and philosophies perpetrated by the likes of Darwin, Marx and Freud. Lutheran schools were therefore a necessity. The UELCA in Queensland at its district synod of 1946 also announced an enthusiasm for the establishment of Lutheran day schools. Through all these arguments one can trace back strands of thought to those articles presented by Karl Muetzelfeldt over a decade earlier. One thing was clear. By the time of Karl Muetzelfeldt's retirement the UELCA's commitment to Lutheran schooling at primary and secondary level was well established.²⁸

End Notes

It was a blow to Karl Muetzelfeldt when his wife Gertrud died in November 1943. She was only fifty-seven years old. His last ten years of work before he retired in 1953 were conducted as a widower. Earlier, in 1939, he had seen his only son Bruno ordained as a Lutheran pastor, later to specialise in a ministry to migrants and take up a position as a director of the Lutheran World Federation (LWF). One of the great delights for Karl Muetzelfeldt was to see his children grow up, be educated and take their places in a free society. His last public appearance was in 1955 when he gave his youngest daughter Dorothy away in marriage to a Lutheran pastor. Karl Muetzelfeldt died on 30 November 1955.²⁹

In some ways Karl Muetzelfeldt would have been disappointed with his accomplishments during the last two decades of his working life in Australia. He never saw the emergence of the deaconess program he supported for the harnessing of women power in the church. More keenly, he would have felt that, despite his best efforts, German language and culture were gradually losing their foothold in Australian Lutheranism. He saw the evidence in his own family. As his children were assimilated into Australian society they no longer spoke German with one another, saving it only for communication with their parents. Leaders have to get used to the fact that they do not always get it right, and that some of the paths they point to are not followed. More reassuring for him would have been the effectiveness he enjoyed as a lecturer, and his role as mentor to a generation of pastors and teachers, as well as his great service as the resuscitator-in-chief of the primary school movement in the UELCA.

In 2005 a group of Karl Muetzelfeldt's former students, including Lutheran luminaries like Erich Renner (seminary lecturer), Leslie Grope (past LCA president) and Rolph Mayer (past LTC principal), got together to celebrate the fiftieth anniversary of his passing. Few teachers make such an enduring impression that fifty years after their death their most accomplished students regather to celebrate their life!³⁰

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- 7 T. Hebart, *The United Evangelical Lutheran Church in Australia*, Adelaide: Lutheran Book Depot, 1938, pp. 203 ff.
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- 14 Mayer, FoLA Address; *Veteran Voices*, pp. 6, 21, 22.
- 15 Mayer, FoLA Address; *Veteran Voices*, pp. 19, 21, 22; Monteath, p. 370.
- 16 Mayer, FoLA Address; Hansen & Hansen, p. 163; *Lutheran Herald*, 18 August 1945, p. 266; 15 January 1940, p. 30; 26 August 1940.
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- 18 Weiss, p. 288; *Lutheran Theological Journal*, Vol. 10, No. 2, 1976, pp. 64, 65; *Australian Lutheran*, 26 October 1949, p. 327; M. Schild, "Hermann Sasse's Way", in Monteath, pp. 385, 388, 391, 395, 397, 398.
- 19 *Lutheran Herald*, 9 November 1936, pp. 358 ff.
- 20 *Lutheran Herald*, 9 November 1936, pp. 358 – 360.
- 21 *Lutheran Herald*, 23 November 1936, pp. 373 – 374.
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- 26 *Lutheran Herald*, 15 February 1926, p. 414; 11 November 1935, p. 356, 358, 359; 23 December 1935, p. 403; 29 March 1937, p. 110; 13 February 1939, p. 58; 7 January 1945, p. 5; 8 May 1943, pp. 149 ff.; 21 October 1944, pp. 342, 343.
- 27 *Lutheran Herald*, 20 January 1941
- 28 *Lutheran Herald*, 12 April 1947, pp. 115 – 118; 20 December 1947, pp. 408 – 409; 24 April 1948, pp. 130, 131; Queensland UELCA Synod Minutes, 1946, LA.
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CHAPTER 4

Garry Matuschka Remnant Rising

*“Out of Jerusalem will come a remnant, and out of
Mount Zion a band of survivors.” 2 Kings 19:31*

In 1919 only a remnant of Australian Lutheran schooling remained intact. In the Evangelical Lutheran Synod of Australia (ELSA) there remained two strong centres of education. One was Concordia College in Adelaide. The other consisted of the group of congregational primary schools still in operation in western Victoria and southern New South Wales. As the years passed and the ban on its schools in South Australia was lifted, the Lutheran school movement, somewhat unsurely and fitfully, recaptured a sense of direction. As the demand for Lutheran schools grew so did the demand for suitable teachers who could staff and lead them. One of the most prominent Lutheran teachers who emerged to take up this call was Garry Matuschka. Born and raised in those

Lutheran communities in western Victoria which still sustained a viable tradition of Lutheran schooling, he joined the ranks of their teachers as a leading practitioner. He also emerged as one of the more discerning, articulate and able Lutheran educational leaders, both in his own state and on the national scene. As Lutheran schooling regained its momentum and passed through the terrain of changing eras, he served as a principal in a variety of situations. The telling of his story provides a suitable vantage point from which to observe how Lutheran schooling in the ELCA, and later in the LCA, developed after the period of the world wars and Depression. Garry Matuschka was one of those who led the way.



Garry Matuschka

The Background

Gerhard Walter Matuschka grew up in the countryside which he later served. He was born on 27 April 1920. His birthplace, which he shared with Sir Robert Menzies, was the western Victorian town of Jeparit. His father was Alfred Matuschka and his mother the former Elisabeth Darsow. They reared a family of six sons and four daughters. Garry Matuschka was the third son and fifth child of the marriage. His mother had been a Lutheran teacher, serving at St Kitts in South Australia and Green Lake in western Victoria in the years before her marriage. A younger brother, Bruno, also became a Lutheran teacher. Garry Matuschka's mother, Elisabeth, was the eldest child of Emil Darsow, who served as the Lutheran pastor at Tarrington for sixteen years, where Elisabeth had all her primary schooling in the congregational school. Emil Darsow later became the editor of the ELSA's official newspaper, *Der Lutherische Kirchenbote* (LKB) as well as serving as his synod's president in Queensland. Her younger brother, John Darsow, also became a Lutheran pastor and leader who served eleven years as vice-president of his church and maintained a strong interest in Christian education.¹

The name Matuschka is Wendish, and the family belonged to those Wends (or Sorbs) who had emigrated to Australia from the German dominated province of Lusatia in central Europe and comprised a significant portion of the early Lutheran community in Australia. Garry Matuschka's father and grandfather had both attended the Lutheran school in Tabor, and after their marriage in 1912 his parents settled on a farm in the Mallee at Rosebery West. Their older children were born there, and the family lived in a mud brick and weatherboard house, working their mixed farm with its crops and dairy herd and making the longish trip to church at Kenmare on Sundays. They stayed there until 1926 when they moved to a farm near Rainbow. Life got tougher with the onset of drought and the Depression, and like many others on the land, the Matuschkas learned the art of subsistence farming. Three more children were born at Rainbow and the older siblings were able to attend school. In 1935 the family moved again, this time to the Wimmera. The economy picked up and the six younger children were sent to board at Concordia College in Adelaide to get the benefit of a Lutheran secondary education. Garry Matuschka and his siblings were an accomplished brace of progeny, possessing a flair for music and art as well as eventually embracing service occupations like teaching and nursing as their chosen vocations. Garry Matuschka and two of his brothers also served in the armed forces during World War II.²

Garry Matuschka attended primary school at Rainbow for eight years. This was followed by one year at Stawell Technical School before he was sent as a boarder to Concordia College in Adelaide where he studied until he achieved his matriculation. Classmates from that period included later Lutheran educational luminaries Elvin Janetzki (founding principal of Lutheran Teachers College in Adelaide) and John Paech (founding principal of Luther College in Melbourne). From there Garry Matuschka went on to study at Adelaide Teachers College to qualify for his chosen profession. His first appointment as a Lutheran teacher was back in Victoria. He accepted a call to teach at the Lutheran school at Vectis near Horsham for two years. He went back to Victoria with its established traditions of Lutheran schooling to follow in the footsteps of some of the great Lutheran primary educators of the inter-war period like teachers

Lehmann and Ziersch who had both served at Vectis before he took a position there. By this stage World War II had broken out and in 1942 Garry Matuschka was recruited into the Royal Australian Air Force (RAAF) where he did three years of training as a pilot, first in Launceston, and then for a period in Canada, before joining the war effort in Britain, seeing active service as a member of the Bomber Command. After the war and his demobilisation he took advantage of the opportunity to study at Melbourne Teachers College. In line with government policy he was one of 300 ex-servicemen who were invited to do so. This experience brought him up to date with contemporary educational practice. He also completed some studies at Melbourne University.³

In the early forties, during his war service training with the RAAF, Garry Matuschka, who was based in Canada at the time, took some leave in the United States. He visited St. Louis, the home of Concordia Seminary which was then, with 600 theology students, the largest Protestant training institution for pastors in the world. Besides the interest in visiting the namesake of his own *alma mater*, Garry Matuschka was impressed with the hospitality he was afforded there as well as the magnitude of the Lutheran presence in the city. It included its own radio station, KFUE, based on the Concordia campus as well as a Lutheran publishing house, and boasted 25 000 members spread over sixty congregations. He met Concordia faculty members like Dr Fritz, who had spent some time in Australia, as well as Dr Theo Graebner, a nephew of Concordia Adelaide's former principal. He gave talks to the Lutheran parish schools in the city and mingled with Concordia students, chatting with them into the early hours of the morning. It left him with a sense of awe and respect for what these fellow Missouri Synod churchmen had accomplished. It also set up contacts for the future. While in Canada Garry Matuschka was stationed at Fort McLeod where he received training in flying two-engined aircraft, and it was in Canada that he met the woman he was to marry, his cousin, Ruth Appelt. Her father had been born in Australia but had been serving as a Lutheran pastor in Canada since 1925. Garry and Ruth Matuschka were married in 1947.⁴

The Remnant Revived

In 1919 there was only a remnant group of Lutheran primary teachers left working in the church's schools. Of around seventy-five Lutheran teachers who had been working before the war there were about a dozen still in service, all of them teaching in the ELSA schools of western Victoria and southern New South Wales. They were a formidable group of committed churchmen who were well established leaders, along with their pastors, in the Lutheran communities where they worked. The longest serving of them was Ben Tepper at Kewell, who had taken up this position back in 1902 and was to continue in it until 1945, the year he died in his forty-third year as the local Lutheran principal. Heinrich Zeunert, a graduate of the Hahndorf College in 1890, began his teaching service at the Tabor Lutheran school a year later and was still there in 1919. For many years the congregational secretary and organist, in 1931 he completed his service after forty years of teaching in the same community. Teacher Gierke at Minyip (Kirchheim) had started that job back in 1901 and, in 1936, completed his thirty-five years at the local Lutheran school. Teacher Schuller began his teaching stint at Katyl in 1915 and stayed until 1940. Some of these teachers assumed almost mythic

reputations in the communities where they served for such long periods of time.⁵

In Tarrington (Kirchheim) where Garry Matuschka was to serve with such distinction, “Bobbie” Lehmann took over St. Michael’s Lutheran School in 1912 and served in it until 1942. Born in 1886, and a graduate of the Lutheran teachers course at Concordia College in Murtoa, he had previously taught at Winiam and Vectis before taking up the job at Tarrington. A well respected teacher, he also trained a number of student teachers as well as presiding over gatherings of the Lutheran teachers’ conference for a number of years. He also got involved in the cultural and sporting life of the community. He played a sweet violin and was a keen photographer. The school prospered under his leadership, boasting an enrolment of 108 students in 1926, making it the largest Lutheran school in Australia, and necessitating the employment of an assistant teacher full time. On his retirement he was warmly farewelled by the community with the customary “roll of notes” pressed into his departing hand.⁶

In contrast to the teachers who spent so many years at the one school was the figure of Bill Oster who gravitated to this Lutheran educational region for two periods of service. The grandson of Philipp Oster, a former president of the ELSA, his father, also called Philipp, had been a teaching graduate of Hahndorf College. Bill, the youngest of his twelve children, graduated as a teacher from Concordia College in 1930. His earlier work had been in South Australia in congregational and mission settings before he took a call to Tarrington where he served from 1944 to 1947. He arrived in the district at a time when it had been devastated by bushfires, and the principal’s residence had been destroyed. In the short time he spent at St. Michael’s he helped establish a parents association, and the school received excellent reports from state inspectors. He was an outstanding teacher and Lutheran educational leader who served equally well in both primary and secondary settings. After helping to establish Concordia College in Toowoomba he returned to Victoria in 1953 to take up a position at the Bethlehem Lutheran School at Tabor where he again served with distinction until 1959, forming a formidable team with his fellow principal, Garry Matuschka, from nearby Tarrington. Such was Bill Oster’s standing as an eminent Lutheran educator that he was appointed to the founding staff of Luther College in Melbourne in 1964 as its inaugural senior master.⁷

These Lutheran primary schools in Victoria were well established. That is one of the reasons they survived the difficult war period. They were owned, operated and funded by their local congregations under the management of school committees. They taught a balanced curriculum of religious and secular studies which had been adopted by the ELSA. The oldest of them was the school at Tarrington which could trace its origins back to 1853 when it had been established by Pastor Clamor Schürmann. Most of them had been in operation from the previous century and had served their congregational communities for generations. They had weathered the difficult times of drought and flood and poor seasons when congregations could hardly afford to pay their teachers, as well as the war years when their German orientation made them the focus of hostility and suspicion. At times some of these schools closed down for a period between teachers. Sometimes they operated only a few days a week. Their teachers came from a variety of backgrounds and not all of them had formal training. This situation improved after the Lutheran teacher training program got underway

at Concordia College at Murtoa after 1890. As was customary from earliest times in Australian Lutheran circles, the teachers in these schools were predominantly men, but there was a sprinkling of young, single female teachers as well, usually in subordinate roles, or in charge of small one teacher situations. By the end of World War I the male teachers in these schools were being paid between £100 (pounds) and £125 (pounds) a year. Enrolments ranged from as low as eight or ten through to school populations in excess of one hundred. Although they were Lutheran schools run for and by the congregation, non-Lutherans were sometimes enrolled if there were no other schools in the district. In the early days lessons were predominantly conducted in German, especially the religious instruction, but English was taught as well. However, during World War I the banning of the German language in these schools was the main condition of their remaining open, so by 1919 they were operating solely in English.⁸

Even after World War I had ended there was no guarantee that the Lutheran schools still in operation would be permitted to continue. The newly formed Returned Soldiers League (RSL) actively campaigned for their closure, and such sentiments fell on welcoming ears in some sections of the community. Even in Victoria where most of the schools were still functioning, the Director of Education, Frank Tate, who had defended them during the war against charges of disloyalty, suggested to the government that it might be better to close schools based on a different racial origin in order to cultivate a united national spirit in Australia. Garry Matuschka's uncle, John Darsow, a Lutheran pastor and church leader in Victoria, was regularly writing letters to the newspapers and lobbying political leaders in defence of the schools, assuring the authorities and the community of the loyalty of Lutherans to Australia. In 1920 the ELSA published a pamphlet which strongly avowed to governments the undivided patriotism which Lutherans had for Australia, and their commitment to its British institutions. This is the background to the slow development of Lutheran schools in the twenties and thirties.⁹

Despite all the opposition, however, the ELSA still retained a strong commitment to Lutheran schooling. In 1923 an article in the church's newspaper called for an action plan to reopen its schools in South Australia. Approaches were made to the government. By 1925 the legislation banning Lutheran schools in that state had been repealed, and the prohibition on German publications was also lifted. Slowly, Lutheran schools in South Australia began to re-open. In the decade that followed, schools were re-established at Eudunda (1925), South Kilkerran (1926), Gawler (1928), Kunden (1929), Lobethal and Springhead (1930) and Lyndoch and Cambrai (1935). In addition a new Lutheran school was opened at Henty in the New South Wales Riverina in 1930. Henty, in its early years, struggled to recruit teachers and filled positions with a regular turnover of local women interspersed with male students taking a year off from the seminary. St John's in Eudunda was successful in calling Ernst Ziersch from Vectis in Victoria as its founding principal, and he stayed for twenty years. Springhead called Roy Schueller, a Concordia College graduate teacher, and he remained at the school until he enlisted in the war effort in 1942. Albert Brueggemann, also just out of Concordia in 1930, gave the Lobethal Lutheran School a sound start and stayed until 1946. The foundation principal at Lyndoch was Theodora Doecke, another Concordia graduate who had attended Adelaide Teachers College and was one of those

uncommon pioneer female Lutheran principals of the era entrusted with a small one teacher school. She herself had been a foundation student at the Eudunda Lutheran school when it re-opened. Lyndoch was her first appointment when she was only nineteen years old. She soon established herself as a fine teacher who could conduct the church choir as well. She continued at Lyndoch for seventeen years before she was called to Adelaide to become the inaugural principal of St. John's Lutheran Primary School at Unley in 1952. In September 1939 after the outbreak of World War II there were calls once again, led by the RSL, to close down "German" schools. A delegation of Lutherans from both synods approached South Australian Premier Tom Playford with a plea to allow them to continue. And the Lutherans were relieved when none of their schools were closed down.¹⁰

The program of these re-opened ELSA Lutheran schools was unquestionably Christian, while also being loyally Australian. Instruction was completely in English. Even though the ban on teaching in German had been repealed in South Australia in 1929 it was argued that it was better for students to be learning their Christian knowledge in the language which was now their common tongue. In Teacher Ziersch's one-teacher school at Eudunda, for instance, lessons started at 9.00 am and each day students would assemble in the school yard, and salute the Australian flag and sing the national anthem. Following that, there was an inspection to check fingernails, hands, shoes and handkerchiefs. The first lesson of the day was usually religious instruction, and table grace was said before students left the classrooms at lunchtime. At the end of the day, school closed with the singing of a hymn. Students came to school on horseback, or by bike, even some on horse drawn carts. Corporal punishment with a ruler or strap was meted out to both girls and boys. For misdemeanours or poor work, students had to write out lines or corrections twenty or thirty times. If they were not completing such penalties at lunch they were playing games like sheep come home, hopscotch, rounders, marbles, knuckle bones, hide and seek, chasey, oranges and lemons and skipping. Thirsty students drank from rainwater tanks or waterbags hung in the tree shade during summer. Besides the main fare of English (spelling, dictation, copy book, composition) and mathematics, some history and geography were taught, and the boys did woodwork while the girls did sewing. Slates and chalk, pencils and paper, and ink and pens were used for written work. At four o'clock students went home. Each week the neatest work was placed in an honour book. Highlight of the year was the school picnic held in the neighbouring scrub with flat races and novelty events like egg and spoon, three legged and sack races. There was also the challenge of the greasy pole and the excitement of the rooster chase.¹¹

Tarrington

Garry Matuschka's first teaching job after the war was a one year stint for the Victorian Education Department at Kooroocheang near Ballarat. This was a valuable experience because it helped him understand how the state sector operated. However, it was not long before he was back in Lutheran service. Garry Matuschka was recruited to serve at Tarrington where he became the principal of St. Michael's Lutheran School. Established in 1853 at what was originally called Hochkirch, this was the oldest, continuing Lutheran school in Australia. It was situated in a strong Lutheran



Garry Matuschka at Tarrington

community with a long history. It boasted past students like Theodore Nickel who later became a Professor of Music at a Lutheran university in the United States, as well as Dr Wilhelm Zschech who lectured at Concordia Seminary in Adelaide, and Judge Martin Kriewaldt of the Northern Territory's Supreme Court. There was also a considerable list of Lutheran pastors who had attended the school. As was the practice in the schools of the church, Garry Matuschka received a call from the congregation. It arrived at the end of November 1947. If he took it up it required him to accept the Bible as God's word, the Lutheran Confessions as a true exposition of that word, and stipulated that he should instruct the children in these teachings as well as the secular subjects prescribed by the state. He also had to administer Christian discipline, be a good example in school and congregation and work in harmony with church elders. These were serious commitments to make, and Garry Matuschka, along with all those Lutheran teachers of the era, would have been keenly cognisant of their significance and importance. To be a Lutheran head-teacher was to accept leadership in the congregation and to take up a ministry in the church.¹²

It was in Tarrington that Garry Matuschka learned the ropes of principalship in a traditional rural Lutheran community. Young and energetic, he served as St. Michael's Lutheran School's principal for fourteen years and presided over a period of genuine accomplishments and attainments in the school's history. He started on a salary of £300 (pounds) spread over the year in monthly instalments. The congregation also paid out his bond with the Victorian education department. In addition he was provided with a house plus garage, and use of ten acres of grassed land complete with dairy, cowshed and fowl house. He and his young family lived in a modern residence which had been built after the original teacher's house had been destroyed by a grassfire in 1944. Gradually it was equipped with contemporary fittings including electricity

supply, a hot water system, town water and a septic system. When Garry Matuschka took over the school its main teaching area was a large room divided down the centre by a seven-foot screen in order to make it into two classrooms. A former church with pug walls which had been built in 1858 was still in use for reading groups, games and woodwork classes.¹³

At Tarrington Forms I and 2 of secondary schooling were also introduced. The impetus for this came from the congregation itself. They wanted their children to do the first two years of high school in a Christian environment close to home before moving on to a secular setting for their later years in Hamilton. When Bill Oster, Garry Matuschka's predecessor at Tarrington, took over the Tabor school in 1953, the schools decided to offer the first two years of secondary schooling together, as well as the six primary grades. This meant teaching German, science, mathematics, English, geography and history. Garry Matuschka, who taught Grades 5 to 8, to a total of forty-five students one year, had an enormous job. However, graduates who moved on to Hamilton High School fared well. After school a course was conducted to prepare Grade 8 students to compete for state wide scholarships which gave them financial support for their secondary studies. There was close co-operation between the Tarrington and Tabor Lutheran schools in those days. One of the more rewarding experiences of that era for Garry Matuschka was the joy of working with outstanding Lutheran teachers like Bill Oster and Naomi Hoff. In combination the three of them formed a reputable repository of Lutheran educational expertise for the area. Even though there was a thriving Lutheran day school movement in western Victoria during this period, there was also a strong emphasis on Saturday and Sunday schools. Lutheran teachers contributed by teaching in such weekend schools themselves as well as sharing their teaching craft with Saturday and Sunday School teachers at regional inservice conferences. Garry Matuschka was also involved in the Lutheran youth program at Tarrington where he directed musical productions. The pastors of both congregations supported the schools at Tabor and Tarrington, and the Lutheran congregation in Hamilton provided strong backing as well. While the relationship with the local pastor was always strong, there was no mistaking who was the junior partner in the work of the parish. This was evidenced in the division of the "incidental collections", the coins deposited by thankful parents in the font after baptisms. One year these amounted to £30 (pounds): the pastor, according to tradition, divided the money into three equal piles, two for himself and one for the teacher!¹⁴

For the first months Garry Matuschka had to teach the older students in the school hall. As the school grew and further facilities were required it put pressure on the congregation, some of whom resented the demands for expansion because of the costs involved. Despite this resistance Garry Matuschka was successful in leading the congregation to accept the need for extra and more adequate teaching space, and planning for an extra building started in 1952. In an era when an old classroom combined with a church hall no longer sufficed, the new facilities provided St. Michael's with a functional plant consisting of three classrooms and a small library. This cost £15 000 (pounds). For an additional £4 000 (pounds) it would have been possible to provide more adequate classrooms, but Garry Matuschka was unable to persuade the congregation to do this. The foundations were poured in 1955, and at the beginning

of the 1956 school year Garry Matuschka was afforded the honour of opening the doors of a new teaching block funded by the congregation. In the local paper the new building was described as a “Model of Modernity”, and Garry Matuschka contributed a great deal of thought to its planning. A crowd of over 800 people attended the opening. Once these new facilities were available, extra enrolments were accepted from Hamilton and nearby Warrayure where the Lutheran school had been closed. A school sports ground was also established as land was cleared, hundreds of tons of soil trucked in, fences built, scores of trees planted, a cricket pitch laid and a playground constructed. Parents were supportive of the school’s program and engaged in fund raising activities such as a rabbit drive to pay for the film-strip projector.¹⁵

The state inspectors who visited Tabor and Tarrington held these schools and their teachers in high esteem. Sometimes they spent extra time in the area just to pick up a few tips for their own understanding and growth. On at least one occasion the district inspector accepted an opportunity to attend and address the school’s Parents Association at Tarrington. Their reports for this period were usually very positive with comments about a well-managed school and enthusiastic and efficient teachers. The school’s tone was said to be very pleasing, and the headmaster’s direction thoughtful and stimulating.¹⁶

Lutheran schooling in the 1950s was becoming more sophisticated, a step on from the simple and rudimentary day schools from between the wars. There was still a strong emphasis on the rote learning of Bible texts, psalms, hymns and the catechism, but former students also remembered the intensity and depth of their Christian instruction. The annual *Schulprüfung*, or public examination day, when the community traditionally gathered at the school to see and hear students take an oral examination in their presence, followed by a school picnic, had undergone a change. Now there was no public examination, but the practice of an Open Day or Parents Day continued. It was the occasion for the students to display their work and show off their achievements. The buildings were thoroughly cleaned for the occasion, desks scrubbed, floral arrangements put in place, blackboards adorned with displays of school work, and then at lunch there was a huge feast, first for the students, and then their parents. Other features of the school year were the school concert, Christmas Eve service and the school picnic with its races, pillow fights, apple eating, nail-driving and stepping the distance competitions. Weeks of preparation went into the school concerts which featured plays, musicals, skits and choirs singing in three part harmony. Students also sang regularly at congregational church services. There were locker rooms at the entrance to the school building, complete with wash basins of cold water. Students were rostered to sweep and clean after school each day. In cold weather the large fireplace in the classroom was lit and a huge container of water was heated over the fire so that students could enjoy cocoa or milo at recess or lunch. There was also the free bottled milk supplied by the government. Skipping, cricket and rounders were common playtime activities. In 1953 the Tarrington school celebrated one hundred years of continual operation and the centenary was marked by a Gala Day on 9 May featuring a half-mile march by the students, a fancy dress parade and competition, a physical culture display and maypole dancing. In 1956 there was a memorable excursion to the Olympic Games which were held in Melbourne that year.¹⁷

Garry Matuschka matured into an experienced principal at St. Michael's in Tarrington, steeping himself in the culture and traditions of Lutheran schooling. He also learned to lead the local Lutheran community through changing times and the need for improved facilities and resources. The school had declined to about half of its maximum numbers during the war years. When Garry Matuschka took over in 1948 there were sixty-four students enrolled, and it had reverted to operation as a two-teacher school. By 1957 enrolments were well over one hundred again. Garry and Ruth Matuschka had their four children during their Tarrington years: Michael, Judith, Rodney and Stephanie. They also lost Judith who had contracted meningitis as a baby which led to her death eight years later.¹⁸

Geelong

The success of Tarrington and Tabor, along with some solid promotion of Lutheran schools at a district level, including the establishment of a New Schools Fund, prompted an expansion of the church's education program in Victoria even before the days of government funding. A Lutheran school was established in Dimboola in 1958, and in 1962 two more opened, one in Hamilton and the other in Geelong. These tended to be larger schools as the promotion of one-teacher operations was no longer encouraged in the church. Both Hamilton and Geelong schools were sited in urban areas. The school at Geelong, especially, was a new type of venture for Victorian Lutherans, and involved the establishment of a church school in a large city in competition with others, and serving a clientele more inclined to be critical of academic standards and school performance. The Lutheran congregational base was different too comprising as it did a mixture of migrant and urbanised families.

St. John's Lutheran congregation in Geelong, under the energetic leadership of its pastor, John Paech, and encouraged by district officials like Garry Matuschka, had decided to open a different sort of Lutheran day school. The congregation had contacts with a large community of migrants who possessed loose Lutheran connections from their background in Europe. They constituted a rich mission field, and John Paech had been working with them for some time, conducting worship services in German for them as well as assisting them with their private business and legal affairs. There were around 450 children with whom the congregation was in contact through Sunday and Saturday schools. This constituted a tantalising opportunity. One of the ways of harnessing this potential area of growth, John Paech and his congregational leaders thought, was through the establishment of a Lutheran school. This was a move away from custom where Lutheran schools were seen as nurture agencies for established families in the church. Another departure from normal practice was the intention to charge fees to parents of the school. In the traditional country settings the cost of the school was usually borne in its greatest part by the congregation. In adopting this mission approach and financial arrangement, Geelong was to pioneer a style of Lutheran schooling that was widely adopted in the Lutheran school boom of the later twentieth century. There had been talk in the congregation of starting a school since the early 1950s, and planning began in 1955. By 1960 Garry Matuschka, in his role as a district education official of the church, had become involved in the project. Geelong congregational leaders had also visited Tarrington in order to see an exemplary

Lutheran school in action, and he had been giving advice on prospective sites for the new school as well as being courted by John Paech as a potential founding principal.¹⁹

It was no surprise, then, when, after fourteen years in Tarrington, Garry Matuschka was called to start the new Lutheran school at Geelong. The call came in March 1961, sent early so that the newly appointed head could be involved in planning the proposed school. He was the overwhelming choice from a long list of candidates because of his reputation, undoubted vision and his ability to convey it to others. Although, in human terms, the call was not unexpected, Garry Matuschka, because of his understanding of Lutheran theology and practice, accepted it as a divine call to a special leadership ministry in the church. The chief considerations were not about advancing his career or receiving a better salary. Instead he focused on questions about where God might have him use his talents and experience to best effect. His Tarrington congregation told him bluntly that he should not go. Nevertheless he did accept the call. He knew that his experience was sorely needed in this new enterprise, and he looked forward to working with John Paech whose understanding of Lutheran schooling he considered akin to his own. The deciding factor for him, however, was the opportunity to explore the mission potential of a Lutheran school.²⁰

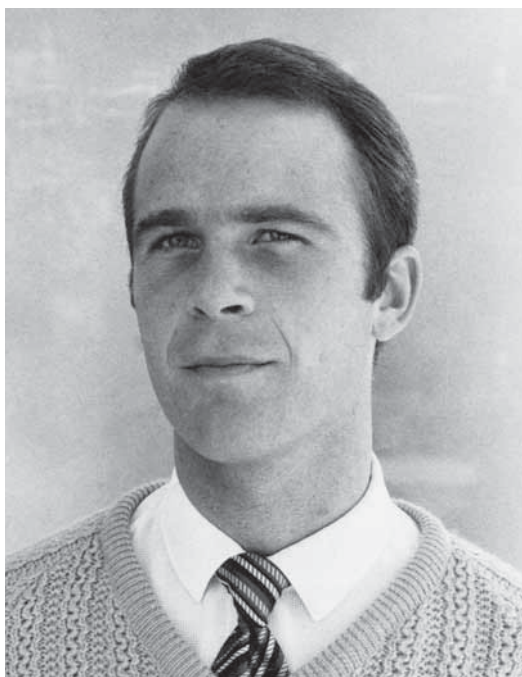
A treasure chest of £100 000 (pounds) of designated loan money had been deposited by various benefactors with the church's financial institution, the Lutheran Laymen's League (LLL), to support the project. After a period of searching for a suitable site for the school the congregation began negotiations with Geelong Grammar School whose preparatory campus, Bostock House, was for sale. The Lutherans purchased it for £90 000 (pounds), revamped it and prepared to open a day school there for the beginning of the 1962 school year. On 18 March that year more than 700 people attended the opening service, and hymns were accompanied by the Geelong West



Garry Matuschka and John Paech lead the official party at Geelong.

City Band. Guests included the president of the ELCA, Dr Clem Hoopmann, who dedicated the school, as well as the Victorian district president of the church, Pastor Walter Paech, who delivered the main address. Mr Oppermann, a minister in the federal government, also attended, as did the head of Geelong Grammar School. Pastor John Paech had an eye for using public events like this to impress the community. Nevertheless, the message about the purpose of the school remained clear with various speakers emphasising its Christian nature where the individual child was “a spiritual as well as a physical human being”, so the school offered an education conducive to the “harmonious development of the whole personality” in each child. The school started with solid enrolments, enough to require a second teacher. Garry Matuschka taught the senior students while the younger ones had Marcia Lubke as their teacher. She had worked with Garry Matuschka in Tarrington, and now joined him in Geelong, as she would again later in Adelaide. Their collegial relationship lasted for eighteen years, and they constituted an effective team of complimentary talents.²¹

Garry Matuschka’s salary, including allowances, was set at £1 050 (pounds) a year in addition to a residence. In another departure from traditional practice, the new headmaster was not required to take over leadership roles in the congregational Sunday school or youth group, which was the usual requirement. He got involved anyway. There were forty-seven students who started at the school in its first year. Enrolments doubled within twelve months. While the school did not attract as many migrant families as originally thought, it did reach out into the general community. After ten years student numbers had grown to 180. The staff increased as the school grew. By 1965 Garry Matuschka had introduced Grades 7 and 8, the first two years of secondary schooling, along the same lines he had put in place at Tarrington. Some of the credit for this successful growth was attributed to the quiet efficiency of its principal. He was well aware that local Lutherans, as well as many non-Lutheran families, did not have



Alan Wiebusch

a strong understanding of the purposes of Lutheran schools, so constant education of the congregation and the school’s parents was necessary. Over time, Garry Matuschka pointed out to an attentive clientele and church community, congregation members and parents would come to appreciate not only the school’s ability to stand shoulder to shoulder academically with other schools, but also that it had something special to offer. This was to be found in its unique approach to each student which was a valuable bonus to what they learned through the formal curriculum. Garry Matuschka helped to recruit good teachers. One of the foremost was Alan Wiebusch who joined the staff in 1965, was mentored by Garry Matuschka, and later became a major Lutheran educator in the south-eastern region.²²

In October 1967 Garry Matuschka's growing reputation and status as a leading proponent and practitioner of Lutheran education was confirmed by a call he received to take over the headmastership of Concordia Primary School in Toowoomba. This centre of Lutheranism boasted the only parish school in Queensland. Originally a junior section of Concordia College which had been established in 1946, the school had been adopted by an ELCA parish in 1964. It was seen as a forerunner for other congregational schools in this northern state which did not have a strong tradition of Lutheran schooling. There were two reasons they wanted Garry Matuschka in Toowoomba. The first was to provide a trained and experienced Lutheran head for a school which had great potential for consolidation and expansion. The second was that Queensland needed someone to lead a movement to establish Lutheran congregational and parish schools. He was approached along these lines by both congregational and district representatives. With the amalgamation of the two Lutheran synods, the ELCA and UELCA, in the previous year, it was felt that the time was ripe for such a movement in Queensland. By this time the salary offered was close to \$3 000. Gary Matuschka, with his strong sense of vision and his enthusiasm for Lutheran schooling, found himself torn between competing possibilities and commitments. Although attracted to the challenge, he declined this call.²³

Immanuel

Garry Matuschka established a thriving school at Geelong, a new kind of Lutheran school with a less traditional clientele in a larger urban setting. Under his leadership the original debt on the school was paid off within eight years. Opportunities in other situations arrived at regular intervals. Finally, there came another special challenge, a call to found the new Lutheran primary school next to Immanuel College in the Adelaide suburb of Novar Gardens. In South Australia there had only been two new Lutheran schools established since World War II, St. John's next to Concordia College in Highgate in 1952, as well as one at Maitland on the Yorke Peninsula in 1966. Because so many of their schools had been closed down during World War I, South Australian Lutherans harboured deeper reservations about such expansion than their Victorian counterparts did. In the new urban settings like Novar Gardens, introducing a Lutheran school with a congregational base was new to many of the local people, especially the non-Lutheran clientele associated with Immanuel College which had been talking about establishing its own junior school for some time. As it turned out the new school was not developed along orthodox Lutheran lines. It was sited on their land, but was a separate school from Immanuel College. It was not owned or operated by a local Lutheran congregation, but belonged to the South Australian district of the Lutheran Church, and was to be run by an association of Lutheran congregations. Its main congregational base was at Glenelg, but it drew its students from a wider catchment than that. A portable weatherboard building was obtained from Glenelg Primary School and transported onto the grounds of Immanuel College to provide the first temporary accommodation for the new school. Although it was operated by a School Association linked to local Lutheran congregations, it was still closely associated with Immanuel College, not only through its name but also by means of the personnel on its governing body whose inaugural chair was Peter

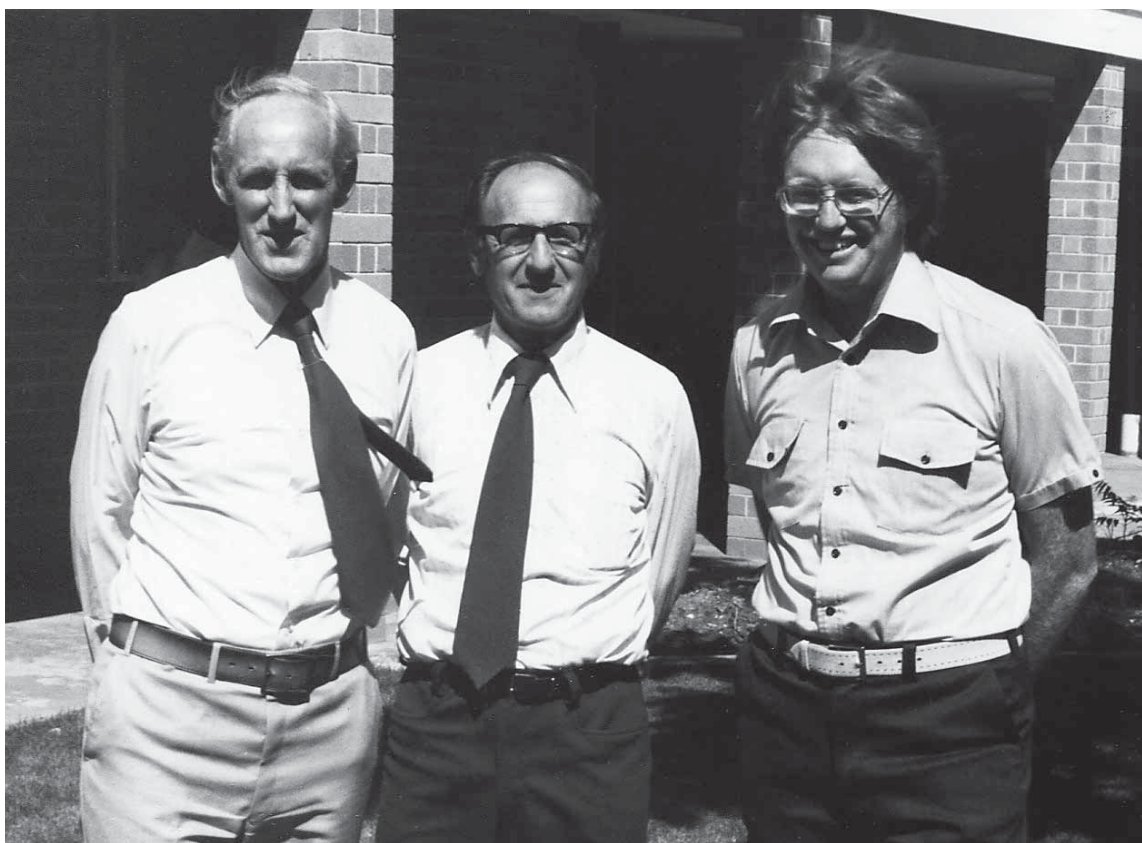
Nitschke, the college's deputy headmaster. Eventually it went on to serve eighteen Lutheran congregations, although there were only three of them which committed to its financial support in the early years: Glenelg, Glandore and Warradale. The principal and his family were also accommodated in a college house. This situation of multiple congregational ownership, as well as the association with Immanuel College where there was a larger cosmopolitan school community embracing non-Lutherans as well, made this a pioneering venture. It also indicated that Lutheran schools were moving into a different era. This did not bother Garry Matuschka who was patently aware of the huge potential in places like Brisbane, Geelong and Adelaide for Lutheran schools forming the vanguard of the church's mission to the wider urban community. There was another element of challenge for the first principal as well. After years of service in traditional ELCA settings, Gary Matuschka was moving into an association with Immanuel College, a former flagship of the UELCA.²⁴

Official planning for the school began in 1968 with the formation of an establishment committee. After failing to get district church approval to commence in 1969, Immanuel Primary School opened in 1970. Garry Matuschka, who had accepted a call the previous June, was the head teacher and his two assistants were Marcia Lubke and Magdalena Hentschke, the latter being called out of retirement at the last hour because of an unexpected, late surge in enrolments. Eighty-five students from Years 1 – 7 were accepted in the initial draft. Over 500 people attended the special opening in February 1970. The school blossomed. Three more temporary classrooms were imported from Panorama Technical School in 1972 to cope with the numbers. Permanent buildings were planned and a section of college land leased for a nominal cost. In February 1973 a new building costing \$115 000 was put in place and provided eight teaching areas as well as various subsidiary spaces. The school's enrolment had grown to 185. By 1976 enrolments had reached 193, and for the first time in his long service as a Lutheran educator Garry Matuschka became a non-teaching principal.²⁵

In so many ways Immanuel Primary School was forging new ways of doing Lutheran schooling. In this manner it was in the front line of the spread of Lutheran schools that occurred after 1970. It was a time when the Lutheran Church was gasping to keep up with the demand, and in which Lutheran school leaders had to come to terms with changing times and new realities. Although Garry Matuschka was deeply rooted in the traditions of the past and was concerned that Lutheran schools retain their distinctive philosophy and ethos, he also saw that the church's schools had to adapt to a new age. One aspect of it was state funding. Not only was the government subsidising recurrent tuition costs of students but it was providing capital assistance for new facilities as well. Despite the history of the nineteenth century where most Lutherans had refused to accept state aid for their schools, their communities did not hesitate to accept these funds which were now making otherwise unattainable dreams a reality. Some Lutheran leaders, aware of the past, were more wary, but everyone was carried along with the flood. In 1971 the government paid fifty-five dollars per student compared to the parent's outlay of forty-two dollars for fees at Immanuel Primary. By 1979 this government money had increased to \$324 per student, and then went up to \$790 by 1981. The first major capital building grant to Immanuel came via the Australian Schools Commission in 1982 in the form of \$51 000 for extra classrooms and office

space. With government money came the pressure and the lure to follow government funded programs. This could lead up a blind alley. In 1973 Immanuel's council and staff decided to adopt an open classroom approach to teaching in the upper primary section of the school, an innovation advocated by the Education Department which provided training and assistance. New classroom buildings were designed and built according to this new philosophy. It was an unsuccessful experiment, and after only one year the school reverted to a more traditional approach which required alterations to their physical facilities.²⁶

Teacher recruitment for a burgeoning system reached a crisis point as usual sources of qualified Lutheran teachers proved inadequate to supply the demand. Immanuel joined those schools which employed Lutheran teachers recruited from the USA. At Immanuel there was a focused attempt to build a staff whose members had been adequately prepared and continually inserviced according to a solid Lutheran orientation. Non-Lutherans were enrolled in the school in increasing numbers. By 1977 out of an enrolment of 205, a bare majority of 117 were Lutheran. This meant an increasing number of parents who needed educating about the church and its teachings. Initially this was provided in evening classes run by church leaders like Dr Clem Koch and Dr Elvin Janetzki, and later by a roster of local pastors. There were various structures put in place to ensure that the growing number of supporting congregations got involved in the school, both in governance and through their pastors being recruited into the worship and Christian teaching program of the school. Meanwhile there was increasing pressure for the school to begin the process of double streaming and enroll



Garry Matuschka, Ophie Renner and Robert Hoff, serial Immanuel principals.

two classes at each year level. Various plans were advanced for this purpose during the early 1980s but failure to attract capital funding from the government made them too difficult to finance. Such a move was also frowned upon in some sections of the church where a one stream primary school was considered to be the optimum size for the ideal Lutheran model. And in 1984, as a sign of things to come, the first computers were purchased for the school.²⁷

In 1977 Garry Matuschka received a call to the Lutheran school at Tanunda which had been established in the heart of the Barossa Valley in 1938. Again, the desire, clearly expressed, was for a leader who was well grounded in the philosophy of Lutheran education. The salary plus allowances on offer by this time was close to \$9 000 per annum. It was another of the calls he declined.²⁸

Wider Perspectives

After 1970 a new paradigm of principalship began to emerge in Lutheran schools. Schools were bigger, accountability to government more demanding and the educational process more complex. Leading principals like Garry Matuschka also experienced demands for their talents in wider circles beyond the school. He performed as a congregational chair and secretary for many years. He served many years as a member of the Victorian Board of Christian Education. From 1954 onwards he was on the ELCA's national educational board as well, including a time as its chairman. This meant that he travelled widely to promote the cause of Lutheran schools in Australia. School holidays were often spent catching up on the business of such committees, including the myriads of minutes and correspondence and the production of promotional materials. Along with accomplished teachers like Bill Oster and pro-schooling pastors like Eddie Wiebusch, Garry Matuschka continued to serve as an initiator and a major participant in Sunday School teacher conventions. He was a member of two other



LTC Council, including Garry Matuschka.

national Lutheran Church authorities: the Constitutions Committee and the Board for Lay Workers. He also played a major role in encouraging, supporting and training teachers and leaders for the future. Many Lutheran educational leaders of later years attest to Garry Matuschka's encouraging hand on the shoulder and affirming word in the ear which made a difference to their understanding and commitment to Lutheran schooling. In Tarrington alone he was responsible for taking on seven student teachers at his school. One year, while the incumbent faculty member was absent overseas, he filled the role of lecturer at Lutheran Teachers College, also serving on its board for a number of years. Garry Matuschka held a strong conviction that theology was basic and essential to every aspect of Lutheran schooling. He was keen to support the theological equipment of teachers at every level, whether it be in the formation of young teachers at Lutheran Teachers College, or through the in-service of his own staff. In 1977 he also took some time off from Immanuel to undertake research work for the South Australian Lutheran Church.²⁹

In the 1960s and 1970s, a dearth of Australian Lutheran teachers presented itself as Lutheran schools grew in number and size, fuelled by extra demand from a wider clientele and an influx of government money. At one stage educational leaders in the church considered sending potential Lutheran principals to an "orthodox" training institution overseas. Others favoured recruiting experienced teachers from the state system and subjecting them to an intensive training course. One of the answers to the teacher shortage was to import Lutheran personnel from the United States. Garry Matuschka, at a wider synodical level, was involved with this recruitment drive. He served as the Board of Primary Education's Liaison Officer in this cause, and was instrumental in bringing a number of American teachers to serve in Australian Lutheran schools during this period. In 1973 and 1974 alone, no less than sixteen American Lutheran teachers were recruited into the Australian teaching force, and they provided a significant presence with an influential vision of what was distinctive about Lutheran schools. A number of these Americans, most of whom came from the Missouri Synod, proved to be valuable acquisitions and made considerable contributions. They included people of the calibre of Ken Albinger who later served as a district director in the heyday of the Queensland Lutheran school boom before he moved into tertiary teaching. Others, like Jerry Smith, Bill and Connie Etscheid and John Born, were great assets as well. There were some American recruits who also found life in Australian Lutheran schools more challenging. Naturally, some of them experienced home sickness, and found it difficult to adjust to a different culture and climate. The ones who stayed merged with the system, and eventually it bore their mark as well.³⁰

Garry Matuschka believed that the educational experiences offered in schools should captivate children. The job of the principal was to make a school "zing"! He believed that Lutheran schools had both a churchly and a societal dimension. For him, through their total program, they provided excellent preparation for a life in society as well as for membership in the church. When teachers did yard supervision, for instance, it was not just a matter of maintaining safety and good behaviour, but the teachers on duty were also encouraged to teach "the positive side of living and playing". When the new Tarrington school building was dedicated in 1956, Garry Matuschka told the

gathering that he and his fellow teachers were committed to the ideal of “perfecting the man of God”. This summed up his philosophy of Lutheran education. Through the integration of Christian teaching and secular knowledge, young people could be nurtured to become good and useful citizens, as well as faithful Christians. Garry Matuschka kept in touch with Lutheran education in the United States for most of his working life, and one of the advantages of this was that they sent him Lutheran educational materials which he found helpful and effective over the years. Where the curricula for secular subjects were dictated by state education departments, Lutheran schools had to construct their own Christian studies programs. Garry Matuschka maintained a keen interest in religious teaching materials used in Lutheran schools. In the 1940s Lutheran primary teachers were equipped with *Luther’s Small Catechism*, an *Advanced Bible Stories* text, and a church history book, usually focusing on the life of Martin Luther. In the 1950s the Missouri Synod’s Concordia quarterlies were introduced and gave the Lutheran teacher the background to Bible history at four levels of learning. Offered in conjunction with this material were the useful Wangerin books, particularly the catechisms which attempted to correlate Bible stories with doctrinal statements. In the 1980s another Missouri publication, *Mission Life*, was widely used in Australian Lutheran schools. And even though he was well and truly retired by the time of its introduction, Garry Matuschka enthusiastically welcomed the work done in the 1990s to develop a home grown Australian Christian studies curriculum which became known as the LIFE materials.³¹

Closing Thoughts

Like all his fellow creatures, Garry Matuschka had his limitations. He could be blunt and impatient at times, and he did not suffer fools easily. Some students thought he was too strict a disciplinarian. However, in many ways he modeled the characteristics of an ideal Lutheran educator. As a principal he was willing to give people a chance, especially younger staff in whom he could often find some positive traits to encourage. He knew that the strength of a school depended on its staff, and so he set out to build the human capital in the schools he led. He also understood the necessity of working with the people he was given. He gave them good advice, plenty of encouragement and provided them with the professional learning activities they needed. He really understood the Christian gospel and its place at the heart of Lutheran schooling. He insisted on a quality Christian Studies curriculum in the schools he presided over. He knew Lutheran theology, valued its contribution to a Christian outlook and had the ability to interpret and teach it to younger students. While wary of fads, he welcomed innovation and, in his schools, people were always trying new things. He was an articulate spokesman and indefatigable worker for Lutheran schools in a period of growth and change. As a churchman he had a clear vision of the role Lutheran schools could play as agencies of the church. For many years he set the tone and sold the message of Lutheran schools in the church and the general community.³²

In his last year at Immanuel Garry Matuschka enjoyed a term of long service leave. He was gearing down. He retired from his full time work in the church in 1985. After another successful venture at Immanuel which lasted for sixteen years, twelve of those with his wife Ruth working side by side with him as his assistant, Garry Matuschka

retired from Lutheran schooling. After all the suitable celebrations, featuring a farewell dinner where he was thanked and feted in the Phar Lap Room at Morphettville Race Course, he settled down to a quiet life in Adelaide. The good health he experienced for most of his life (in sixteen years at Immanuel he did not miss a single day because of illness) did not desert him in retirement. In 2010 he celebrated the attainment of nonagenarian status. The sadness for him was that after her death in 2004 he had to spend his life without Ruth, the woman he regarded as being uniquely suited to be his life's partner.³³

Garry Matuschka started his teaching career in Lutheran schools at Vectis in 1941. At that stage there were eighteen Lutheran primary schools and two Lutheran colleges in existence in Australia. In 1985, the year he retired, that number, buoyed on the crest of a new boom in Lutheran schooling, had increased to fifty-six primary schools and ten colleges. Those figures understate the situation because most of the later schools were much larger than the earlier ones as well. Garry Matuschka was a leading voice for Lutheran education in that period of great growth. His contribution was substantial, and his influence considerable.

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CHAPTER 5

Gertrude Jacob The Gender Journey

“She is strong and respected and not afraid of the future.” Proverbs 31:25

Nineteenth century Australian Lutheranism was markedly patriarchal. The official leaders of the church were men, while the women worked quietly behind the scenes. Only men could be called as pastors. In the church’s schools women sometimes took up supporting roles, but traditionally the teacher was also a man who usually filled in for the pastor when he was away. As women assumed an equal place beside men in twentieth century society, things began to change in the church as well. The first women to become teachers and principals in Lutheran schools trod a delicate and difficult path, especially those who made teaching a lifelong vocation and attained greater experience and expertise than some of their male colleagues. Their willingness and ability to serve coincided with a pressing teacher shortage in the church so that, against the tradition, they began to take their places among those in Lutheran educational leadership. By 1999 women teaching in Lutheran schools outnumbered men, and even though this preponderance was not echoed in leadership positions, the trend was in that direction. One of the pioneers of this development was Gertrude Jacob who spent her working life as a teacher and principal in Lutheran schools. Her story, and those of several other women, offers an opportunity to focus on the female gender journey in Lutheran schools.



Gertrude Jacob

Women in Lutheran Schools

In 1914 a newspaper report about a Lutheran Synod at Eudunda in South Australia mentioned that on one evening there were about 200 people present, “including many women who listened to the debates with great interest”. The patronising tone reflected the attitude to the place of women in the church prevalent at that time. Women could not lead, they could not speak and they could not vote in the affairs of the Lutheran Church. Their job was to take an intelligent interest and to be willing helpmeets. It was a culture which flowed over into the church’s schools.¹

Female participation in Lutheran education in Australia is reflected in two main domains: their enrolment as students, and their employment as teachers. On the student front, the nineteenth century practice of co-education continued into the twentieth century. This was universally the case in primary schools where a basic Christian education was regarded as essential for both genders. However, in secondary and higher education, the participation of girls was less pronounced. At the UELCA’s Immanuel College, two of the thirteen students enrolled in the first five years were girls. And of the first 150 students enrolled at the college between 1895 and 1922 only twenty were females. At the ELSA’s Concordia College during the same period there were no girls enrolled at all; the first ones were only accepted in 1927. A major reason for this inequality was that the colleges primarily served as training grounds for future pastors who, according to the church’s teachings, had to be males. It was also thought that too much education might “spoil” girls. And if they were trained as teachers they could take jobs away from males. Besides, girls only needed a domestic education, and it was a waste to expend too much on them when most would spend their lives as mothers and housewives. Significantly, girls were finally accepted at Concordia at the same time as the practice of female higher education was adopted by the Missouri Synod in the United States. However, during the second half of the twentieth century, echoing trends in society generally, the participation rate of girls in Lutheran secondary schools was catching up with the boys. At Concordia in 1962 gender numbers were equal, and by 1990 girls outnumbered boys 256 to 235.²

In the sphere of teaching, equal female representation was slower to be adopted, especially in senior leadership positions. Although females were employed in Lutheran schools in the nineteenth century, they were in the minority and usually filled subsidiary roles. They were also paid at a lesser rate than males. Quite often they were family members, the wives and daughters of Lutheran pastors and principals associated with the schools. Some, like Emma Geyer at Tanunda, the first female enrolled at Immanuel College in 1897, were graduates of Lutheran colleges. The daughter of a Lutheran teacher, she worked as a domestic until, aged twenty-six, she enrolled at Point Pass to qualify as a Lutheran teacher. In fact, in the UELCA, women were the dominant gender in the South Australian Lutheran day schools established after 1936. In 1948, for instance, the teachers’ class at Immanuel College graduated seven females and no males. At a UELCA synod held in 1949 it was noted that there were no longer any males in its day schools, and at the 1951 synod there was a plea to attract male teachers for the church’s schools. This situation was relieved somewhat when Ophie Renner and Norm Auricht joined the UELCA teaching force in 1953. In the ELSA, which

operated the majority of Lutheran primary schools, very few female teachers were trained up until 1945. Lobethal College (1842 – 1855) produced two male teacher graduates and no females. The Hahndorf College (1877 – 1887) graduated twenty-one male teachers and no females. Concordia at Murtoa (1890 – 1904) provided the church with thirty-three male teachers but no females. And Concordia in Adelaide, between 1905 and 1945, supplied the church with fifty-five male teacher graduates compared to thirteen females. In 1927 the ELSA in South Australia actually adopted a policy which stated a preference for Lutheran teachers to be male. However, by 1943 they were looking for female recruits for the schools. After World War II female teacher numbers began to catch up so that in 2005 nearly half of the teachers who had been serving in Lutheran schools for twenty-five years or more were women. In 1999 however, although comprising over half of the teaching force, of the seventy-eight Lutheran schools and colleges only eight were led by women, although Sally Chandler was in charge of the largest Lutheran school in Australia, St Peters Lutheran College in Brisbane. Despite this the sentiment expressed in a call letter sent to a Lutheran teacher in 1947, that “the congregation considers it essential that the head-teacher should be a male” obviously still had some adherents.³

Family and Education

Gertude Jacob served as a female Lutheran teacher in an era dominated by men. She had church service and teaching in her blood. Her father, Friedrich Jacob, and her mother, the former Agnes Krichauff, both came from a Lutheran school background. Her maternal grandfather was Carl Krichauff, a patriarchal Lutheran teacher and one of the founders of Immanuel College. Her paternal grandfather, Ernst Jacob, migrated to Australia in 1860 hoping to engage in mission work. In 1866 he joined a Lutheran missionary party as a teamster and shepherd when they set out for central Australia to work among the Dieri people. He married the widow Maria Irrgang in 1878. Leaving her children from a previous marriage with friends and relatives, she joined him at the Bethesda Lutheran Mission. Ernst and Maria had one child, a son, called Johann Friedrich.⁴

Friedrich Jacob received his primary education on the mission station, before enrolling as the first student in Immanuel College at Point Pass in 1895. From there he graduated as a teacher, and in 1900 was called to the Gruenberg Lutheran school at Moculta. During his training Friedrich had met Agnes Krichauff, who was working as a maid in the Leidig household where Friedrich boarded. Friedrich and Agnes Jacob were married in 1901 and lived in the school house in the main street of Moculta. During World War I Friedrich Jacob was one of those teachers who lost their jobs when Lutheran schools were closed by the government. It made life very difficult for the family. They had to vacate their house and live in a stone building previously used for Sunday school next to the Gruenberg church. Friedrich Jacob had to support his family by picking up stones on local properties, which played havoc with his delicate hands, until he was offered a job as an accountant for the Willows Hospital at Light's Pass in 1922. There the family occupied the teacher's house, and Friedrich Jacob also worked in the Strait Gate congregation as an organist, Sunday school teacher, music tutor, choir master and curator of the cemetery. He had a cockatoo which spoke both



Jacob Family, Gertrude front right.

English and German. The family also operated an unofficial post office from their home. When the Lutheran school at Light's Pass re-opened in 1936, Friedrich Jacob was appointed as its teacher. For the first two years, however, a state school still operated in the original Lutheran school building and the congregational school was accommodated in a church mission house. Friedrich and Agnes Jacob had four children. Fred (1903) attended Immanuel College before training as a civil engineer, Martin (1907) took up farming and Irene (1913) became a dressmaker and specialised in clerical gowns for seminary students and pastors. The fourth and last child, born in 1921, was Elsa Hilda Gertrude Jacob. She became a Lutheran teacher like her father.⁵

By the time Friedrich Jacob had started teaching at Light's Pass, because no Lutheran schools had been available, Gertrude had already attended the local state school, and then Nuriootpa High where she had passed her Intermediate examination. The Light's Pass Lutheran school opened with twenty-eight students, but after two years of gradual growth the principal was in need of an assistant. Gertrude, his daughter, an able student, was his choice for the position. He was allowed to employ her on the condition that she received ten shillings a month out of his salary which, in 1937, was £70 (pounds) a year. After two years the education department built its own school and the Lutherans reclaimed their original premises. Enrolments stood at thirty-eight. Gertrude Jacob taught her Years 1 and 2 students in the shelter shed. Light's Pass was the first UELCA school to reopen after the war and for some it was a bold move. Although the state education department did not oppose the re-opening, some elements in the congregation feared the local state school would be closed and the Lutheran school would offer a lesser standard of schooling. Supporters of the Lutheran school raised subscriptions to pay for the teacher and spare the congregational budget. School families were asked to pay two pounds a year in fees, if they could afford it. Early students included Ron Gerhardy (later a Director of Overseas Missions) and Tom Reuther (Australia's first National Director for Lutheran Schools).⁶

A highlight of the year was the school picnic. At the inaugural one, twenty pounds of lollies, three pounds of peanuts, four crates of oranges and two crates of apples, in addition to a supply of cold drinks, were purchased. In October 1939 Friedrich Jacob climbed a tree at the end of the annual picnic to undo the knots of a swing. Later at home, after further heavy work, he suddenly collapsed and died of a heart attack at the age of sixty. For the remainder of the year Gertrude Jacob had to run the school with its enrolment of forty-four students aided by a procession of helpers. In 1940 Dulcie

Gehling took over as head teacher with Gertrude Jacob as her assistant. At the end of the year, the school committee, impressed with her potential, asked Gertrude Jacob if she would like to go to Adelaide and, with their support, train as a Lutheran teacher. She happily accepted the offer. At the beginning of 1941, after the fifty students at Light's Pass gave her a fitting farewell, Gertrude Jacob went to live in Adelaide where, with five other girls, she attended the teachers' class at Immanuel Seminary. During her spare time she also completed her Leaving certificate. Her lecturers at Immanuel were Wolfgang Riedel and Karl Muetzelfeldt, the latter introducing her to Fankhauser's Bible commentary and making a striking impression on her. However, the fact that all his lectures and examinations were conducted in German made it difficult for his teacher students to gain full value from his considerable knowledge. In 1942 Gertrude Jacob stayed on in the city to study at Adelaide Teachers College. Although lecturers like Dr Penny and Dr Schultz were impressive educators, she learned most about teaching from practical experiences in places like the Sturt Street State School.⁷

Early Teaching

In 1943 Gertrude Jacob took on her first job as a qualified teacher. She was called to Appila where a new school had been opened as part of the drive within the UELCA to re-establish its Lutheran day school system. The Appila school had started in 1938. Its first teacher was Dulcie Gehling who was followed by Ruth Fehlberg. Gertrude Jacob's first journey from Adelaide to her new school included catching a bus, then a train, and changing to another train on a different gauge before finally being picked up in a horse and buggy. The school had an enrolment of between sixteen and twenty students in the four years she spent there. She was responsible for all aspects of the program, including the curriculum for one Grade 8 student for whom she utilised the American Dalton plan she had learned about at teachers' college. In fact, during her first school inspection, she impressed her official visitor with the way she was applying various learning theories from her studies into the classroom. Two years later Gertrude Jacob was commended by another inspector for the variety of resources which were being used in the school, including a radio set. She provided many of these at her own expense. Each year the inspectors' reports commended the positive and friendly spirit in the school, the breadth of its program and the ability of its teacher. One inspector noted: "The children and their teacher work together as a happy family." In this small school Gertrude Jacob found her feet as a competent teacher.⁸

The church paper, in support of Lutheran day schools, was keen to report progress at Appila. In 1945 it ran an article which applauded the parents for providing a water tank, classroom cupboards, washstands, a brush garden fence, a first aid set and a blackboard. It told how the school community came together on arbor day and planted twenty pine trees. Miss Jacob presented three model lessons to parents and visitors. Students were treated to handouts of oranges and sweets. The report asserted that the standard of education was equal to that in the state school and that it offered an extra Christian dimension as well. Each school day started and closed with hymns and prayers, and the first lesson each morning provided Christian instruction. There was Scripture study, Bible history, catechism and hymnody. Church history was also taught on topics like the book of Acts, persecution, popery, reformers (Luther, Zwingli

and Calvin), saints, missions, Lutheran migrations to Australia, Bible books, church customs and decorations, the UELCA and the church year.⁹

In 1947 Gertrude Jacob accepted a call to Loxton to start a new Lutheran school. The ELCA had operated a school there before World War I, revived it in 1938, before closing it again in 1946. The next year the UELCA, through the efforts of local pastor Carl Pfitzner, decided to open another Lutheran school in Loxton. For the first years it operated in two front rooms of a house. A permanent school building was provided for the beginning of 1953. Gertrude Jacob had the honour of laying the foundation stone. She spent nine years there, working hard to get this new venture going. She also established a collegial relationship with the female teacher in the local state school. They boarded at the same establishment where they were required to share a double bed! On weekends they played basketball in the same team. Gertrude Jacob would often go back to school in the evenings to work. One night she was frightened by the outline of a menacing figure silhouetted against a window. On investigation it turned out to be a large cat lunging at the glass, hunting moths. The classrooms were never locked so there was little security there at night, especially for a solitary, young woman. Gertrude Jacob made a positive impression on inspectors for her “splendid ideas” and “kind and purposeful control” of the school. Parents were also very supportive. The school grew under her leadership and an assistant teacher was engaged for its second year of operation. Lorraine Hentschke filled this position in 1953, and when she was incapacitated by appendicitis, Gertrude Jacob had to teach the whole school body single-handedly even though enrolments had increased four-fold from the first year. By her last year student numbers had climbed to forty-three in her classes from Years 4 to 7. Students included Victor Pfitzner (later principal of Luther Seminary) and his cousin Peter Nitschke (later a principal in two Lutheran colleges). Within a few years the children had taken up debating, were producing a school paper and had gone on an excursion to Mildura. Overall, the school flourished: the interests of students were fostered, a climate of industry prevailed and a fine spirit permeated school culture.¹⁰

In 1956 a new teacher joined her at the school. This appointment created a delicate situation. There was no doubt that Gertrude Jacob had done a fine job in establishing the school, but in the estimation of some locals, the school had grown to the stage where it needed a male to take it over. Ophie Renner, one of the teachers recruited into the system to compensate for a shortage of male teachers in the UELCA, was a suitable and competent recruit for such a role. He had been a student at Immanuel College before advancing for further education to Adelaide High School, and then Adelaide Teachers College and University. On his graduation he had worked as a principal with the state education department on Eyre Peninsula for three years before he accepted a call to teach at the Light Pass Lutheran School. He was to enjoy a long and distinguished history of educational leadership in Lutheran schools. On the other hand Gertrude Jacob, who had founded the school and was eight years his senior, could hardly be demoted from her leadership position. Yet, there was no question of a male Lutheran teacher serving under the leadership of a woman. They got around it by “sharing” leadership responsibilities. Gertrude Jacob, however, felt some awkwardness in this arrangement and when an opportunity came the next year to move to another school, she took it. However, she harboured no ill-feeling about this situation which

she accepted, along with her lesser rate of pay as a woman, as the natural order of things.¹¹

So in 1956 Gertrude Jacob went to work in the heart of the Barossa Valley at the Lutheran school in Tanunda, another UELCA parish school which had reopened in 1938. It had made a slow start, but when enrolments exceeded a hundred students a third teacher was required. The principal was Norman Auricht, another Lutheran teacher who was to give long years of sterling service to Lutheran schools. Along with Dora Renner who taught the younger students, Gertrude Jacob completed the staff by teaching the middle years. She was now much closer to Adelaide and could travel home to suburban Evandale on weekends to stay with her mother and sister. She contented herself with an assistant role, her naturally quiet and unassertive nature allowing her to merge comfortably back into the ranks. Norman Auricht was a very capable leader who had been building the school and promoting it in surrounding parishes since his accession to the leadership in 1954, and she was content to fit into the team.¹²

A Maturing Educator

Her six years at Tanunda gave her some respite from leadership responsibilities. However, Gertrude Jacob was now a mature and experienced teacher so it was not surprising that in 1962 she was asked to start another Lutheran school. The Good Shepherd Lutheran School established in Angaston grew out of the Light Pass School where increasing numbers of Angaston parents were sending their children. By 1954 an Angaston bus was transporting thirty-three students to Light Pass each day. This local interest in Lutheran schooling, as well as encouragement from the UELCA School Committee which promised a grant of £2 000 (pounds) for a school plant, formed the impetus for the congregational meetings to get an Angaston school started by 1962. They were determined to provide new facilities for the first year of the school rather than commence in temporary ones. The school opening featured a sermon from Pastor Bert Reuther, chair of the Day School Committee, in which he advocated Lutheran schools as a defence against modern evils; the dedication was performed by Max Lohe, president of the UELCA, and there was a speech from the Minister for Education. The staff, the Misses Gertrude Jacob, headmistress, and Evelyn Ahrens, her assistant, were introduced, but not invited to speak. Nonetheless, Gertrude Jacob worked with her usual attention to detail to ensure the school would run well. An encyclopedia and a flag and pole had been donated, chairs and desks had been lent from Light Pass, playground equipment and some furniture had been purchased, but the headmistress made a list of other things she needed which reflected the era's nature of schooling: blackboards and dusters, pin-up boards, cupboards, library shelves and books, reference books, towel hooks, first aid kit, brooms and dusters, ink bottle and wells, drum, sports equipment, bell, name tags, troughs, clocks, piano, radiogram, slide projector, sand pit, globe, pencil sharpeners, lockers, box for milk, rubbish bins, incinerator, teachers' desks and chairs, maps, heaters, garden tools, mats and scrapers, movie projector and screen, staff wash basin and a cardboard cutter. Regular school events were inaugurated: a Lutheran schools sports day, a display at the Angaston show, a barbecue tea fundraiser, an arbor day and a school concert. The school budget that year amounted to £1 615 (pounds). The salary of the headmistress was £757



Gertrude Jacob returns to Angaston, 2007.

(pounds) and her assistant received £562 (pounds). The next biggest budget item was £108 (pounds) for interest on loans. At Angaston a tradition grew to finance buildings through the sale of donated tree stumps sold for firewood.¹³

The school experienced a continual rise in enrolments. A visiting inspector was impressed with the progress with the campus in its first year, including the new play shed and landscaping. Gertrude Jacob was described as an excellent leader responsible for a well-run school. She also worked closely with various pastors, including Stiller and Pfitzner, and became a leader in the Lutheran community. As the school expanded she taught the senior grades. The union of the ELCA and UELCA in 1966 meant a potential for more students. In 1968 the last graduate from Concordia Seminary to teach at the school, Judy Weckert, was employed. And in 1969 the school received its first government subsidy, \$306.36 for each student enrolled. As the founding, or as she sometimes jokingly called herself, the “foundering” principal, she was also responsible for running the school. Her quiet manner and subtle sense of humour resonated well with parents, especially when they could see what a thorough job she was doing. The school committee usually met separately from her, however, and she would join them only to give reports or make submissions. Gertrude Jacob was responsible for discipline in the school, of course, and although a challenge for her, she never regarded it as a problem. She devised her own classroom system of creating teams which earned merit or demerit points by the way they behaved. These would be recorded on charts displayed in the classroom using star stickers to indicate the state of play. Among her duties as principal was the requirement to sweep the school each day. A couple of neighbouring lads were happy to help after she allowed them to play a game of mini-tennis with her each afternoon. As a female Lutheran school leader she had her own

ways of getting things done. Ironically, despite her great success as a principal, when she left Angaston they considered it was now imperative that she be replaced by a male, even though this required the building of a residence.¹⁴

During her Angaston years she acquired a Mazda car which made it easier to visit her family in Evandale. Her mother was in poor health so she started to think about moving closer to the city. Her final years as a teacher were in Adelaide where she lived with her mother and sister. Their Evandale home with its lovely garden, orchard and chookhouse, was damaged in the 1954 Adelaide earthquake, so they moved from there to the suburb of Firlie. In 1972 she had a choice of three schools: Immanuel at Novar Gardens, Springhead in the Adelaide Hills or St. John's at Highgate. She took St. John's because it was more easily accessible by car. Here, in a much bigger school where each year level had its own teacher, she took Year 6. They were enjoyable times, marred in her first year by the loss of her aged mother. At the end of 1984 she was offered positions in Lutheran schools at Maitland, Mt. Gambier and Springhead. Instead she and a friend went on a holiday to New Zealand, and when they returned, she retired.¹⁵

The Texture of Teaching

Gertrude Jacob taught in Lutheran schools in South Australia between 1937 and 1984. For most of this period, teaching in congregational schools had a sharper and more local focus. There was no government funding, resources were scarce, pay was modest, even more so for women, and Lutheran schools were small in size and number and operated mostly in isolation from one another. The large majority of students were Lutheran, and teachers were strongly involved in the life of the congregation. Unlike the previous century, instruction was solely in English, even though the occasional inspector might comment on "traces of Teutonic accent" among the students in their oral work. The beauty of all this was that, when they functioned well, each Lutheran school became an extended family, and its teachers were cherished and respected in the community. Nor was there the luxury of teaching just a single year level. Each day's lessons had to be prepared like a complex army manoeuvre, co-ordinating the materials and classes and lessons to do justice to all age levels being taught at once. Before the day started a vast mural of careful work had to be inscribed on the blackboards and charts around the classroom. Gertrude Jacob's father designed and constructed an ingenious sliding blackboard consisting of eight surfaces which could be prepared before school for his different classes. There were few specialist educators available, so classroom practitioners had to possess the versatility to cover the whole curriculum. Teachers, especially single ones like Gertrude Jacob, often had to cope without the support of relatives and live in private boarding arrangements. For some people, this would have been all too much. Some, like Gertrude Jacob, thrived on it. Term time was the consuming daily and nightly schedule of preparation, marking, teaching, testing, supervising, cleaning and book work. On weekends there were congregational commitments. Holidays were a chance to catch up with family and take a rest, but even then there were administration tasks to complete, school records to be brought up to date, planning for the next year to be done as well as the constant search for resources and ideas to make teaching more effective. There were text and library books

to be ordered or borrowed, materials for art and craftwork purchased, equipment for physical education to be acquired, music selected for choirs and ensembles and plants for the garden and trees for arbor day to be found.¹⁶

The curriculum in these Lutheran schools followed the same pattern as that in the state school system with the addition, of course, of the religious instruction program. English was important and was divided into components like spelling, reading, comprehension, writing, composition, oral work, dictation and poetry which was memorised and recited. Mathematics activities consisted of mental, oral and written arithmetic, geometry, learning tables and understanding fractions. In social studies projects were recorded in illustrated notebooks and general knowledge lessons were taught. Physical education could include exercising to music, marching and forms of drama. Music was important, not only for the hymn singing done each day but also for the recorder groups and the choirs which learned to sing in parts. Girls were taught to sew and knit and make dolls. Boys did gardening and woodwork. And there was always the weekly nature study.¹⁷

Gertrude Jacob was a gifted and dedicated Lutheran teacher. She emerged as a stalwart in the Lutheran system in the days when women were not given the same opportunities for training, for pay, for public recognition and for promotion as their male counterparts. Despite some setbacks Gertrude Jacob flourished anyway. She worked hard and always prepared well. Too busy being an effective teacher and principal to establish her own, she came to see her students as her extended family. She was a good scholar, enjoyed sporting activities and also possessed musical abilities. She reflected on her craft and was often commended by inspectors for the pedagogy employed in her classes and the fine attitudes and behaviour of the children in her care. She kept a clean, tidy and attractive classroom, from the bright pictorial decorations on the walls down to the floral arrangements that graced the teacher's table. She took opportunities to do refresher courses and visit other schools to observe professional practice. She had a playful sense of humour too and knew how to get the best out of pupils and parents without resorting to threats and coercion. She inspired pride and support in the school communities she served. She established two schools from scratch which quickly gained the confidence of local parents. She was a forerunner of the many fine Lutheran female teachers and school leaders who followed.

Margaret Ames

For an insight into the female experience of Lutheran secondary teaching in the UELCA, the story of Margaret Ames provides a good example. One of the more significant women to teach at Immanuel College in Adelaide, she was born in 1933 and was the elder of two daughters belonging to Otto and Clara Fielke. Her father was a farmer from Loxton in South Australia who was forced out of farming during the Depression. Her mother was a sister of Edwin Wiencke who had been both a student and teacher at Immanuel College back in its Point Pass days before he undertook his theological studies in the USA and became a Lutheran pastor. Margaret Fielke was brought up at Berri and Loxton and while her father considered educating girls at a boarding school in Adelaide unnecessary, her mother Clara was determined that her two daughters would have a Lutheran education. She raised the money picking oranges and working



Margaret Ames.

in a cannery during the summer fruit season so that Margaret and her sister Una could enrol as boarders at Immanuel College in Adelaide.¹⁸

Margaret Fielke discovered on her arrival at Immanuel in the late 1940s, that it was dominated by males. They comprised the majority of the student body, seventy-six boys compared to only forty-five girls. The senior teachers were mainly male. The college's governing body was exclusively male. The female teachers were young, single, worked part-time and usually taught English, history, German, art and music and supervised in the girls' boarding house. The most prestigious position held by a woman was that of matron who ran the kitchen and looked after the boy boarders. She was the female staff member who most commonly received honorable mentions in the reports of the college

council chairman. The headmaster was a Lutheran pastor, and the senior class in the school was comprised mainly of males undertaking pre-seminary studies in the classics. Those boys not intent on becoming pastors usually did mathematics and science courses which would fit them for tertiary studies. Girls were more likely to be directed to commercial and humanities subjects. Among the boarders the boys had their laundry and mending done for them; the girls had to do their own. In the dining room boys were given larger portions of food and the choicest serves. After meals the girls had to wash the dishes and set the tables, while the boys were exempted from such duties. However, for the female students, this discrimination was a minor irritant. The most impressive element of the college was the common Christian faith shared by the whole community, and the way such values permeated life at the school.¹⁹

After completing her Leaving certificate at Immanuel, Margaret Fielke returned to the Riverland to work in a bank. But when one of her former female teachers from Immanuel suggested to her parents that their daughter should become a teacher, her mother agreed. So Margaret Fielke did Leaving Honours at Adelaide High School before beginning, in 1951, two years of study at Adelaide University and Adelaide Teachers College. Bonded to the education department for three years she returned to the Riverland where she lived at home and taught at the Loxton Area School for two years. Hugo Stiller, the local Lutheran pastor, and the secretary of the governing body at Immanuel, recruited her as a teacher. In 1955, after the college had paid out her bond, she went to Immanuel to teach English and commercial subjects, supervise in the boarding house and serve as sportsmistress. In 1960, after five happy years of teaching at the college, she married a fellow teacher, Colin Ames. As required in Lutheran, as well as state schools at that time, marriage meant she had to resign her permanent position. She took a job at Methodist Ladies College which employed a different staffing policy. She enjoyed five years teaching mainly English in an all girls' school and coaching the senior basketball and softball teams. She appreciated working

in a female community where the girls were co-operative and responsive and not inhibited by the presence of boys. The wages were better too, and she was not expected to donate ten percent of her salary back to the school as at Immanuel.²⁰

In 1965 Dr Erich Meier, who had taken on the headmastership at Immanuel during the last year of her stay there, invited her back to join the staff. Her loyalty aroused, she was happy to return to her old school. She gave the college the full benefit of her growing aptitude. Not having children of her own, Immanuel became her extended family, first as a teacher, and then as a leader. She was appointed as a senior mistress in charge of female staff and students, and in 1973, when new headmaster Rob Paterson took charge, she became a deputy head. In 1989 when the next Immanuel headmaster, Noel Volk, went to the USA to study for a year, she served as acting head. Her last year as a school leader was 1992. For some time after that she continued working at Immanuel as a part-time registrar, interviewing prospective students and their parents. She retired in 1999 after forty years on the staff.²¹

As a woman teaching in this Lutheran college, Margaret Ames never felt discriminated against on a personal level. She was also treated with respect on a professional plane which was no doubt due to her abilities and commitment. Her promotion as a school leader was accomplished with the support of her colleagues. But her gender did cause some difficulties for her, partly, of course, because such discriminatory attitudes were endemic in wider society. She probably would have been encouraged to gain more academic qualifications if she had been a male, and her career path in the Lutheran school system was more circuitous because she was a woman. And for many years, as a woman, she received less remuneration, waiting until 1986 for equal pay. When she started at Immanuel she was paid £524 (pounds) per annum in contrast to comparable males who received up to £300 (pounds) more. And during her years at Immanuel no woman was ever considered for the role of principal. Nevertheless, the male headmasters Margaret Ames worked with were able leaders. Rob Paterson, an old boy of Immanuel, returned to his *alma mater* from Scotch College in 1973, and brought with him a greater emphasis on connecting with other independent schools as well as a stronger commitment to outdoor education. He introduced a house system for pastoral care, made concerted attempts to engage with students, especially the seniors with programs to groom them as student leaders. Noel Volk, who replaced him as headmaster in 1984, continued the process of establishing Immanuel as a major college in the independent sector. He placed great importance on academic excellence, and a celebration of the arts, including the establishment of a Music Centre in 1988.²²

For competent women like Margaret Ames, their commitment to Lutheran schools was not based on remuneration or career possibilities. The main motivation for choosing a Lutheran workplace was a Christian one. The great attraction was that Lutheran schools were centred on the Christian gospel and staff members tried to live what they believed. It made the schools sustaining communities where love and care created an ideal environment for young people to grow and bloom. Margaret Ames belonged to an era where female influence on the culture of schools was considerable, but it happened in subtle and less public ways. Although she was never formally the principal of Immanuel College, for many years there was no-one who was more influential in its leadership group as a team builder, a mentor, a communicator, a nurturer and a

confidante. She worked with seven different headmasters at Immanuel, and with some of them like Rob Paterson and Noel Volk, she filled the role of a trusted deputy whose influence behind the scenes was enormous. Headmasters and chaplains came and went, each one making a considerable contribution. The one constant in those series of leadership teams at Immanuel in the last half of the twentieth century was Margaret Ames who, arguably, made the greatest contribution of all.²³

Agnes Dorsch

A uniquely significant pioneer woman educator in the ELSA was Agnes Dorsch. Born in 1871 she was the second woman to graduate in arts from the University of Adelaide. She did not have a traditional Old Lutheran background. Her father was Ernst Heyne, a German seedsman who had attended Leipzig University where he had studied mathematics and linguistics. He was one of those educated, liberal Germans who emigrated to Australia after the 1848 revolutions in Europe. He originally worked in Melbourne helping Dr F von Mueller lay out the botanical gardens, before moving to South Australia where he married Laura Hanckel from a German bookbinding family and started up a nursery. Agnes was the eldest of four daughters brought up in a home environment characterised by a love of books and learning. Although the family lived on a modest income Agnes was enrolled in the model school in Norwood where she came to the attention of JA Hartley, the Director of Education in South Australia. Impressed with her ability, he personally tutored her in Latin and Greek. She won a bursary in 1884 to attend the Advanced School for Girls in Adelaide. At her matriculation she won a scholarship to study at Adelaide University from where she graduated with first-class honours in both classics and mathematics in 1891.²⁴

Agnes Heyne became a teacher and tutor. She taught at Prince Alfred and Presbyterian Girls' Colleges in Adelaide as well as coaching students after hours. She also tutored at Government House and counted among her students the children of five governors as well as the grandchildren of the English poet, Lord Tennyson. Her reputation as an outstanding scholar and excellent tutor were legendary. In 1893 she married Caspar Dorsch, the first of many Missouri Synod Lutheran pastors from the USA who came to minister in South Australia. He already had two children from his first marriage, and then he and Agnes had eight more. Where some women turned to teaching because they did not marry, Agnes Dorsch returned to the classroom to support a family when her husband began to suffer chronic ill health after 1898. Ironically, her own children missed her motherly attentions; even though she ensured they had good books at their disposal, she herself did not have the time to read to them. A large woman with a voracious appetite and boundless energy she walked everywhere, to church and back four miles away twice on a Sunday, to work each day where she taught a full load, only to return home to tutor students in languages and mathematics after school and into the evening. She cooked huge meals for a table of ten, wrote long weekly letters to her children once they left home and took her family on holidays to the beach.²⁵

On her marriage to Caspar Dorsch, Agnes got involved with the ELSA which owned and operated Concordia College. He was the pastor of the Bethlehem congregation in Flinders Street and Agnes Dorsch was a regular Sunday school teacher. Her husband was an active leader in the church and a strong supporter of Lutheran schools. In 1907



Concordia Faculty 1936:

Back: W. Zschech, O. Wedding, R. Altus, H. Hamann

Front: A. Wiebusch, M. Winkler, F. Graebner, A. Dorsch

he even took on a part-time teaching position at Concordia during a staff emergency. Caspar Dorsch died in 1916 and that was when his wife had to take up teaching in private schools to support her family. In 1923 Agnes Dorsch was recruited to join the staff at Concordia. Initially a temporary position, it was continually extended until girls were admitted to the college in 1927 and her permanent employment was happily established for the next twenty years. Her main teaching subjects were English, German, French, Latin, Greek, mathematics and physiology. She was very highly regarded as a teacher, especially in English literature, and often invited female students to her home on Fullarton Road where they played games on her lawn and enjoyed her generous hospitality. She had a strong interest in the welfare and education of girls and provided an excellent role model for those Concordia female students with aspirations to further their education. At the end of the 1943 school year she was formally farewelled at the closing chapel service with expressions of great appreciation. A few days earlier she had provided students with a sumptuous feast, leaving them with a message written in Latin. She retired to Myrtle Bank and died in 1958.²⁶

Naomi Hoff

More typical of ELCA women who became teachers is the story of Naomi Cordelia Hoff. She was born on 29 April 1923 at Ceduna in South Australia close to Koonibba Mission Station where her parents, Carl and Severa Hoff, worked as missionaries. Through her father she had descended from the sister of August Kavel, the founder of Australian Lutheranism. Through her mother she was a descendant of the former Dresden missionary, Eduard Meyer, who later became president of the Fritzsche synod. Therefore her ancestry encompassed both sides of Australian Lutheranism. Naomi Hoff, however, was brought up in the ELSA tradition. She was the third child in a family of four, two girls and two boys. She came from a home where reading and discussion were valued and encouraged. Bible reading, family devotions, hymn

singing, were part of family life. Her parents taught their children German, and American Missouri Synod publications like *Die Abendschule* and *The Walther League Messenger* were regular magazine subscriptions.²⁷

Naomi Hoff spent her first seven years at Koonibba, where her early schooling was done by correspondence under the supervision of Frieda Koch who later taught at the Henty Lutheran school in New South Wales. The rest of her primary schooling took place in a state school at Emu Downs in South Australia's mid-north where her father served as the pastor from 1930 until 1954. The school occupied the vestry of the Lutheran church which was rented to the state. Her grandfather, Bernhard Hoff, had taught in a Lutheran school at Emu Downs for three years ending in 1884. For her secondary education Naomi Hoff attended Concordia College in Adelaide for four years. After two years she gained an Intermediate Certificate. She, along with Eunice Darsow, then took up a church offer of free board to complete their Leaving Certificates and become Lutheran teachers. She went teaching immediately on finishing secondary school, achieving her teacher registration later from the Victorian Education Department in 1948 and her Lutheran qualifications in 1949.²⁸

Naomi Hoff's teaching ministry in Lutheran schools was characterised by huge challenges and great variety. Her first appointment as an unqualified teenager was to St. John's Lutheran School at Cambrai, north-east of Adelaide, where she taught about twenty children in the church vestry. Her salary was a modest £50 (pounds) a year plus board. These were the war years and included a period of drought as well. Conditions were harsh, resources were few and she found herself coping with terrible dust storms, where she struggled through the gritty wind to accompany small children to outside pit toilets, while inside the classroom it was not light enough to work. The playground was stony and bare. She had to conduct the traditional *Schulprüfung*, a half day oral examination, in front of parents and the congregation, followed by a school picnic. Her students included James Pietsch, Arthur Rathjen and Victor Schubert who became Lutheran pastors, and Eric Rathjen, later a Lutheran teacher. Part of her duties included playing the pedal organ at church on Sundays. Wartime rationing made it difficult to travel but she managed to attend morale boosting conferences for the teachers from the nine ELCA schools in South Australia.²⁹

As a Lutheran teacher Naomi Hoff put great store in the call system. However difficult or demanding a position she was offered, once she accepted it she saw herself as a servant of God in that place and took up the challenge no matter how difficult. After Cambrai she accepted a call to teach in the ELCA school at Loxton. However, that school closed in January 1946 so she accepted the challenge to become a member of the inaugural staff at Concordia College in Toowoomba. This college was the first ELCA school to be established in Queensland since World War I and with no suitable teachers experienced in the philosophy and practice of the Lutheran school system, it looked to the southern church with its richer traditions of education for suitable teachers. The other two full-time members of staff were the headmaster, Pastor Rudolph Altus from Concordia College in Adelaide, and a student on leave from Concordia Seminary, Everard Leske. Naomi Hoff was responsible for the scholarship class, the last year of primary school, and had to come to terms with the Queensland education system. She also served as supervisor in the girls' hostel.³⁰

In 1948, after two years in Queensland, another call brought Naomi Hoff back to Victoria. For the first two terms of the year she took over the small Lutheran school at Kewell near Murtoa where there were only eight students. Then in third term the Lutheran school in Tabor experienced a sudden emergency when its teacher, Eric Hassold, suddenly resigned. Naomi Hoff was given leave of absence from Kewell for a term to become the teacher in charge of between twenty and thirty pupils at Tabor. Bruno Matuschka, a male graduate teacher, had taken the call to Tabor for 1949, and since the Lutheran school at Lake Linlithgow, part of the Tabor parish, was being revived that year, arrangements were made with Kewell to release her from her call to take over the school there. Here again she was the sole teacher in charge of around twenty students. When the two parish schools were consolidated in 1954 under the leadership of Bill Oster, Naomi specialised in the junior grades for the next seven years at Tabor. As a single person her mobility qualified her for short term positions. During these years Naomi Hoff also served the wider church, editing the Victorian women's newsletter, teaching Sunday and Saturday school as well as leading training seminars for Sunday school teachers. She also participated in Luther League meetings, sang in church choirs and led Bible studies.³¹

In 1961 Naomi Hoff accepted a call to St. John's Lutheran School at Eudunda in South Australia. She was one of an entirely new staff of four teachers. Here she taught the middle grades and her colleague who taught the infant grades was Lynette Uebergang, a former student from Tabor. In 1963 Naomi Hoff moved back to Victoria as principal of the two-teacher school at Dimboola. She taught the upper classes as well until 1967. During this time the first grants of state aid began to trickle into Lutheran schools. She enjoyed good relations with neighbouring schools with whom her students were



Naomi Hoff and Pastor Wiebusch at Lake Linlithgow.

involved in interschool sports and musical performances. One of her students was Greg Pietsch who later became the Victorian president of the LCA.³²

After six years at Dimboola, as a single person approaching the middle years of her teaching ministry, Naomi Hoff decided to join the constant stream of Australian Lutheran teachers serving in New Guinea. She commenced with a two-year contract teaching the children of missionaries at a boarding school operated by the Missouri Synod and including nationals from the USA, Germany and Australia. Her contract completed, she decided to stay on and moved to Rooke Island where she taught indigenous students at Gelem. She lived on campus for two years before she moved to Bumayong Lutheran High School a few miles out of Lae in 1972. There she taught a variety of subjects including English, business principles, Christian education and careers, as well as conducting Bible camps, supervising the girls' dormitories and tuckshop and conveying sick students to hospital. She also helped compile a book of hymns in Pidgin and English which was later published. It was a period in which PNG became independent and graduates from Bumayong and Gelem were promoted to high positions in government service because their English was so good.³³

After twelve years in PNG, Naomi Hoff returned to Australia in 1980. She had to adjust to a new era in schooling, including the social repercussions caused by developments in technology and media, the transformation of the Lutheran Church since the 1966 union, as well as the huge impact of government funding on Lutheran schools. Now in her late fifties it would have been understandable if she had decided to take a minor role. Instead, she entered a hectic period where she became involved in three new schools. First, she was one of two staff who opened a school in the Victorian town of Murtoa with around forty pupils. She taught the junior grades. In 1982, when enrolments exceeded fifty, an infant teacher was added. Enrolments included twins and quadruplets. The local people made her feel welcome as she settled back into Australian life. She even took long service leave for the first and only time. In 1983 she accepted a new call as the founding principal of St Andrew's Lutheran School in Darwin, the capital of the Northern Territory. It started with two teachers and between thirty and forty students. As a principal and part time teacher it proved a heavy load. The school was established in rented premises and plans had to be made for permanent ones. This was the year of the 500th anniversary of Luther's birth and an article she wrote in the school newsletter was taken up by the local press and provided excellent publicity for the Lutheran church and its new school. Naomi Hoff worked alongside the parish pastor, Victor Schubert, whom she had taught at Cambrai. She served one year in Darwin, long enough to see the school registered. Then in 1984 came another challenge from the other side of Australia in the Tasmanian capital of Hobart, where a Lutheran school had been established two years earlier in a house next to the church. Her job was to relocate it to the empty buildings of the Eastshore drive-in theatre across the Derwent River. Meanwhile new classrooms and a teacher's residence were erected. She stayed for three years. It too was a challenging role. Besides the physical facilities, the students, some of them from disadvantaged backgrounds, presented extra pressures. Nevertheless, the school developed a good reputation.³⁴

Naomi Hoff loved being a teacher in Lutheran schools and saw it as a service to God. She understood these congregational schools as being extensions of the home where

children grew in their Christian faith and understanding. Rates of remuneration and promotional positions were not a consideration, especially in the early days, but improved pay in her later years of service, if not sought, was happily accepted. Far more rewarding was seeing that her former students had become staunch congregational members or had taken up special ministries in the church. She harboured no sense of female teachers being at a disadvantage in Lutheran schools, or of their jostling with male teachers for positions of seniority. As members of the church, the body of Christ, males and females, she believed, had their special roles to play. She appreciated the love and respect she was shown in the communities she served, and teaching in this environment gave her great joy. Although marriage and family had been a consideration, when this did not occur she was happy to be a mother to her students and to be welcomed into their homes.³⁵

As a woman teaching in Lutheran schools with meagre pay and fewer promotional opportunities, Naomi Hoff developed her own understanding of her role and ministry in the church. Certainly women were treated differently than men. Though they were active in congregational life women were not permitted to perform all the duties a male teacher might be called upon to do, like filling in for the pastor at worship. Sometimes it worked in her favour when less was required of her. And though wages were smaller she never experienced need because people looked after her more. However, she believed that even though she could not serve as a pastor, being a Lutheran teacher involved her in a special public ministry of the church where she had a call from the congregation to teach God's word to her students. If marriage had come her way, she would have been quite happy to give up this ministry and concentrate on raising a family and making a home. But when such opportunities did not arise she felt honoured to continue in the special ministry for which she had a continuing call from God through the congregation. Her great satisfaction as a female Lutheran teacher did not flow from her salary or her status but from the call she had to serve in the church.³⁶

At the end of 1986, after forty-seven years of working in Lutheran schools, Naomi Hoff decided it was time to quit. She retired to Adelaide. In 1995 the faculty of Luther Seminary chose her to receive the Servant of Christ award in recognition of her services to Lutheran education.³⁷

Their Proper Place

By the end of the twentieth century female teachers and principals were assuming their proper place under the Lutheran schooling sun. Their male colleagues, brought up in a narrower tradition, learned to respect, appreciate and finally accept them as colleagues and equals. These women brought their special gifts and a wider variety of qualities to their work which broadened the appeal and improved the performance of the schools they served. The path towards their inclusion was pioneered by women like Gertrude Jacob.

In her retirement Gertrude Jacob took up the role of cleaning and packaging stamps for Lutheran missions, firstly at the home she shared with her sister, and then at her unit at the Lutheran retirement village at Glynde. She often noted, with a sense of historical continuity, that the Philatelist Society in South Australia had been co-founded by her great-great-uncle Friedrich Krichauff way back in 1860.³⁸

- 1 *The Advertiser*, 26 March 1914, p. 11.
- 2 R. J. Hauser, *The Patriarchs*, Adelaide: LEA, 2008, pp. 25 – 27; D. E. and I. V. Hansen, *With Wings*, Adelaide: Open Book, 1995, pp. 430 – 432; J. B. Koch, *When the Murray Meets the Mississippi*, Adelaide: LPH, 1975, p. 160; El. Leske, *Concordia 100 Years*, Adelaide: LPH, 1990, pp. 215, 258.
- 3 Hauser, pp. 25 -27; Hansen & Hansen, p. 430; *Souvenir Booklet of Lutheran Pastors and Teachers in Australia 1845 – 1945*, ELCA, Lutheran Archives (LA); BLS Schools Statistics, 1983 – 1996; 1999 *Lutheran Year Book*, pp. 154 – 198; Garry Matuschka Call Papers, LA; G. Slattery, *From Point Pass to New York*, Adelaide University Workshop Papers, 22 May 2010, LA; R. Mugford, *Tanunda Lutheran School 1938 – 1988*, p. 5; ELSA Synod Minutes, 1927, 1943, LA; UELCA Synod Minutes, 1948, 1949, 1951, 1954, LA.
- 4 Hauser, pp. 123 ff.; *Kirchen und Missions Zeitung (KMZ)*, 3 June 1907; Jacob Family Papers, LA.
- 5 *Lutheran Herald*, 6 November 1939, p. 360; R. J. Hauser, *Veteran Voices*, a collection of interview records, 2011, pp. 6, 7, LA; Jacob Family Papers; V. A Leib, *Grow Up To Christ*, Tanunda: Redeemer Lutheran School, 1982, p. 21.
- 6 *Veteran Voices*, p. 6; Jacob Family Papers.
- 7 Jacob Family Papers; *Veteran Voices*, p. 6; *Lutheran Herald*, 3 February 1936, pp. 43, 44; 17 March 1941, p. 92.
- 8 *Veteran Voices*, p. 6; Inspectors' Reports, Appila Lutheran School, November 1943, October 1944, August 1945, September 1946.
- 9 *Lutheran Herald*, 29 September 1945, p. 310.
- 10 *Veteran Voices*, p.6; Inspectors' Reports, Loxton Lutheran School, October 1947, July 1948, October 1950; R. Fielke, *History of Loxton Lutheran School*.
- 11 *Veteran Voices*, p. 6.
- 12 *Veteran Voices*, p. 6; Leib, pp. 14 ff.; G. Munzberg & R. Teusner, *Tanunda Lutheran School 1938 – 1963*, Tanunda: Auricht's Printing Press, 1963; R. Mugford, *Tanunda Lutheran School 1938 – 1988*, Tanunda: Barossa News, 1988, pp. 15 ff.
- 13 *25 Years of Blessing, Angaston, 1962 – 1987*, Adelaide: LPH, pp. 13 ff., 18, 19.
- 14 *Veteran Voices*, p. 6; Inspector's Report, Angaston Lutheran School, November 1963; A. & E. Loffler, *25 Years of Blessing, Angaston, 1962 – 1987*, Adelaide: LPH, pp. 7 ff., 21 ff.
- 15 *Veteran Voices*, pp. 6, 7; Jacob Family Papers.
- 16 *Veteran Voices*, pp. 6, 7.; Leib, p. 21.
- 17 Inspectors' Reports, Appila Lutheran School, November 1943, October 1944, August 1945, September 1946, and Loxton Lutheran School, September 1947, October 1950, October 1951, December 1952, November 1953.
- 18 Hansen & Hansen, pp. 39, 52; *Veteran Voices*, p. 2; J. P. Weiss, *Short General and Statistical History of the Australian Lutheran Church*, 2003, p. 302.
- 19 M. V. Ames, *The Female Experience*, 1999 ACLE paper.
- 20 *Veteran Voices*, p. 2; Ames, *The Female Experience*.
- 21 *Veteran Voices*, pp. 2, 3; Ames, *The Female Experience*; Hansen & Hansen, p. 305.
- 22 *Veteran Voices*, pp. 2, 3; Ames, *The Female Experience*.
- 23 Ames, *The Female Experience*.
- 24 A. Mackinnon, *Love and Freedom*, Adelaide: Cambridge University Press, 1997, pp. 82, 108.
- 25 Mackinnon, p. 108; Koch, pp. 61 ff.; *Dorsch Memories*, Concordia College Archives (CCA).
- 26 El. Leske, *Concordia 100 Years*, Adelaide: LPH, 1990, pp. 59, 73, 74, 75, 76, 158, 167, 168, 169, 171, 190; *Australian Lutheran*, 22 October 1958, pp. 346, 347.
- 27 Naomi Hoff Personal Papers.
- 28 Weiss, p. 143; Naomi Hoff Personal Papers.
- 29 Naomi Hoff Personal Papers; *Veteran Voices*, p. 5.
- 30 R. J. Hauser (ed.), *Never In Vain*, Toowoomba: Concordia College, 1995, pp. 46, 47.
- 31 Naomi Hoff Personal Papers.

- 32 Ibid.
- 33 Ibid.
- 34 Ibid.
- 35 *Veteran Voices*, p. 6.
- 36 *Veteran Voices*, p. 6; A. G. Mueller, *The Ministry of the Lutheran Teacher*, St Louis: CPH, 1964, pp. 162 ff.
- 37 Naomi Hoff Personal Papers.
- 38 *Veteran Voices*, p. 6.

CHAPTER 6

Elvin Janetzki Teaching the Teachers

“You must teach and preach these things.” 1 Timothy 5:2

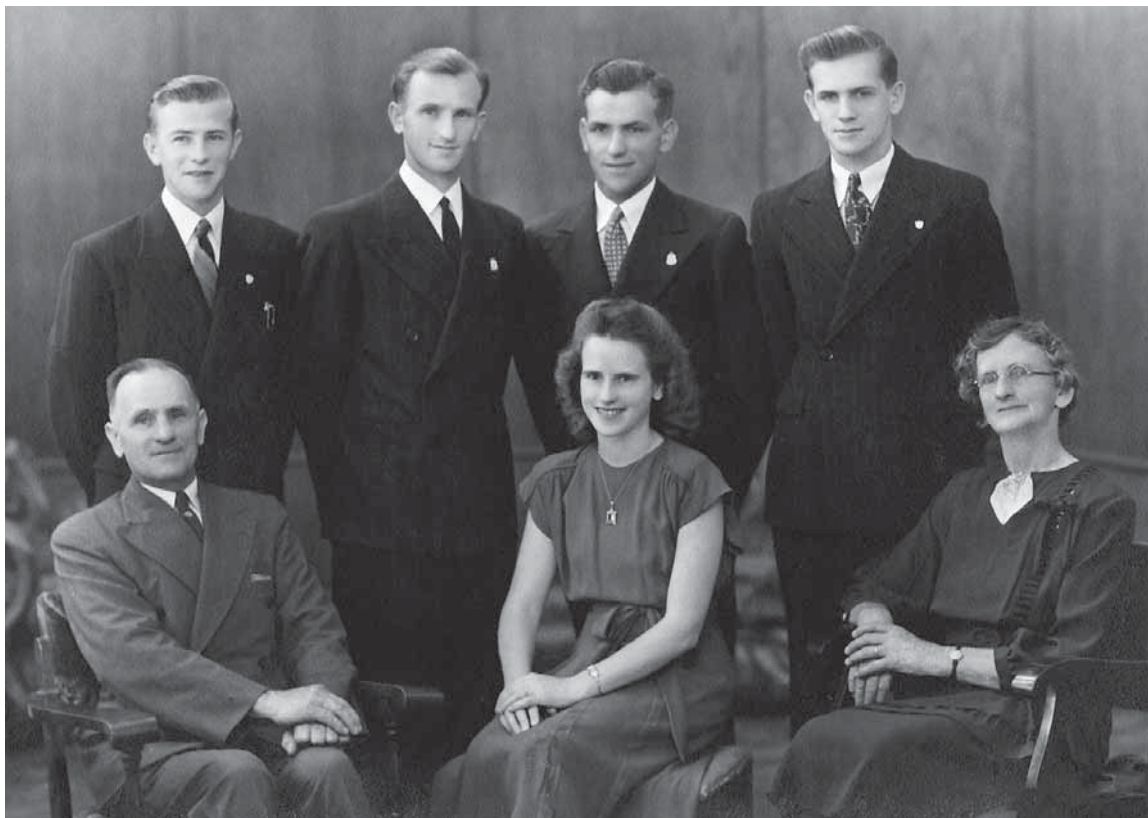
By the time that Lutherans, after 120 years of division, finally amalgamated to form one united Lutheran Church of Australia (LCA) in 1966, the two former synods, the UELCA and the ELCA, had developed healthy systems of schooling. Both the UELCA's Immanuel Seminary and the ELCA's Concordia Seminary were situated in Adelaide and, in addition to their programs for training pastors, they had been equipping teachers for service in the schools as well. With the union of the synods came the necessity of rationalising this tertiary sector of the church, including teacher training courses. This involved not only the amalgamation of the two institutions but also the merging of two varying approaches to Lutheran education. With the emergence of Lutheran Teachers College (LTC) in 1968, the pathway for equipping the church's teachers was set in place, and a consolidated training regime for the next generation of Lutheran educators was established. How this opportunity was taken up and to what extent it was lost, is a history crucial to understanding Australian Lutheran schooling in the last three decades of the twentieth century. One of the educators and theologians who mapped the way and played a central role in these events was Elvin Janetzki. His story, among others, will provide us with a vantage point for observing who was teaching the teachers, as well as what they were being taught, in the early days of the LCA.



Elvin Janetzki

Family and Education

Elvin Walter Janetzki was born on 15 January 1921 in the Queensland country town of Kingaroy, a little over 200 kilometres north-west of Brisbane. His father was Walter Janetzki, and his mother was the former Frederika Priebbenow. The Janetzki family had come to Queensland from Victoria. Earlier still there had been a Janetzki family on board the *Zebra*, one of the first ships of Old Lutherans who came to South Australia under the leadership of August Kavel in 1838. After settling at Hahndorf in the Adelaide Hills, Johann Georg Janetzki and his family later moved to Victoria. His brother, Friedrich Wilhelm Janetzki, joined him in Australia in 1856 and also settled in Hahndorf before moving to Victoria in 1874 to take up residence at Katyl. One of his sons, also called Friedrich Wilhelm, moved to Queensland and settled at Kumbia, south of Kingaroy, to take up farming in the region. Walter, who had actually acquired his own land by ballot at Kumbia in 1907 at the age of sixteen, was one of his sons. So even though he was brought up in Queensland, Elvin Janetzki had his family roots in the traditions of southern Lutheranism. After Elvin, his eldest child, was born, Walter, a restless soul who never quite settled anywhere for very long, took his wife and young son back to the land of his fathers in Victoria. They lived in the Wimmera township of Murtoa where Walter decided to learn the trade of carpentry. They stayed for a couple of years during which time a second son, Clem, was born in 1923 before they returned to Queensland. Walter took up farming once again, but this time on the Darling Downs west of Toowoomba, first at Greenwood and then later at Acland. Walter and Frederika had three more children in Queensland, a girl called Nita, and two boys, Owen and



Janetzki Family: (standing from left) Owen (Jim), Elvin, Clem, John; (sitting from left) Walter, Nita, Frederika.

John. Elvin and John became Lutheran pastors, Clem followed his father into farming and building and later worked on the Lutheran mission field in New Guinea, Owen (Jim) became a Lutheran teacher and principal and Nita, the only daughter, married a man called Smith and settled in Toowoomba.¹

Elvin acquired most of his primary education at the state school in Greenwood. He rode a horse to school and towards the end carried his younger brother Owen who climbed on behind while Clem and Nita accompanied them on another mount. His parents were committed members of the ELCA's St. Paul's congregation at Greenwood, and Elvin Janetzki made his confirmation vows there in August 1936. A few months later the family decided to send him, at the age of sixteen, to Concordia College in Adelaide. He joined a distinguished student body of future church leaders, including John Paech, Garry Matuschka, Alf Miller and Naomi Hoff, all of whom were to serve important roles in Lutheran schools in later years. Concordia by this time was co-educational but still comprised a single institution of secondary and tertiary students. In 1937, his first year at the college, enrolments numbered eighty, but by the time he graduated in 1939, with the onset of the war years, they had declined to seventy. Despite the fact that he was a long way from home Elvin Janetzki enjoyed his three years of secondary schooling at Concordia. He was a keen student who did well at his studies, passing his Intermediate examination as one of the college's top three students in 1938. He also enjoyed his sport, especially cricket and Australian Rules football, and appreciated the musical opportunities the college offered as well. He saw Henry Hamann take over as head of Concordia in 1939, replacing Friedrich Graebner. During this period Concordia students continued to do well in public examinations, there were annual concert tours to promote Concordia among the South Australian and Victorian congregations of the ELCA and the college's athletics, cricket and football teams enjoyed a great deal of success in the days before there was an age limit applied to school team members. At the end of 1939, having completed his Leaving certificate, Elvin Janetzki returned north to take up tertiary studies in Brisbane.²

During 1940 and 1941 Elvin Janetzki studied law at the University of Queensland. His tidy mind and systematic approach to life were well suited to this chosen area of academic pursuit. Meanwhile World War II was being fought out in various global theatres of conflict, and, with the Japanese attack on Pearl Harbour in December 1941, was looming more imminent in the minds of Australians. It was in that same month that Elvin Janetzki received a notice to report to Redbank army barracks in Brisbane. He had been conscripted to join the war effort. After a brief introduction to army life and a quick train trip to Sydney, a couple of weeks later he was on board a ship bound for Port Moresby in New Guinea as Australian troops were brought in to defend the country against the Japanese. Based in Port Moresby which was subjected to 170 fighter and bomber attacks in his time there, he found life to be dangerous and difficult. He was allocated to the Army Pay Corps where his legal background came in handy in sorting out the financial affairs of soldiers, especially those who died in action and had difficult family situations to address. He remained in New Guinea for two years and was so worn down by the experience his superior officer insisted he take a recuperation break before being allowed to fly home. He had attained the rank of staff sergeant during the war and was offered a career as an army officer but decided to turn it down. His war experience,

including his dealing with bereaved army families, had caused a change in his thinking about life's priorities. His future, he believed, was not in the defence forces. Nor was it in the law. In May 1945, having been discharged from the army, he enrolled at Concordia Seminary in Adelaide to begin theological studies in order to become a Lutheran pastor.³

From 1945 to 1948, between the ages of twenty-four and twenty-seven, Elvin Janetzki studied at Concordia as a mature age student. The combined college and seminary had grown to over 140 students for most of the period he spent there. The college was broadening its base and three females now served on the staff. Concordia was still excelling at sport, and doing well in public examinations. However, it was in the musical life of the college that Elvin Janetzki particularly enjoyed some quality participation. In 1947 he was personally involved in two outstanding efforts. Along with Elmore Leske (another future Lutheran pastor and principal) he was selected to perform a memorable novelty piano duet at the closing concert. But perhaps the highlight of the year for him was when he not only arranged the music for a rendition of the male choir at a service welcoming the head of Concordia, Henry Hamann, back from the USA, but he conducted it as well. In his graduating year, a polio epidemic restricted school activities and the graduation celebrations were more muted than usual. Nevertheless Elvin Janetzki was one of three pastors who graduated that year along with two teachers. He returned to Queensland where he was ordained by Pastor Fred Noack in February 1949. Two months later he married Yvonne Stuhmcke, a milliner and dressmaker from Brisbane. The marriage produced three children, Ross (1950), Pam (1951) and Kay (1953).⁴

Concordia Queensland

Elvin Janetzki's first Queensland service as a pastor was at Mondure, not far from his birthplace of Kingaroy. He was only there for a year when he was called to the Nobby parish on the Darling Downs which included the city of Warwick where he began a ministry in 1950. This was to be his only extended experience of parish service. They were hectic years in which the three children were born and Elvin Janetzki not only learned the ropes of running a parish but was extensively involved, as a younger pastor, in regional activities of the Luther League, as the youth organisation of the church was called at that time. There was also constant demand for the exercise of his musical prowess in a variety of choral and musical productions performed by the Lutherans of the region. After five years he was offered a change of direction. He was called to serve as a teacher and deputy headmaster at Concordia College in Toowoomba where his younger brother Owen was already a teacher and his father was on the college's managing board.⁵

Concordia in Toowoomba had opened in 1946 as the second ELCA college in Australia. There had been movements in the Queensland district of the ELCA to establish a Lutheran high school as far back as the 1920s, but years of economic depression and another world war caused the project to be delayed. Naturally there was the usual quotient of church members who opposed it too. Some thought it to be too expensive for a region of the church which was still being subsidised by Lutherans in the south. In Queensland, where primary schooling included Grade 8, and secondary schooling remained non-compulsory until the 1960s, many rural Lutherans saw no need for a



Luther League Pastor in Qld., Elvin Janetzki second from right.

high school education for their children. There were concerns about the ability of the church to provide suitable teachers and to compete with state high schools as well. On the other hand those parents who wanted a Lutheran secondary education for their children had only one choice, to send them to Concordia in Adelaide. A few did, but it was costly, and a huge dislocation for the family, so a local college was thought to be a better option. Supporters of the project also pointed out that there was always a shortage of pastors in the church, and any Queensland boys who were willing to serve needed to do suitable secondary preparation which they were more likely to do if it were closer to home. In this way it was thought that a college in Queensland would contribute to the supply of pastors in the church. There was also more enthusiasm for secondary education in society generally and increased support for this was emerging after the war. Perhaps the conclusive source of motivation was the rivalry with the UELCA which opened St Peters Lutheran College in Brisbane in 1945.⁶

The driving force behind the new college was the president of the ELCA in Queensland, Pastor Fred Noack. It was his vision which supplied the impetus. A determined and eccentric personality, he was based in Toowoomba and constantly travelled throughout Queensland encouraging mission congregations and visiting his constituents. He eschewed motor vehicles and travelled by train, appearing in his black suit and pith helmet and carrying his Gladstone bag at the congregations and homes of Lutherans all over the state. For years, as he passed it on the way to catch another train, he had dreamed about the possibilities of the Redlands property in Toowoomba where the college was eventually sited. It featured an elegant two storey mansion on its grounds, which themselves were quite capacious. By 1945 Fred Noack had convinced his church to adopt the project and, together with a dedicated band of followers, set about preparations to open the college for the beginning of 1946. Walter Janetzki was one of the college's strongest supporters. He served as a member of its managing board from 1946 to 1963, and in the mid-fifties was the contractor who built its hostel for girl boarders. In many ways the new school was seen as an extension of Concordia College

in the south. It took the same name, and its first headmaster was Pastor Rudolph Altus who was a faculty member from the Adelaide college. After two years, and suffering a heart attack, he resigned, and was eventually replaced by Pastor Hermann Temme, a Queensland Lutheran pastor, who remained as headmaster until 1959. Unlike the UELCA which appointed laymen as heads of colleges, those belonging to the ELCA were led by pastors. The college opened in 1946 with just under thirty upper primary and lower secondary students. It made a faltering start. Within three years the original teachers, Rudolph Altus, Naomi Hoff and Everard Leske (a student interrupting his seminary studies) had moved on. The college, which paid very modest salaries to its staff, found difficulties in finding adequate teachers until award salaries commenced in 1968. Places were filled by pastors of the church, teachers recruited from Lutheran primary schools, students interrupting their seminary studies for a year or two with other short term replacements to fill in the gaps.⁷

In the early years of the college the main staffing strategy consisted of trying to recruit top Lutheran teachers from the south. Bill Oster, who had performed an important role on the teaching staff in its initial years, had been recruited from the primary school sector. Garry Matuschka, another Victorian primary teacher who was always in demand, also received a call which he declined. The next year Vic Georg from Concordia in Adelaide was approached, unsuccessfully, to join the staff. Late in 1953, determined to restore the higher classes of Sub-Senior and Senior to their program, the Concordia College board made a short list of suitable pastors who might be called to help teach these years. Elvin Janetzki was included on it. Half way through 1954, after the re-establishment of the Senior years had been postponed for twelve months, he finally received the call. After a couple months of consideration he accepted. His salary consisted of £400 (pounds) per annum plus a child allowance of twenty-five pounds as well as a house with electricity, free milk (the college had its own dairy cows) and firewood. He came to a Concordia which was smaller and more provincial than his *alma mater* in Adelaide. Established in Toowoomba, in the heartland of conservative Queensland Lutheranism, the school reflected the culture and attitudes of its setting. In 1955, for instance, the college board recorded that it did not favour the introduction of folk dancing at the college because it doubted “the wisdom and expediency” of doing so. Science was not introduced to the curriculum for the first fifteen years, partly because it was feared it would compromise the college’s Christian standing.⁸

When Elvin Janetzki joined the staff at Concordia in 1955 the college was in its tenth year of operation. There was an enrolment of 110 students, including primary classes, and incorporating Sub-Senior again after it had been dropped earlier because of lack of numbers. Pastor Hermann Temme was halfway through his service as headmaster. Elvin Janetzki had joined the staff to serve as deputy head and to introduce Greek to lads bound for the seminary, as well as teach religious studies, English and history. Owen Janetzki, Elvin’s younger brother, who had been recruited from teachers college in 1949 to serve as housemaster, sportsmaster and teach mathematics and geography, was still on the staff. Kevin Oster, who taught a range of subjects including Latin, had joined the staff in 1953, replacing his uncle, Bill Oster. Both of the Osters had a background in Lutheran day schools. Bill Oster had supplied the educational experience and expertise to provide the college with substance and standing between

1948 and 1952, and the vacuum left by his departure was gradually filled by the Janetzki brothers. Elva Hartwig and Neville Klein taught in the primary department. They were the main teachers, and were quite a competent group. The curriculum was very narrow consisting mainly of religious studies, English, Greek, Latin, geography, history and mathematics as well as some commercial subjects. Instrumental and choir music received a lot of attention as well. By the time that Elvin Janetzki left the college at the end of 1962 Vince Klingberg (another Lutheran primary teacher) and Pastor Peter Boesch, who was employed to add science to the curriculum, had joined the college staff. Students now numbered about 130. And since 1960 there had been a new headmaster, Robert Johnston, a Lutheran pastor and teacher from the USA.⁹

Elvin Janetzki proved at Concordia that he was an able educator. He excelled at teaching English and could make literature come alive for his classes. He also was adept at inspiring students like Aubrey Podlich, a future pastor, poet and conservationist, at creative writing. He gave full vent to his musical talents as a music appreciation teacher and choir conductor. His history students gained an interest and love for antiquity, and his religious studies lessons were profound and memorable. He was a natural organiser who brought contemporary approaches and good order to the curriculum. During his years at Concordia he also took up further studies. By the time he moved on he had completed a bachelor degree in arts and a diploma of education with the University of Queensland, as well as a bachelor of divinity with Concordia Seminary at St Louis in the USA. When Hermann Temme retired as headmaster in 1959 Elvin Janetzki, in his late thirties, well qualified, fit and energetic and with a reputation for pedagogical excellence, must have seemed to some at least as the logical successor. For instance, after he had been at the college for only one year he was appointed as acting headmaster during the absence of Hermann Temme in Adelaide for a short period. But it was not to be. Fred Noack felt constrained to look further afield to the traditional ELCA recruiting ground for Lutheran academics, the Missouri Synod in the USA, to where he made regular visits. After a few calls to likely candidates were declined the challenge was finally taken up by Robert Johnston, a pastor and professor from Concordia College at St. Paul in Minnesota. Elvin Janetzki continued at Concordia as his deputy for another three years. Towards the end of this period a third Australian Concordia was being planned in Victoria. Elvin Janetzki was high on its list of possible founding heads. The Victorians too flirted with the recruitment of a Missouri Synod American but in September 1961 decided to offer the position to John Paech, a pastor at Geelong who had a degree. He finally declined the call in May 1962. A major meeting of national and state ELCA leaders met in June 1962 and considered an extended list of possible candidates. The vote, taken twice with the same result, produced a tie between John Paech and Elvin Janetzki as the preferred candidates. The chairman's deciding vote went to John Paech who subsequently accepted his second call as the first principal of Luther College in Melbourne which opened in 1964. Before the end of 1962, however, Elvin Janetzki had received another call, as a lecturer at Concordia Seminary in Adelaide.¹⁰

Later history would suggest that Concordia Toowoomba lost a great opportunity when it let Elvin Janetzki slip from its grasp. Obviously, there was higher regard for this prophet in other places than in his home country. The Johnston period of headmastership

at Concordia did not turn out to be a success, not entirely of his doing. A thorough Christian gentleman he impressed everyone with his learning and the gospel-centred sincerity of his Christian faith. However, he found it difficult to adapt to the provincial culture and educational philosophy he encountered in Toowoomba, and in 1964, when he offered his resignation to the college council, it was accepted. Enrolments were declining and there were perceived problems with discipline as well as a dearth of staff harmony at the college. The new headmaster was a layman, Elvin Janetzki's brother Owen, who had taken over his brother's position as deputy headmaster in 1963. He was offered the position somewhat belatedly, after he had resigned from the college to take up a teaching position at Concordia in Adelaide. An outstanding classroom teacher with a reputation for producing excellent results in public examinations (in twelve years none of his students failed Junior geography) Owen Janetzki was reluctant to leave the classroom and move into administration. After a difficult period of decision making he decided to accept the call. When he took over in 1965 the college was still struggling to establish its reputation, morale was low and enrolments stood at 110 students spread over five secondary years. In 1987 enrolments reached 600 and when Owen Janetzki retired as headmaster from Concordia at the end of 1989 Concordia had achieved a strong financial footing and enjoyed an excellent reputation in the community for strong discipline and the quality of its program. And most pleasing of all, over these years a continual stream of its graduates had moved on to Adelaide to train as pastors, teachers and workers in the church.¹¹

Lutheran Teachers College

In 1963 Elvin Janetzki joined the faculty of Concordia Seminary in Adelaide. Henry Hamann junior was now the principal, having taken over from his father in the previous year. Elvin Janetzki's developing theological expertise was in the area of systematics with a particular interest in the Lutheran Confessions. He also lectured in pastoral theology and Lutheran education and conducted the seminary choir. During 1964 and 1965 he left his family in Adelaide and studied in America for eighteen months at Concordia Seminary at St Louis. He was able to cram a great deal of work into that short period of time working towards a Master of Sacred Theology degree and doing the ground work in further studies which culminated in the Doctor of Theology degree he was awarded in 1969 after his return to Australia. His master's thesis was entitled *Baptism as an Ecumenical Problem*. It took him some time to arrive at a thesis topic for his doctorate. He wanted to relate it to the Australian context and, with the union of the UELCA and the ELCA quite imminent, considered basing it on the differences between the two synods from the perspective of the Lutheran Confessions. In the end the topic he chose was: *The Role of the Symbols in Australian Lutheranism*. While he was in America he took some time to travel and visit major centres of Lutheranism including the states of Illinois and Wisconsin. He was enthralled by the music program at Concordia, including the opportunity to see and hear some favourite works like Bach's Mass in B Minor performed on stage. He visited Chicago and attended a Missouri Synod convention at Detroit and, from an Australian viewpoint, was amazed at how vast the Lutheran church was in America. He also experienced some dismay at the theological rumblings concerning Old Testament issues within the synod, and was fearful for its future as a "new" Missouri

emerged. Hermann Sasse from Immanuel Seminary in Adelaide was doing a stint as a guest lecturer at St. Louis at this time and he and Elvin Janetzki caught up regularly to discuss the progress towards Lutheran union in Australia.¹²

Elvin Janetzki returned to Australia for the beginning of the 1966 academic year to resume lecturing at Concordia Seminary. During his absence his wife Von had borne the burden of family responsibilities and had also been diagnosed with breast cancer. Although she recovered, her health was never quite the same again. Her husband's return to support her and the family was a relief for both of them. Elvin Janetzki was also back in time to take part in the celebrations surrounding the union of the church. One of the main questions facing the new LCA was where and how to integrate its two seminaries and their respective programs and personnel. It was decided that this should be accomplished within two years, and a Seminary Planning Committee was put in place to achieve it. The solution was to create Luther Seminary in North Adelaide on the site of the former Immanuel Seminary, and to establish Lutheran Teachers College (LTC) on what was previously the Concordia Seminary campus at Highgate. Luther would provide for the theological and practical formation of pastors, and LTC would continue the work of equipping teachers and deaconesses for the schools and congregations of the church. The plan became a reality, on time, in 1968. Principal of the new seminary was the former UELCA's Siegfried Hebart, with the former ELCA's Henry Hamann as vice-principal. Principal of LTC was the former ELCA's Elvin Janetzki, with the former UELCA's Rolph Mayer as his assistant. One can appreciate the deliberate balance of personnel between the two former synods that was needed in the sensitive area of the theological training of future church workers. LTC was given a four-pronged charter: train teachers, equip deaconesses, orientate missionaries and teach lay people.¹³

Though it had a broader charter there was no doubting the major focus of LTC. Its first intake consisted of sixty-three students, forty-eight of whom were training to be teachers, thirty-five in the primary sector, and thirteen in the secondary. This was more than expected. These teacher students enrolled in Adelaide teachers colleges or universities to gain their professional qualifications before doing a final year of theology at LTC. The fact that the vast majority of these students boarded at LTC during their tertiary studies, and that they were keenly aware of their historical role as the first products of a new church initiative, combined to contribute to a strong community spirit at the institution. Social life was buoyant, magazines and associations flourished, relations between faculty and students were close and congenial, and students had a voice on the board of management. The courses put in place for teacher students at LTC carried on along similar lines to those which had been available at the former seminaries. Subjects offered covered Old and New Testament studies, as well as church history, the Lutheran Confessions and doctrine. The signature subject, of course, was Lutheran education. Elvin Janetzki taught this course himself. He understood that of all the subjects future teachers studied, this was the one which had the most potential to shape the schools of the church into a distinctive mould. The course he taught was strongly influenced by the Missouri tradition which was reflected in the texts and readings set for the course. Jahsmann's *What's Lutheran in Education* was a typical reference. Meanwhile Rolph Mayer's classes, especially his Old Testament lessons,



Elvin Janetzki at LTC Summer School.

were powerfully infused with an appreciation for the Christocentric nature of the Bible and the liberating gospel message which he showed was at the heart of the Scriptures. Both were excellent lecturers in their own distinctive ways. Elvin Janetzki provided a clear and profound understanding of Lutheran doctrine and educational theory. Rolph Mayer left his students with an abiding sense of God's transforming love for a fallen world. This impressive team was soon broken up. Barely had Elvin Janetzki put the structures of the new institution into place when, much to the chagrin of the LTC community, he received a call to Luther Seminary to fill a vacancy there. He stayed another eighteen months to ensure that all was in place at LTC and left at the end of 1969.¹⁴

Rolph Mayer became the new principal of LTC, a position he was to hold for the next eighteen years before being replaced by Malcolm Bartsch in 1988. In the meantime John Koch, an Australian pastor who had done postgraduate studies, including a doctorate, at Concordia Seminary in St. Louis in the USA, accepted the call to replace Elvin Janetzki as a lecturer at LTC. Concordia College, which shared the campus and its refectory with LTC, was growing during this period and needed the area occupied by the tertiary college to extend its facilities. LTC was growing too with internal enrolments during the seventies and eighties hovering around 125 students. In 1975 LTC relocated to Ward Street in North Adelaide, taking over the former UELCA deaconess house as well as sharing some facilities with nearby Luther Seminary. During the 1970s there was a rapid expansion in Lutheran school development in Australia with thirteen new primary schools opening during that decade. In the 1980s the growth was even greater with six colleges and twenty-seven primary schools being established. This created a huge demand for teachers. There was no way that LTC could supply these needs and many of the schools were forced to recruit teachers from other sources. This new trend obviated the need for in-service courses in order to equip these new arrivals for their

roles in Lutheran schools. John Koch at LTC introduced a correspondence program in 1973 in an attempt to meet this demand. By 1977 LTC was offering eight subjects externally to nearly 150 teachers. In 1979 John Zweck, a layman recruited from the teaching force, took over this external program, and by 1983 all LTC subjects were available to external students. By 1990 enrolments in these courses had grown to more than 500. During the eighties and nineties constant adjustments were being made by church authorities to the study requirement necessary to become a fully accredited teacher in Lutheran schools. To cope with numbers courses were streamlined and modes of delivery concentrated. LTC



Rolph Mayer

tried to meet the demand by offering five day intensive courses in regional centres which helped cut the length of term time study commitments for teachers. In 1980 LTC awarded a Diploma of Education to its graduates for the first time and in 1992 this was externally accredited as the Graduate Diploma of Theology in Education. Meanwhile, because of the requirement of four year courses for teacher students to qualify for registration with the state, the fifth internal year at LTC began to decline. Also, the decision was made, mainly for economic reasons, to merge LTC with Luther Seminary in 1998. So after thirty years of sterling service to the church LTC discontinued its existence as a separate institution. In the first twenty-five years alone it had graduated 754 students, including 634 teachers for Lutheran schools.¹⁵

Lutheran Education

During his years as a teaching theologian in Adelaide Elvin Janetzki became the leading Australian authority on Lutheran educational theory. This was due to his formal roles at LTC and at Luther Seminary, and to the fact that he wrote and lectured a great deal on Lutheran educational philosophy and practice. He had also read and studied extensively in the area. And he had the ability to present the insights he gained in a coherent and effective way. He was in regular demand to conduct orientation courses for teachers, to present papers at conferences of Lutheran principals, to speak to gatherings of pastors and to consult with committees and boards of the church.¹⁶

In 1985, at the height of the Lutheran school boom in Australia, a collection of Elvin Janetzki's writings on education was published by the church. They represented a comprehensive sampling of the contributions he had been making to the thinking of pastors, principals and teachers over the previous fifteen years. They covered three main areas, the nature of Christian education itself, an exploration of what was distinctive about Lutheran schooling, as well as a thorough analysis of the role and ministry of the Christian teacher. In fact ever since he had been working in Lutheran schools back in

his Queensland days, Elvin Janetzki, who had the kind of mind which demanded that he should have a systematic framework of understandings behind everything he did, had been formulating his own rationale for Lutheran schooling. As early as 1960 he wrote an article for the church newspaper entitled “Should the Church Teach Sums?” In it he dealt with the objection to Christian schools which said that the church had no business teaching secular subjects. In response he advanced three simple arguments for the provision of Christian schools. First, Christian schools were necessary because the Christian home and the Sunday school could not provide the thoroughness and comprehensiveness necessary for an adequate Christian education. Second, the environment in which learning took place was never neutral, and the attitudes and beliefs of teachers were just as important as what they taught; so a Christian school was the only setting where parents could be confident their children were learning in a context that reflected the values they wanted. Third, you could not divide learning into secular and sacred compartments because they fed off each other, and so the church school, where God’s word permeated everything from discipline to motivation, as well as being the great integrating force in the school’s curriculum, was the only balanced option for a Christian family. After all, he pointed out, there was only one great purpose for a Christian in any learning – the glory of God, and this included the teaching of sums.¹⁷

As time went on Elvin Janetzki became fully immersed in the Lutheran educational theory of Missouri Synod Lutheranism. Some of the more influential writers he tended to follow and quote were Kent Gilbert and Richard Caemmerer. From these Lutheran educationalists he devised a broad definition of Christian education which could embrace all learning. For Elvin Janetzki Christian education was not restricted to teaching people about God and the faith. That was the narrower process of evangelisation. Nor was it the same as religious education which taught people about the church and a body of Christian knowledge. Nor was it a process of cultural conditioning in the current stereotypes of Christian behaviour and thinking. Rather Christian education was much broader in its scope and was concerned with the growth and development of the whole person in all aspects of their life in home, church and community. It was not merely an initiation into special Christian understandings, but was a process for people to develop a unique perspective on all knowledge. Or, as another way of putting it, it was about helping people in their growth process towards full Christian maturity which involved their total life. Christian education should be carried out because God in his love commanded it as a natural extension of baptism. People grew to Christian maturity through the power of the Holy Spirit which came to them through the word and the sacraments. The responsibility to teach was given to each Christian, to parents and to the church which set up formal agencies for this work. Christian education should be performed by teachers who were Christian because relationships were as important as information and skills for positive change in people. This all encompassing nature of Christian education was central to Elvin Janetzki’s Lutheran educational philosophy.¹⁸

While Christian education in the broad sense that Elvin Janetzki defined could not be compartmentalised into the sacred and secular, he did not take the point of view that Christian schools were an inevitable necessity for Christians. For him they belonged

to the realm of *adiaphora* because they were not commanded in Scripture, but were agencies devised by the church at a given time in history which were useful to aid its work. He also argued that just because Lutheran congregations had a tradition of operating their own schools, or because there was government money available to build and run them, these were not valid arguments to set up Lutheran schools. The main reason for Lutheran congregations to set up schools was because such institutions were very helpful in achieving responsibilities which God had commanded. Most important of all was that Lutheran schools helped parents execute their God-given responsibility to educate their children, especially as these agencies had the time and opportunity to integrate Christian values and beliefs into all learning activities. They were also able to provide a convenient agency for the church to implement its responsibility of nurturing young Christians in their baptismal faith. The Lutheran school was a powerful setting because parents and the congregation could combine to execute their Christian educational commitments in a thorough fashion in the same agency. Another advantage of the church school was that it provided a fertile recruiting ground for people to train and serve as pastors, teachers and other church workers. So while Lutheran schools were a very good idea for Lutheran churches to operate, it was because they were a helpful means to God-given tasks, but never an end in themselves.¹⁹

As Lutheran schools in Australia boomed in the last three decades of the twentieth century, there was a gradual but profound change in their nature and purpose as well. Their funding was different. Instead of congregations and parents supplying the money, the lion's share was now provided by governments. Their purpose was different. Instead of the focus of each school being on the nurture of congregational children, a model of Lutheran school was emerging which enrolled people from the community as an outreach strategy. Their staffing was different. There were no longer enough Lutheran teachers available, so Christian teachers from other denominations were employed in the schools. Elvin Janetzki was concerned about this change, not because he thought that it was necessarily wrong, but because not enough clear thinking had been done about the rationale behind the practice. While he believed that state aid should not be used to nurture students in their faith at church schools, it was acceptable for Christian parents to access money made available by the state to provide their children with an education of their choice. He had more doubts about the idea that Lutheran schools could be effective outreach agencies. For him the theory behind this new direction in Lutheran schooling had not been adequately developed, and it was still an open question as to whether such a model was either valid or effective. Even more of a problem for him was the employment of teachers from outside the Lutheran Church. It troubled him that such a practice had developed out of an urgent need for personnel rather than emanating from a considered theological rationale. At the time he was writing these things in the mid-eighties there was still a majority of Lutheran teachers and students in the schools. It was stated church policy to maintain this majority as well. But the process of change was well under way. Ten years later in 1996, 55% of the secondary teachers in Australian Lutheran schools were not Lutheran. And among the students 64% of primary students and 70% of secondary students had no Lutheran affiliation either.²⁰

Elvin Janetzki was at his most potent when there was a confluence of his two great areas of theological interest and expertise. This happened when he applied himself to an explanation of the relevance of the Lutheran Confessions to Lutheran schooling. Of course the Lutheran Confessions, written and collated over 400 years ago, were not composed with any cognisance of modern Lutheran schooling. Their usefulness, however, revolved around their purpose of defining what was essentially Lutheran. If Lutheran schools were to have a distinctive character that set them apart from other Christian schools, it was in the Lutheran Confessions that this distinctiveness might be found. The possible applications were enormous. However, Elvin Janetzki singled out a couple areas for particular emphasis. Because Lutheran schools endeavoured to meet the needs of the church on the one hand and families and the state on the other, the Lutheran doctrine of the two kingdoms was especially relevant. The Lutheran school “straddled” both domains and the Lutheran Confessions had a lot of wisdom to offer about their relationship in that situation. Also, Lutheran schools were entering a new era where they were no longer serving just a Lutheran clientele, but a more general one including many Christians from other denominations. They had become an ecumenical setting. The Lutheran Confessions had a lot to contribute to an understanding of how that situation should be handled as well. Elvin Janetzki, on the basis of the Lutheran Confessions, teased out many strands of what was distinctive about Lutheran schooling. But perhaps the most important thinking he contributed to Lutheran education was not to be found in the answers he came up with, but rather in the admonition for Lutheran educators to keep on looking to Lutheran theology for guidance in facing the issues of the day. He saw Lutheran schooling as a kind of advance guard of the church which was continually encountering contemporary culture to which it needed to apply the church’s theology. However, in coming to terms with change and new ideas, those who worked in the schools had a huge responsibility to remain faithful to the message and mission of the church. The Lutheran Confessions were where that message and mission were most clearly articulated.²¹

Elvin Janetzki spent much of his working life in equipping people for service in the church, whether this was in secondary schools, training institutions for pastors, teachers and other church workers, or out in the field where such people followed their callings. When he spoke to teachers he was always intent on helping them understand the nature of their work and the relationships and functions that gave their occupation its shape. He wanted teachers in Lutheran schools to understand that, in a sense, they had a double role to play. On the one hand they were educational professionals charged with educating the citizens of tomorrow. On the other hand they were special ministers of the church serving God and the church in the field of Christian nurture. They had to keep a balance between the two roles. Although being a Lutheran teacher was not the same as being a pastor in the office of public ministry, it was a special auxiliary office which the church had created, and it involved the nurture of young Christians. Such a role was primarily a vicarious service for parents who had the main responsibility for their children’s upbringing. It was also performed on behalf of the church and the state which also had some responsibilities in nurturing and teaching the young. Overall, however, being a Christian teacher was best seen as a ministry because, like all Christians, teachers are called not to be served but to serve. It was not done for the money, or for the status, or for the career path, but in answer to a call to serve others.²²

Another Voice

Part of the process of becoming one church after 1966 was the marriage of two theological traditions in the LCA, including two different approaches to Lutheran schooling. As union between the UELCA and the ELCA loomed imminently on the horizon, a number of steps were taken to make this transition as seamless as possible. In 1966 the governing bodies of Immanuel College and Concordia College in Adelaide exchanged two members. One of those who moved from Immanuel to Concordia was Pastor Tom Reuther who later became Concordia's principal in 1968. Also in 1966 Victor Pfitzner, a pastor with a theological doctorate in the UELCA, filled a faculty vacancy at Concordia Seminary. Meanwhile, during 1966 and 1967, the details were being concluded for a rationalisation of tertiary institutions culminating in the opening of Luther Seminary in North Adelaide, and LTC in Highgate, in 1968. These were somewhat superficial changes. The deeper challenge of merging two theological and two educational traditions would take longer. The UELCA had historical ties with Germany where it looked for theological expertise. The ELCA had its traditional ties with the Missouri Synod in the USA. After World War I, the UELCA had been slow to take up a program of Lutheran schooling, with some voices suggesting it would be better to put its efforts into migrant ministry. The ELCA, on the other hand, placed much more emphasis on developing Lutheran schools, and at the time of union had more schools and teachers than its counterpart. The UELCA was more inclined to see Lutheran schools as peripheral to its ministry, where the ELCA saw them as being central. In broad terms there was a solid body of opinion in the UELCA which envisaged schools as belonging to Luther's left hand kingdom along with other secular activities. The ELCA placed education into Luther's right hand kingdom and the spiritual realm. Elvin Janetzki was the chief advocate of the ELCA approach. His counterpart in the UELCA was Siegfried Hebart.²³

After Karl Muetzelfeldt retired, Siegfried Hebart became the main spokesperson for Christian education in the UELCA. Born into a manse in South Australia, in 1909 he attended Immanuel College before moving on to Adelaide University to complete a Bachelor of Arts (1930) and a Master of Arts (1932). He then did his initial theological studies at Immanuel Seminary. From there he moved to Germany where he enrolled at Erlangen University in Bavaria and completed a doctorate in theology in 1939. He returned to Australia where he did not follow the normal pattern for a graduate of becoming a parish pastor, but instead moved into a teaching position at Immanuel College. In 1942 he became a lecturer at Immanuel Seminary, and in 1945 took over as its principal. For a period in the 1960s he served as chairman of the Lutheran World Federation's (LWF) Commission on Education. Already in 1941 he published a paper on Christian schooling in the church's newspaper. His argument for Christian education of the young started in much the same place as Karl Muetzelfeldt's. He stressed that parents had the primary responsibility for bringing up their children as Christians. Of course, all children belonged to God, but he gave them to parents to nurture and care for them. He also argued that Christian education is a natural consequence of baptism. Each parent had a huge responsibility to pass on, not only the knowledge they had about God, but also the faith, because that was what would guide each child when they became adults. Siegfried Hebart, writing as he was shortly after the celebrations

of a century of Australian Lutheranism, also challenged his readers with the duty to emulate their forbears who had provided Christian schools for their children. At this point, however, he developed his argument in a somewhat different direction. He claimed that it was important for the nation that children received Christian training when they were young. How much better for our country would it be if its future professionals and workers were to be Christians and brought that to bear on how they practised their vocations. He then called on parents to consider Christian schooling at both primary and secondary levels for their children. As the years passed Siegfried Hebart continued to develop his thinking about Christian education. He became the chief spokesman for the UELCA on the approach to Lutheran schooling. Although he believed Christian parents had to make sure that their children were instructed and nurtured as Christians, and that Christian schools were a traditional and handy way of doing this, schooling, as an extension of parenting and as training for life, belonged with the state rather than the church.²⁴

In 1967, as part of the process of forging common understandings between the two former synods, Siegfried Hebart wrote a paper which offered some theological reflections on Lutheran schools. His style tended to be discursive and philosophical. Couched in measured words and flowing sentences, peppered with multilingual phrases and saturated with the language of Lutheran theology, he offered another view of Lutheran schooling. The central thrust of his argument was that education belonged to the realm of the Law in Lutheran theology. As such, it found itself in the same camp as government, private property, civil law, marriage and the family. Education was the responsibility of the family, and by extension, the state authorities. When the church entered into education it was getting involved in a realm where it did not have a primary interest or authority. The proclamation of the gospel was the church's responsibility, not education. But that was not to suggest that the church should not get involved in education or establish its own schools. But when it did so it had to realise that it was entering an area which belonged to the secular realm. Instead of offering a different kind of education permeated by Christian values and beliefs in a setting and atmosphere saturated with the gospel, a Christian school was one where the church came and proclaimed and lived the gospel in a secular setting. Because of its insights the church had a lot to offer secular education. It could enter into a dialogue with the secular world, pointing out injustice, warning against false ideologies and advocating the dignity of man. It could help mankind understand itself and help it to realise its fallen state as well as its true destiny. It could contribute a sure voice to the conversations of a pluralist society. It could help demythologise the false idols of state, nation, race and class. Lutheran education, then, was what happened when the Lutheran Church, through Christian teachers and students, entered the secular world of education and brought its insights and messages in a witness that would benefit, influence and transform society.²⁵

These ideas, in contrast at many points with the Lutheran educational philosophy of Elvin Janetzki, emanated from the UELCA tradition of Lutheran schooling. They would have formed some of the background to the educational thinking of Rolph Mayer, the longest serving principal of LTC. On the other hand, John Koch, who succeeded Elvin Janetzki at LTC as the principal lecturer in Lutheran education, had a background

in the Missouri Synod which would have placed his philosophical orientation in the same camp as that of Elvin Janetzki. It was to the credit of all these men, Hebart, Janetzki, Mayer and Koch, that they worked in relative harmony with one another as the leading proponents of Lutheran educational philosophy and practice during those sensitive years after the union of the church. The issues of difference between them, however, remained. Such variance partially explains why the boom in Lutheran schooling of the late twentieth century was not accompanied by a clear enunciation and commonly accepted Lutheran educational philosophy to support and guide it.²⁶

Lutheran teachers themselves took some initiatives in the quest to define what was distinctively Lutheran in education. In the 1970s the first two secondary graduates of LTC, Adrienne Jericho and Richard Hauser, established an educational journal called *Colleague* which was supported by the leadership of the six Lutheran colleges then in existence. First circulated in 1973, over the next two decades it provided teachers with a forum and a focus for thinking about Lutheran education. It was eventually replaced by the *Australian Lutheran Education Yearbook* which appeared in eight volumes between 1997 and 2004. Meanwhile, a glossy paper called *SchoolLink* was published by the Board for Lutheran Schools (BLS) for those connected with schools from 1995. Together with the occasional educational issue of the *Lutheran Theological Journal*, these publications gave the teachers of the church an opportunity to grow in their appreciation of Lutheran educational philosophy and practice. There were also the education conferences organised at regional and national levels during the 1970s and 1980s, which were the precursors to the first Australian Conference on Lutheran Education (ACLE) held on Queensland's Gold Coast in 1999. It signified a coming of age for Australian Lutheran schooling and reflected a sense among Lutheran schools of some unanimity of purpose.

The Later Years

In his last year at LTC Elvin Janetzki completed his studies and was awarded a doctorate in theology. The next year, in 1970, he took up his lectureship at Luther Seminary where he taught pastoral theology, Lutheran Confessions, worship, liturgics, and education. He also took responsibility for the seminary choir. It was a large workload and he carried it alone until 1977 when an extra lecturer in the area, John Koch from LTC, was appointed. In 1979 Elvin Janetzki took up the position of vice-principal of the seminary, and when Henry Hamann retired at the end of 1985 he assumed the role of principal. One of the major preoccupations of the seminary during the years of his leadership was the issue of accreditation. In 1977 the seminary had awarded its first bachelor degrees in theology. These were internal awards which had no standing in the academic community. During the 1980s the government introduced legislation which required that tertiary institutions offering degrees should have them externally accredited. This requirement was implemented at Luther Seminary in 1987. After a thorough process the first degrees under this new system were awarded later the same year. Also hovering in the air in the late eighties were impending moves to amalgamate the seminary with LTC, and the traditional faculty meetings between the two bodies acquired a greater intensity.²⁷

During his seminary years Elvin Janetzki was in constant demand for delivering papers and providing a guiding theological light for the church's schooling sector. He was also a constant contributor to the *Lutheran Theological Journal* of the LCA. Much of what he wrote flowed out of the courses he was teaching at the seminary, and only a few were to do with education and the schools of the church. He wrote articles about the relevance of the Lutheran Confessions to the contemporary church and a wider society. Other topics were treated in articles about the issues revolving around marriage and divorce, cultural trends in society and their implications for the church, the nature of Christian ministry, as well as papers on counseling and catechetics. He was also a major contributor to the discussions about the future shape and changing program of Luther Seminary during the 1980s. Elvin Janetzki's role as a lecturer in practical theology also made him the logical person, at the request of the church, to produce the theological underpinnings for the Board of Church Development, which was an advisory and support group for parish ministry. His preliminary work resulted in the formation of a new Board for Congregational Life with full-time officers who produced materials and resources for congregations. Elvin Janetzki chaired this board and the position gave him a great deal of satisfaction because of the practical usefulness of this department for day to day parish ministry. In 1976 Elvin Janetzki took some time off from Luther Seminary to enjoy a sabbatical. For the first four months he concentrated on reading, especially literature and sociology. He wanted to acquire a deeper understanding of modern society as background for teaching practical theology courses at the seminary. This was followed by three months working in a parish in Canberra with Pastor John Grosse. His purpose was to get a feel for the real life situations that the future pastors he was training would be facing when they graduated. Then he spent three months working on two other projects. He travelled around the parishes of the Lutheran Church in New South Wales, where he sought to gain insights into what pastors were experiencing and thinking, as well as getting to know what the laity thought about their church.²⁸

Elvin Janetzki retired as principal of Luther Seminary in 1988. However, he continued to teach as a regular member of the faculty until 1990. He had seen his son Ross ordained as a Lutheran pastor in 1975 and his children marry and produce another generation.



Elvin and Von Janetzki.

He and Von settled into a unit in Adelaide where they lived happily and quietly until Von died in 1993. Her husband carried on alone until 1998 when he was diagnosed with Alzheimer's disease, a sad development in the life of someone who had been so physically active and intellectually vibrant. He spent some time in Lutheran homes in South Australia at Pasadena and Fullarton, before moving to St. Andrews Aged Care Centre on Queensland's Gold Coast close to where his daughter Kay and her family lived. He died there on 26 June 2004.²⁹

On meeting Elvin Janetzki people were inevitably impressed with his tidy appearance, his neat dress and the dazzling shine of his black shoes. Small of stature, trim and energetic, he radiated vitality and purpose. Behind his spectacles, his small piercing eyes concentrated on the other person as he sought to understand, and were quick to sparkle with good humour. He had little small talk. When he played golf his dress was impeccable, his gear clean and shiny and his approach to the ball a steady ritual of practised movements. Elvin Janetzki was a very systematic person who employed order and logic in everything he did. No matter how trim the lawn looked he always found an errant leaf or twig to remove. When he picked up a book he would glance through the contents, check the preface and examine the blurb to quickly ascertain its worth according to his own values and beliefs. It was his love of logic and order that attracted him to the study of the Lutheran Confessions. He appreciated them because they concisely set out a clear interpretation of God's word. On the basis of these Confessions he developed an integrated and coherent philosophy of Lutheran education. When confronted by educational change, he always went back to first principles. His demand was simple. If the Lutheran Church was to operate schools it should be clear about why they existed, and what their purposes and educational aims were so that these should determine staffing, enrolment policy, curriculum content and the whole program of the school. He added an apt warning. If this theoretical thinking was not done thoroughly, and if the philosophy behind Lutheran schools was left unclear, the schools would end up being instruments through which, not God and his church, but teachers, parents and others might be working to achieve their own personal goals and ends.³⁰

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CHAPTER 7

Carson Dron The Queensland Difference

“Even among stars there are different kinds of beauty.” 1 Corinthians 15:41

In Australian Lutheranism, Queensland has always been a bit different. Unlike the south, this state’s Lutheran forefathers came to Australia for economic opportunity, not religious freedom. Nevertheless, because of the volume of German immigration, it became, after South Australia, the second most populous Lutheran state in Australia. Where Lutheran schooling became a strong tradition in southern states, a similar situation did not eventuate in nineteenth century Queensland. Yet, ironically, in the Lutheran school boom of the later twentieth century the greatest growth of Lutheran schooling was in Queensland, so that by the end of the century its schools were enrolling almost as many students as the rest of the states put together. In some respects these northern schools were different from their southern counterparts and

pioneered new directions in Lutheran schooling. One of the major centres for this activity was St Peters Lutheran College in Brisbane, and one of the main personalities who led that institution through this period of growth was Carson Dron. His unique story is of someone who came into Lutheran schooling almost by accident to play a major role in its continuing development. His contribution was unique, and his story offers special insights into the Queensland boom in Lutheran education and the emerging models of church schooling which appeared in that state.



Carson Dron

Family and Education

Carson Robert Dron was something of an outsider in the Lutheran schooling system. His ancestry was not German, and his denominational background not Lutheran. On his mother's side his forbears were English, the Howard family from Norfolk. His grandparents emigrated to Australia in 1890, surviving ship wreck when the vessel in which they were travelling hit a shoal in the Red Sea and sank. They settled in Mackay in Queensland where two of his grandfather's brothers had already taken up cane farming in 1895. This area, the centre of the sugar industry in Queensland, lies over 900 kilometres north of Brisbane and was first settled by Europeans in the 1860s. Carson Dron's mother was the youngest of nine children. The Dron side of the family was from Scotland. His father, Robert Dron, was born in Dalkeith, Midlothian, and emigrated to Australia in 1927 when he was eighteen years old. He worked at various jobs until he joined the air force where he was trained as an aircraft fitter. After the war he stayed in the Mackay area, mostly working as a salesman. Carson Dron's parents were married in Mackay in 1938 and as their eldest child he was born on 23 March the next year. Later there were two daughters, Joan (1942) and Lindsey (1944). Carson Dron lived in the Mackay area for his first seventeen years, attending local state schools in Mackay itself as well as at Finch Hatton and Gargett in the Pioneer Valley. In 1953 he enrolled at Mackay State High School where he completed his secondary education in 1956.¹

During World War II Carson Dron's father enlisted in the RAAF and the family went to live with his widowed maternal grandmother. The Howards were a staunch Christian family who had been involved in the establishment of the Methodist church in Mackay. So Carson Dron's first years were lived in a female dominated home of committed Methodists whose local Sunday School he also attended. It was during this time that he won a competition held by the church which involved a recitation of Psalm 23, and he received a framed text of 1 Timothy 6:12 urging him to fight the good fight of faith and to lay hold on eternal life. At the age of twelve he joined a junior fellowship group run by the Presbyterians in Mackay and began to attend services there. He continued into their senior fellowship group during high school years and, at one stage, even contemplated studying to become a minister in the church.²

The only university in Queensland was in Brisbane so Carson Dron moved there in 1957 to study for a bachelor's degree in science, majoring in chemistry with a minor in mathematics. He was on a scholarship which required him to return to Mackay on his graduation and work as a research chemist in the sugar industry. Actually, he would rather have studied arts and done subjects like English and French. He continued his affiliation with the Presbyterian Church by enrolling at their residential facility, Emmanuel College, and attending services at the Creek Street Presbyterian Church in the city. He found his first year in Brisbane to be difficult. He was emotionally unsettled and very homesick. He diverted himself by taking up a quest. Having already been involved in two Protestant denominations, he began a search for the One True Church, spending his spare time in reading theology. Although he had been influenced by his family background and a couple of clergymen from his early days, it was in books that he found most of his information and influence. History and logic drew him firstly to

take a close look at the Catholic Church, but he could not overcome an aversion to Mariolatry and their claims of papal infallibility. By the end of his university days he still had not discovered a theological home. Another interest he followed during his student days was in music. Gifted with a good singing voice he took the opportunity to develop it at the conservatorium with lessons under James Christiansen. He also played rugby union and basketball.³

Carson Dron's interest in music brought him to St Peters Lutheran College in the final year of his university studies in 1959. James Christiansen, besides his work at the conservatorium, had some Lutheran background from his roots in Kingaroy and conducted the senior choir at St Peters. He invited Carson Dron to accompany him to rehearsals one Sunday afternoon and the visit made a permanent impression. Judith-Anne Heck, who was his tutor and accompanist, also had connections with St Peters having attended the college in the early fifties as well as being a part time member of its music staff. She encouraged him to apply for a teaching position that had become available for 1960. He was invited to attend an interview with headmaster Bill Lohe which resulted in the offer of a job as a mathematics and science teacher, as well as a role as senior housemaster.⁴

The St Peters Story

St Peters Lutheran College at Indooroopilly had been established by the UELCA in 1945. Its genesis paralleled and slightly predated the establishment of the ELCA's Concordia College in Toowoomba. Up until the provision of St Peters, UELCA parents wanting to provide their children with a Lutheran secondary education had no other alternative than to send them to Immanuel College in Adelaide. For most families that remained only a remote possibility, and even less of an option in the war years because of petrol rationing and other restrictions. So the idea of starting a Queensland college was a natural one. The arguments for its creation stressed the need to recruit and train young men for the ministry. Further, the college would provide leaders for the church and produce good citizens "for the welfare of the nation". There was wide enthusiasm for the college as evidenced by the generous support to the fundraising which almost doubled the appeal target, and by the volunteers from many districts who gathered during the early days to provide expertise and labour to build the school. The jubilation and hope generated by the end of the war would have found expression in the enthusiasm for this new project as well. And asserting itself in the background was the knowledge that the rival ELCA was in the process of establishing its college in Toowoomba. There was also the realisation that February 1945 marked fifty years since Immanuel College in South Australia had opened its doors. It was high time Queensland Lutherans provided their own college. A name for the new institution was adopted only shortly before the opening. Some thought it should be called Luther College, but St Peters was finally chosen because Ross Roy, the stately two storey residence on the property, had been built on solid stone. This brought to mind Jesus' words to the apostle Peter that he would build his church on a rock.⁵

The UELCA in Queensland, once its leaders had decided to establish their own college, moved very quickly. The major decision to start the school occurred in May 1944, less than a year before St Peters opened. A financial appeal was launched in September

to raise £10 000 (pounds) to buy a suitable property, and the next month Ross Roy, a mansion built in 1897 on extended acreage, was purchased in the Brisbane suburb of Indooroopilly. The church gained possession of the land only towards the end of December but with the help of a huge volunteer work force, and despite the rationing and other restrictions placed on their efforts by the war, the school opened on 20 February 1945. There had been some debate about the siting of the new college, and before deciding on the Brisbane property the UELCA leadership had considered the Redlands estate in Toowoomba which was later chosen by the ELCA for its college. Since the main population of Lutherans was in rural areas of south east Queensland the choice of the Brisbane location was considered by some to be too remote. There was concern too that a Lutheran college in the city might draw too much opposition because of its German connections. As the college developed, however, it became clear how fortuitous the choice of location had been. The church had a new college in an urban area which provided it with a huge catchment area for future students. The proximity to the new site for the University of Queensland at St. Lucia was also to prove a great boon for the development of the college. Whether intended or not the location of St Peters meant that the largely rural Lutheran Church in Queensland was establishing a foothold in its capital where it would forge new links for the church as well as provide many Lutherans with a stepping stone into city life.⁶

A major driving force behind the new college was the chairman of the founding committee, Pastor Gerhard Dohler. Educated at Immanuel College in South Australia during its Point Pass days he had served as a Lutheran day school teacher before these schools were closed down during World War I. He then travelled to the USA to study at Wartburg Seminary in Iowa, which he did at his own expense, to equip himself to become a Lutheran pastor. When he returned to Australia he was ordained in 1923. He ministered at Natimuk for six years before accepting a call to Ipswich in Queensland where he served as pastor for thirty years. He had never lost his enthusiasm for Lutheran schooling and was a keen supporter of the college, providing it with effective publicity through his editorship of the *Queensland Lutheran* between 1940 and 1960. He went on to serve as the chair of the college's management board for the first twenty-five years of its operation during which time he committed great slabs of time and effort towards its advancement. Also closely involved in the college's early years were the Lohe family. Pastor Max Lohe was the Queensland district president of the UELCA when the college opened and was a keen supporter. At the official opening of the college he delivered the inaugural address, and later in the service his father, Paul Löhe, a former president of the UELCA and director of Immanuel Seminary, also spoke to the assembly. Mr Bill Lohe, son of Paul and brother of Max, was a foundation teacher at St Peters and went on to become its second headmaster. Pastor Siegfried Held, a young pastor serving as a home missionary on the south coast, had also been involved in the genesis of the college, and he too joined the staff in 1945, and the next year became the college's first chaplain. Joh Bjelke-Petersen, the future long serving premier of Queensland, was a member of the original planning committee, and served on the St Peters council for its first six years.⁷

The first headmaster of the college was Wilfred Schneider who had been recruited from Immanuel College in Adelaide. Born in Victoria he had attended Immanuel

before acquiring bachelor and master degrees at Adelaide University. After winning a scholarship he went to England where he studied physics and mathematics at the University of London. This was followed by twelve months at a Lutheran university in the USA at Columbus in the state of Ohio where he concentrated on theology and mathematics. He had started teaching part time at Immanuel College in 1929 and returned there full time in 1937. During the war years he became a familiar figure among Queensland Lutherans as he toured the region to recruit students for Immanuel. In December 1944 he accepted the call to become the inaugural principal of St Peters Lutheran College in Queensland. The appointment of a layman, indeed a science teacher, to the role of headmaster was a matter of debate and something of an innovation as the two Lutheran colleges in Adelaide as well as Concordia in Toowoomba continued to call pastors to that role. But Wilfred Schneider, a cautious and conservative man, was quite committed to developing the college as an arm of the church which would send young men to the seminary in Adelaide, as well as provide a firm foundation in the faith for members of the church. Lutheran families from Queensland sent their children to board at St Peters, Luther House was built providing classrooms and assembly space, and brick dormitories were erected. During his leadership of the college between 1945 and 1954 St Peters concentrated on providing an effective and secure boarding environment for young Lutherans of both genders. Its central focus was on nurturing and equipping the youth of the church.⁸

During 1955 Wilfred Schneider, having firmly established St Peters on its solid foundation, took some leave to travel overseas. During the year he received and accepted a call to return to Immanuel College in Adelaide as its headmaster. Bill Lohe, who had been acting headmaster in his place, took over the leadership of St Peters. He too had been born in western Victoria a year after his predecessor. He too had attended Immanuel College in South Australia, but as a difference, had gone on to study at Immanuel Seminary from where he graduated and was ordained as a Lutheran pastor in 1931. He served as a parish pastor in Victoria, and for some years in New Zealand, before he resigned from the Lutheran ministry to take up university studies in Queensland. After university he taught history and German at Brisbane Boys College and Toowoomba Grammar until he signed on as a foundation staff member at St Peters in 1945. An imposing personality with a keen intellect and impressive public speaking abilities, he had been a prominent figure on campus during his university days, and established ties with a wider range of people in educational and professional ranks, especially after his talents were featured in public debates against communists. As headmaster he gave St Peters a more prominent public profile, and in the eyes of the community it managed to shed its earlier image of a small, sectarian, German school. By the 1960s the college was becoming attractive to members of the local community and they began to enrol their children in increasing numbers, mainly as day scholars. Bill Lohe still maintained a strong emphasis on the college's Lutheran credentials. He kept a close commitment to the Lutheran parents of its rural boarding base and was a prominent participant in the life and synods of the church. At the college itself he maintained a rigorous academic environment led by his own dynamic teaching. He also was a keen supporter of the school's sporting program, especially rugby. St Peters was becoming a mainstream private school and by the end of the 1960s Bill Lohe



Bill Lohe

had been invited to join the prestigious Headmasters' Conference of Independent Schools of Australia.⁹

During the Lohe years two influential and long term chaplains accepted calls to St Peters in the persons of Reinhard Mayer (1958) and Maurice Fielke (1964). They cemented ties with the church but were also progressive and independent thinking pastors who were open to innovation and a broader role for St Peters in the wider community. In 1965 two Lutheran old scholars who were to take leading roles in the St Peters story, Robin Kleinschmidt and Ron Holzheimer, were appointed to the staff. At the same time there was a continuing trend to appoint teachers whose background was not Lutheran. One of the main reasons for

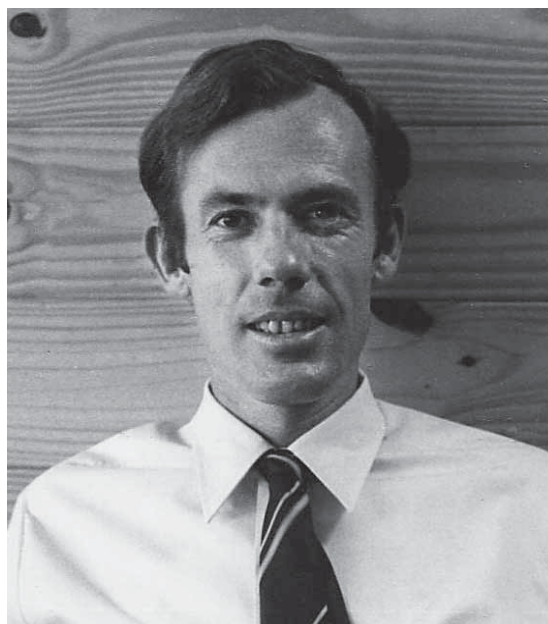
this, of course, was because suitable Lutherans were not available. Bill Lohe was able to attract such teachers because St Peters was the first Lutheran school to pay full award salaries to its teachers. At the same time he happily enrolled non-Lutheran students into the college. St Peters also became a major boarding destination for New Guinea missionary families who wanted their children to get an Australian secondary education. There were increasing numbers of indigenous New Guinea students as well. St Peters had opened in 1945 with an enrolment of fifty-six students spread over four classes of the upper primary and lower secondary years. It was envisaged that the college would grow to a maximum size of about 250 students. By 1964, where Concordia in Toowoomba still had a secondary enrolment of less than 100 students, thanks to its influx of day students and New Guinea boarders, St Peters had grown its secondary numbers to nearly 500. At the time of Bill Lohe's retirement in October 1970 St Peters enrolments were approaching 700. Of these there were about 400 boarders, including 250 from New Guinea, as well as around 300 day students, many of whom were not Lutheran. At all times Bill Lohe assented to Wilfred Schneider's stated belief that to truly flourish, St Peters must keep its roots securely embedded in the good earth of the Lutheran Church, but during the fifteen years of his headmastership the college had sent out its feeder roots into other soils as well.¹⁰

The Dron Ascendancy

When Carson Dron joined the staff at St Peters in 1960 he was just twenty-one years old. He had a science degree, but no formal educational training, not an uncommon situation in the independent schools of the period. He soon became fully immersed in school life. As a boarding master he was required to live on campus and to do residential duty two mornings and two evenings a week, as well as every third weekend. He taught science, mainly chemistry, and mathematics in a teaching load of thirty-nine

out of forty-three periods a week. He coached the first XV rugby team and started a boys choir. As a housemaster he was required to lead in devotions in the boarding house, and in his search for the One True Church he was drawn to a consideration of Lutheran theology. He established a friendship with St Peters chaplain, Reinhard Mayer, and their association included intermittent theological discussions. Reinhard Mayer, for his part, was impressed by Carson Dron and his single mindedness in pursuing the goals he set himself. When he took over the chess club he read and practised until no-one else on campus could beat him. Before a staff versus students cricket match he took a few lessons from fellow teachers and applied himself so well the students could not get him out. He was assiduous in achieving high standards from the choirs he conducted and the rugby teams he coached. Bill Lohe became one of his admirers too, sharing a love of rugby, a commitment to intellectual rigour as well as possessing an independent mind.¹¹

Then Carson Dron began an acquaintance with Lois Eckert. She had joined the St Peters staff in 1957 and taught an upper primary class. A spirited woman with more than a decade of experience in Lutheran schools as well as a will to match his, she was the daughter of the ELCA pastor in Laidley in the Lockyer Valley west of Brisbane. She had taught at Concordia College in Toowoomba as well as at Lyndoch in South Australia. Her father had sent three of his children to St Peters. Their courtship included visits to the Lutheran manse in Laidley where Carson Dron absorbed more of the Lutheran culture. Another Lutheran influence on Carson Dron was Pastor Maurice Fielke after he had joined the chaplaincy team. In 1964, after being formally instructed in the faith by Reinhard Mayer, Carson Dron turned away from Calvinism and became a Lutheran in a formal service at St Peters. Carson and Lois Dron were married in 1965. They had two sons, Carson (1967) and Cameron (1969). The outsider had become ensconced in the fold.¹²



Carson Dron

When Bill Lohe retired from the headmastership at St Peters in 1970 he was replaced by Carson Dron who was still only thirty-two years old when he took over. The appointment was not without some controversy. Unlike his two predecessors whose pedigree was purely Lutheran, Carson Dron was a recent convert. He was also comparatively young and inexperienced and had been teaching for little more than a decade. But the decision to appoint him was not impulsive or impetuous. Some college council members had actually driven to South Australia in search of a suitable successor to Bill Lohe. And when the interviews commenced, there was at least one more experienced candidate with a stronger Lutheran background who was considered, but in the end the lot fell on Carson Dron. Bill Lohe had confidence in him. So did other council members,

including its new chair, Pastor JG Stolz, who had been making encouraging comments to Carson Dron as early as 1967. His greatest advocates were chaplains Mayer and Fielke. They had spent time socialising with him, had seen him in action and were convinced of the genuineness of his faith, the strength of his character, the depth of his intelligence and the energy and commitment he would bring to the job. Before his interview they took him onto the college oval and infused him with Lutheran culture and had him read Hermann Sasse's classic, *This is My Body*, so that he might saturate himself with Lutheran theology. In the subsequent interview he impressed members of the panel with the depth of his understanding of Lutheran doctrines like the Real Presence. Bill Lohe had given plenty of notice so that his successor could be groomed and prepared. The offer of appointment actually came in 1968, just at the right time for Carson Dron. In his ninth year of service at St Peters, he was getting restless. He had actually resigned in 1964 to take up a position at Scots College in Sydney before changing his mind. He felt the tap on the shoulder to take over St Peters was a divine one giving direction and purpose to his drive and energy.¹³

Carson Dron had always been more strongly influenced by ideas rather than people. In the same way he was always better at formulating a rationale for following a certain course of action than he was in exercising the politics of selling it to others. He had a great respect for academic study and forming solid conclusions after making oneself cognizant with the literature. He relished the ivory tower. After accepting the teaching job at St Peters he had started an arts degree at the university only to withdraw when he found his work did not permit him enough time. In 1962, wishing to understand more about schooling, he started his degree in education part time. Then, after accepting the job of headmaster in 1968, St Peters sent him on an extended learning tour for two years. Carson Dron left his expectant wife and small son to tour schools and liberal arts colleges in the USA for three months. He was particularly impressed by their library design, the sputnik inspired resurgence in their science programs, the breadth of their curriculum offerings and the dynamism of their daily life. His family then joined him at Concordia Teachers College at River Forest in Illinois where he completed a master's degree in theology, psychology and education. Under lecturers like Ralph Gehrke in Old Testament and Walter Bouman in systematics, he did his first formal theological study under liberal Missouri Synod theologians who later lost their place in that church when it took a turn to the right. To top off his extended preparation, after his graduation he travelled to the United Kingdom for six months to visit schools, but was less impressed with a system he found to be old fashioned and poorly resourced. He returned to Australia in 1970 to find he still had to serve another six months in the classroom before taking over from Bill Lohe. For him the luxury of this time for studying and thinking was a huge boon, even as he felt the frustration of having to wait so long before he took up his new job. Later, during his headmastership, he left St Peters in the efficient hands of his deputy, Robin Kleinschmidt, and took another two years study leave from August 1978 to commence a doctor of philosophy degree in cognitive psychology at the University of Minnesota in the USA. He completed it in 1982.¹⁴

Given the time he had to think about it, when he finally became head of St Peters towards the end of 1970, Carson Dron had assembled some ideas about Lutheran schooling. The first was his understanding of what it meant to have a Christian school.

He came to the position with high ideals of incorporating Lutheran principles he had picked up at River Forest, like creating the proper balance between the application of law and gospel in the school setting. In his first months as head he made fairly orthodox statements, saying he saw Christian education as being concerned with bringing students to Christ, teaching them the gospel and permeating the whole school with Christian values and beliefs. However, as the years passed, he found that applying the Lutheran theory he had learned from a Missouri approach less and less applicable in a school which had a more heterogeneous student population. He became more pragmatic and adopted the stance of seeing education basically as a secular activity, even in a Christian school. You could talk about applying theology to education, but the reality of school life was dealing with more pressing demands. There was the need to cope with the effects of seventies culture, with its antipathy towards authority and indifference towards religion, on the life of the school. Student culture was changing. After Papua New Guinea (PNG) gained independence in 1975 boarding enrolments from the missions decreased. This allowed room for more day students with less Christian connections. There was the tendency too to enrol ever more students from a variety of backgrounds to generate the finance for more facilities. While content to accept students from non-Christian homes, Carson Dron continued to frankly support the college's Christian beliefs and practices in public presentations and private interviews, and had no hesitation in weeding out militant atheists.¹⁵

During his later time in America when he was working on his doctorate, Carson Dron audited and took courses on Lutheran theology and educational philosophy. He came to the conclusion that there was no unique contribution that Lutheranism could make to education. There was no justification, he came to believe, for the classic Missouri idea that everything in a school could be transformed and permeated by unique Lutheran understandings. Church schools were analogous to church hospitals. Their main purpose was to provide a public service. They could be governed by a set of Christian principles, incorporate Christian worship, counseling and care into their practice but their basic purpose was to provide an excellent social facility. That was how the church expressed itself in such a context. In a hospital it did not mean that all the doctors and nurses had to be Lutheran, or even Christian, just that the facility did a good job in caring for the health of its patients. In the same way, a Christian school could employ people from all sorts of different backgrounds as long as they did a good job in producing well equipped citizens for a full life in the world. In addition to all this it would also be a place where there was Christian worship and instruction, and Christian beliefs and values would influence its conduct and the way it cared for people. By the time he retired Carson Dron had come to believe that a new model of Lutheran schooling was needed which embraced the best in contemporary educational thinking and practice as well as being geared to the fact that the church's schools were no longer predominantly populated by Lutherans, or even Christians.¹⁶

Carson Dron took the development of the college a step further than Bill Lohe's emphasis on high academic standards. He had a much broader definition of what constituted a good education. He himself had been frustrated in his own schooling by the narrowness of the curriculum. He had been influenced also by Howard Gardiner and his theory of multiple intelligences, and he was impressed by the programs offered

at the liberal arts colleges in America. He wanted St Peters to broaden its offering of curricular and co-curricular activities to produce well balanced all-rounders from a schooling experience featuring academic and practical subjects, sporting activities and a quality music program. He hired staff and provided facilities and resources for such offerings. He always had an eye out for quality teachers, and recruited them from both inside and outside of the Lutheran Church. His chief lieutenant in the seventies was Robin Kleinschmidt who was a gifted teacher, an efficient administrator and a committed churchman. He carried the day to day running of the college and oversight of its teaching and learning activities. One indicator of Carson Dron's commitment to the Christian ethos of his college was the calibre of the chaplains he collected and cultivated at St Peters. He had always been close to Maurice Fielke and Reinhard Mayer who continued to be advisors, confidants and friends. In addition John Kleinig (1973), later a seminary lecturer, made major contributions in helping him articulate the Christian philosophy of the school, especially to the growing numbers of parents who were attracted to St Peters because of its excellent program but did not understand its Lutheran perspectives. There was also the articulate and independently minded Jim Strelan (1984) who maintained a tradition of impressive, high profile chaplaincy. St Peters also recruited a solid corpus of sterling Lutheran teachers like Rod Hauser (1974), Michael Pfeiffer, (1975), Adrienne Jericho (1976), Noel Volk (1976), Mervyn Wagner (1980), Hazel Weiss (1980), Helen Schlenker (1980), Theo Helbig, Valerie Volk (1982), Murray Evans (1984), Wolf Stuetzel (1985), John Harms (1992) and Peter Nitschke (1993), all of whom played significant roles at the college. There were many gifted non-Lutheran teachers recruited for special purposes as well. These included humanities specialists like Jane Greenwood (1974) and Michael Sellick (1974), Geoff and Ruth Butler in science and humanities (1975), design educator Lindsay Farrell (1976), history teacher John Browning (1976) who later took a leading role in Queensland Catholic education, and musician Graeme Morton (1983).¹⁷

Carson Dron oversaw a broadening of the curriculum at St Peters. At the centre was a core of compulsory subjects studied at junior secondary level including English, mathematics, science, foreign languages, arts, crafts, information technology and physical education. At senior level, as finances permitted, a wider choice of subjects was offered. There were some special emphases. In the 1980s political studies was mandated as a compulsory subject at Year 11 to ensure students understood the history and structure of Australia's system of government. In addition to a robust program of interschool sporting opportunities, all students at all levels also did physical education which taught them physiology, healthy living and introduced them to a range of sports. Every student in Years 8 to 10 was also required to do a design subject in an arts and crafts centre uniquely planned and conducted by Lindsay Farrell, an outstanding teacher in this area. Before it became more widely fashionable, St Peters began planning to establish its own middle school in order to smooth out the transition from primary to secondary schooling. David Woodrow, who had earlier come to St Peters as a young science teacher in 1967, managed this innovation. He had also been responsible for introducing computing to St Peters, so successfully that the college gained the reputation for being a national leader in information technology. More sensitive was the development of a social education curriculum. Adrienne Jericho, a product of LTC

in Adelaide, joined the staff in 1976 and, after some study, introduced a compulsory course in the junior secondary school dealing with current affairs, civics, consumer issues and human relationships. The sex education element was controversial because the National Party premier, Joh Bjelke-Petersen, and his government had banned a similar course of study in Queensland state schools. St Peters was not deterred and persisted with the subject. In the senior curriculum a business studies course was introduced, later supplanted by the transition course and the alternative course. A full junior school was added to the college in 1973 and included an immersion program in German. For a period St Peters operated a German School on its premises for the children of PNG missionaries.¹⁸

Outside the curriculum there were major innovations as well. Even before Carson Dron had taken over as headmaster at St Peters, Maurice Fielke had been advocating the introduction of an outdoor education element into the college's program. Carson Dron was an early supporter. When he became headmaster he encouraged Maurice Fielke to develop the project. With the support of teachers Barry Jahnke (a natural history enthusiast) and Don Protheroe (a science teacher), the chaplain took up the challenge, even taking leave to gain experience as a forestry worker to equip himself for the job. A property called Ironbark, on the mountain range escarpment north-west of Brisbane, was acquired and an experience involving students for a whole term of compulsory outdoor education at Year 10 level was implemented. To get it going the Fielke family lived in a tin shed on the property for a year. Meanwhile slow progress was being made to establish a quality music co-curricular program. This cause received a boost in 1983 when Graeme Morton was recruited to join the staff. With the support of the headmaster who arranged for increased allocations of time and resources for music, the St Peters Chorale, over the years, developed a national reputation with regular



Outdoor education at Ironbark.

performances overseas. In the boarding section of the college a house structure was introduced to bolster morale and the general quality of boarding life. In the interschool sporting program, talented athletes, swimmers and other coaches like past student and Australian Wallaby Rod Hauser were recruited to achieve sporting excellence for the college. St Peters was also one of the first schools to provide professional counseling services for its students. A social worker was employed in the 1970s and later a clinical psychologist was engaged to counsel troubled students. Growth and new initiatives meant that there was continuous building activity at St Peters during the Dron era. In fact the college created its own permanent building team and erected most of the facilities with its own workmen. St Peters was also one of the first schools to appoint a public relations officer to its staff.¹⁹

During the seventies and the eighties St Peters Lutheran College developed into one of the leading independent schools in Queensland. Strategically located close to the university suburb of St. Lucia, and in the middle of the affluent area inhabited by professional and business families, it dipped into this rich gene pool and became the school of choice for families with strong educational values. Even though Carson Dron had stated in 1970 when he took over that he thought that the school, with an enrolment of around 700, should not get any bigger, the college doubled in size during his headship. It gained a reputation for high academic performance, for competition success in interschool sport and for the excellence of its cultural offerings, particularly in music. Its unique program in outdoor education and its various curriculum innovations made it attractive as well. Another unique feature was that it was the only Brisbane private school which offered both boarding and co-education. The college produced some outstanding graduates who began to make a mark in society. These included Lisa Gasteen (opera), Shane Gould (Olympic swimming), Rod Hauser (international rugby), Sigrid Thornton (drama), James Scott (adventurer), Noel Pearson (Aboriginal leader), Theo Baer (medicine), Conrad Lohe (law) and Bart Philemon (PNG politics).²⁰

The Queensland Boom

There had never been a strong Lutheran school tradition in Queensland. Those schools which did exist in the nineteenth century had disappeared before World War I. Between 1940 and 1955 local parents organised a Lutheran school at Downfall Creek, a country area 300 kilometres north-west of Toowoomba. Its first teacher, recruited from South Australia, was Dore Serotzki who later taught at St Peters. A similar situation pertained at Greycliffe just north of Biloela. It functioned between 1949 and 1952 as a Lutheran school. The first permanent Lutheran school to be established in twentieth century Queensland was St Peters Lutheran College opened by the UELCA at Indooroopilly in Brisbane in 1945. The next year the ELCA began Concordia College in Toowoomba. Then in 1964 the primary section attached to the college at Concordia was taken over by the ELCA Redeemer parish, and a congregational Lutheran primary school was established next to the college. This Lutheran primary school followed the traditional southern model and focused on enrolments from local Lutheran families and was staffed by Lutheran teachers called by the parish and paid modest church salaries. In 1970 there were just three Lutheran schools operating in Queensland, the two colleges

and Concordia Primary in Toowoomba. In the late sixties, however, government funding was made available to independent schools and in the three decades that followed this opportunity was enthusiastically taken up by Queensland Lutherans. In the next thirty years they established fifteen more primary schools and seven more colleges.²¹

For the leaders of the recently united LCA in Queensland looking around the district for potential school locations, the most likely congregations to take up such a challenge would have appeared to be in established Lutheran areas like the Darling Downs, Lockyer Valley or the Logan area south of Brisbane where there were enough Lutherans to operate viable schools. Instead, the first Lutheran school of the boom era was started in Redcliffe on the coast just north of Brisbane in a congregation which had only started in 1946, and had been formed to minister to the growing number of retirees settling in the area. The driving force behind a schooling venture in this area was Pastor JG Stolz who had become the UELCA pastor in 1964. After the union of the LCA in 1966 he headed up a combined parish, and while his congregation predominantly consisted of an older generation, he could see that the demographics were changing, and many young families and single parents were moving into the area to take advantage of cheaper housing. Sensing a need, his wife, together with some congregational volunteers, decided to offer childcare facilities in a cottage next to the manse. This initiative grew quickly. By 1970 the congregation had erected a new crèche and kindergarten, Mrs Stolz was employed as director and the centre was catering for 100 children. By 1975 further extensions were made and the staff had grown to fifteen. The justification for all this activity, besides being a service of care, was that it was a means for the church to connect with the community. Through the childcare centre there were children attending Sunday school and parents finding their way into the congregation. The first impetus to establish a Lutheran primary school came, not from the congregation, but some non-Lutheran parents with children at the childcare centre. JG Stolz, who had a strong association with St Peters as a member and chair of its college council, supported the idea. When his congregation felt that it did not have the resources to support such a project he approached the leaders of the Lutheran Church in Queensland (LCAQD) for their help. They, rather than the local congregation, agreed to take responsibility for the school.²²

Grace Lutheran Primary School, established at Redcliffe in 1970, began very modestly in temporary facilities as a small one teacher school under the care of Lyn Hauser, a St Peters old scholar. It was owned and operated by the LCAQD rather than the local congregation, and the vast majority of its enrolments came from the non-Lutheran community. Some of these were unchurched folk who came through the childcare centre. The new school soon attracted many other Christians, including a strong contingent of Presbyterian, Reformed and Baptist families. It still called Lutheran teachers, including an experienced Lutheran head in the person of Bruno Matuschka. It also operated along the usual Lutheran lines, and the local pastor was closely involved, but the school's finances were provided through government capital and recurrent funding and modest fees paid by parents. The school grew and prospered. By the mid-seventies an establishment committee was formed to start a Lutheran secondary college in the area. There were many Lutherans who were skeptical about such an enterprise,

and the major support was from the wider community, especially the parents at the primary school. In 1978 a secondary class was added to the primary school, and in 1980 Grace Lutheran College at Rothwell under the leadership of Fred Stolz opened its doors with fifty-five students in new buildings financed by a government grant. By 1990 its enrolments had swelled to 720. Meanwhile Grace Primary was in the process of moving to double streaming. The Lutheran enrolment in these two schools comprised only about twenty percent of the total. Just as had happened at St Peters, these Lutheran schools were no longer primarily focused on nurturing Lutheran children in their baptismal faith, but were offering a Christian education to the wider community. The rationale for this was that besides its traditional role of nurturing its own, the Lutheran school could also perform as a mission outreach agency for the church. The fact that many of its students came from other Christian denominations was welcomed, but only sketchily rationalised as a service to the wider church.²³

Thus the Queensland Lutheran school boom began. St Peters had led the way, pioneering the model of a rapidly growing school community fuelled by large numbers of enrolments from outside the church. The schools on the Redcliffe peninsula followed, developing this new model even further in a way that was emulated elsewhere in the state. The next Lutheran school established in Queensland was at Bethania, a traditional Lutheran stronghold south of Brisbane which had operated its own school in the nineteenth century. Here a school in the church hall was opened in 1976 with eighteen students under the care of Betty Schulz. Although the congregation was well established, it was reliant on government funding to make the school a reality. However it did maintain a majority of Lutheran students into the 1990s. Just north of Bethania in the southern extremes of Brisbane lies the suburb of Rochedale where another Lutheran college opened in 1980. Redeemer Lutheran College was an offshoot of St Peters. In the 1970s St Peters had considered running a bus to the area in response to growing requests from Lutheran families. An added impetus came from local pastor David Stolz, an old scholar of St Peters, and the son of its former council chair, Pastor JG Stolz. The college opened in 1980. Its headmaster was Robin Kleinschmidt who at that time was acting headmaster of St Peters while Carson Dron was on study leave. It grew quickly. By 1990 it had reached its proposed ceiling of 600 enrolments. Significantly, even though it was established in proximity to a Lutheran heartland, less than thirty percent of these students were Lutheran.²⁴

This new Queensland model of Lutheran schooling continued to expand. On the Sunshine Coast north of Brisbane a number of Lutheran schools began to appear in this rapidly developing region in association with new mission congregations. In the Immanuel congregation at Maroochydore which had been founded in 1961, Pastor Ken Thamm, who had arrived in 1978, hatched a grand scheme which included a church, a pre-school, a primary school, a secondary college, a hostel, a retirement village and a nursing home. To his and others' credits this dream was soon on the way to realisation. Sunshine Coast Primary School was established in 1978 under the principalship of veteran Norm Auricht, and in 1982 Immanuel College was opened under the headship of the youthful Adrienne Jericho. Both schools, faced with little competition, prospered and eventually amalgamated. At the top end of the Sunshine Coast, an even more audacious plan was put into place. It was decided to simultaneously establish a

congregation and a school at Noosa. Fay Klinge, a Lutheran parent of Immanuel, saw an opportunity when the Noosa drive-in theatre closed down. She and other family members convinced the LCAQD to back the venture. A primary school was opened at Noosa under the leadership of Vern Schultz in 1986. By 1992 it had expanded into a P – 12 Lutheran college. These Sunshine Coast schools enjoyed some success as outreach agencies: the Maroochydore congregation grew from 100 to 500 by 1990. However, less than twenty percent of the region's enrolments were Lutheran.²⁵

A similar pattern played out on the Gold Coast. Here there were Lutheran congregations which had a longer history dating back to the 1920s. Another Lutheran pastor, Martin Prenzler, arrived in 1971 and developed a vision. He believed his congregation should be more outward looking and one of the ways of serving the community was through the provision of community facilities: a therapy centre for handicapped people, a rest home for the aged and a school for families. David Caldwell, a doctor in general practice and St Peters old scholar, was one of the dynamic leaders behind the school project. Trinity Lutheran Primary School opened in 1981 and once Robert Hoff, an entrepreneurial and experienced Lutheran principal from South Australia, took over in 1983 the school blossomed and grew. In co-operation with local pastor Sam Simpfendorfer, a thriving congregation based on school families was established at the school. Meanwhile David Caldwell and other enthusiasts were fundraising and campaigning for a secondary college. Their efforts were successful and in 1987 Trinity Lutheran College opened at Ashmore under the headship of Peter Nitschke, an experienced Lutheran headmaster from Walla Walla in New South Wales. By 1990 these two schools enrolled almost a thousand students, and less than twenty-five percent of them were Lutheran. In 1993, a former teacher from St Peters, Wolf Stuetzel, added to the Lutheran presence on the Gold Coast when he served as the inaugural principal of St Andrews Lutheran College at its southern end.²⁶

These were just some of the Lutheran schools in Queensland that sprouted like new plants in the schooling spring that followed 1970. In 1982, a record year for new Lutheran schools in Australia, two new ones started at Victoria Point and Gatton. In 1984 another two new schools in the eastern suburbs of Brisbane at Middle Park and Everton Hills made a beginning. Some Middle Park students fed into St Peters, while Grace at Redcliffe sent one of its growing fleet of buses to collect secondary students from Everton Hills each day. St Paul's at Caboolture was established in 1985, and St John's followed at Kingaroy in 1989, while a new secondary school called Faith at Plainland, under founding principal Theo Helbig, opened near Laidley in 1999. Two other provincial schools, at Biloela and Bundaberg, had been established in 1978. Other city primary schools were founded at Martin Luther in Toowoomba under the leadership of Barry Kahl in 1977, and at Ipswich (Raceview) in 1982 where Maurice Schuller, a major advocate for new Lutheran schools, was the first principal. Another phenomenon associated with the school boom in Queensland was the emergence of P- 12 colleges at Noosa, Tallebudgera and Cairns where the primary sections were not mere addenda but given equal weighting to the secondary sections. Peace at Cairns, under the able and challenged leadership of Michael Gladigau, offered boarding facilities for indigenous students as well.²⁷

Why was the growth of Lutheran schools so pronounced in Queensland? Of course it constituted part of a national trend towards private schooling that occurred in the seventies and eighties. This movement was supported by government funding to independent schools which had been introduced in the late sixties. However, the growth of the independent sector was more pronounced in Queensland because of a number of special factors. Secondary education had only become compulsory in the sixties and there was a lot of catching up to do. The Queensland population was growing faster than it was in the southern states too. The Lutherans in Queensland, who did not have a history of forming separate settlements gathered around churches and schools, had become more integrated with the rest of society. When they started establishing schools they were more open to inviting others to be a part of them. Southern Lutherans were migrating to Queensland and brought their schooling tradition and expertise with them. When they led efforts to start schools in their new state the church's established infrastructure of committees and teacher training practices were already in place. As the schools were founded other Christians were then attracted. In many ways the Lutheran school boom in Queensland was a grass roots movement. There was a demand. Lutherans had some expertise in meeting the demand. Other Christians were happy to support these new enterprises. The recipe of excellent schooling and high academic standards, plus a strong Christian witness with an atmosphere of care was a winner. The rationale for these schools growing so fast and taking in other Christians as well as non-Christians was only crudely worked out after the fact. The schools grew out of local initiatives and public demand, often in spite of serious reservations on the part of church leaders. The vast majority of these northern schools complied with the characteristics of the Queensland model: bigger schools enrolling larger percentages of non-Lutherans and growing at a greater rate. Between 1970 and 1990 enrolments in Lutheran primary schools in Queensland grew by more than 3 500 while in the same period those in South Australia, a state with more



Carson Dron and Elmore Leske.

Lutherans, grew by about 3 000. In the secondary schools, Queensland's growth was about 3 000 over the same period while South Australian growth was less than 1 500. In 1990 Lutherans comprised sixty percent of enrolments in South Australia compared to thirty percent in Queensland. Whether in emulation, or on their own initiative, South Australian schools began to adopt the Queensland approach of reaching out further into the non-Lutheran community in the 1990s in new colleges like Tatachilla at McLaren Vale opened in 1995, and Endeavour at Mawson Lakes in 1998. Living Waters Lutheran College at Warnbro in Western Australia established in 1997 was in the same mould as well.²⁸

St Peters Lutheran College played a major role in the Queensland Lutheran school boom. First, the college was part of the boom itself, growing to become the largest Lutheran school in Australia. It took the lead in extending the reach of Lutheran schooling, and pushing it out into mainstream independent schooling. It broadened its curriculum to cater for a wider range of abilities, and welcomed students from a greater variety of backgrounds. Its burgeoning reputation for educational excellence not only attracted many non-Lutheran people to enrol at St Peters, but in other Lutheran schools as well. Carson Dron's innovative approach and the college's success in many fields generated a high reputation for Lutheran education in the wider community, including people of influence in the academic field. In such ways St Peters was instrumental in promoting the Lutheran brand. It also provided personnel to support the emergence of new Lutheran schools. Membership of LCAQD committees and the Stolz connection between St Peters and the new colleges at Redcliffe and Rochedale has already been mentioned. David Woodrow, a middle manager at St Peters was a principal advisor to the establishment committee at Redcliffe as well. A number of St Peters staff went on to become principals of other Queensland Lutheran schools including Robin Kleinschmidt, David Woodrow, Adrienne Jericho, Wolf Stuetzel, Theo Helbig and Ruth Butler. They all made their contributions and all of them, to some extent at least, had been influenced by Carson Dron. Various aspects of the St Peters program were carried over into the new schools as well. The three pronged emphases on academic, sporting and cultural excellence is one example. All the colleges adopted the St Peters social education curriculum created by Adrienne Jericho. Most of them also developed similar outdoor education programs. Perhaps even more pervasive was the philosophy of Lutheran schooling that they took with them from St Peters with its emphasis on a school exhibiting its Christian character by its dedication to providing an excellent secular service to society against a background of a Christian witness and worldview.²⁹

End Piece

Somewhat paradoxically Carson Dron stood at the centre of the Queensland Lutheran school boom while at the same time remaining quite detached from it. It was his vision which set the direction for St Peters, and St Peters led the boom. Yet he also was an aloof figure, even within his own school, who kept to himself more than most headmasters. He was happy to leave the day to day running of his school with trusted subordinates, preferring the excitement of instigating a major innovation or standing aside to take the longer view. Students respected him, but he kept them at a distance. He could be compassionate to those staff in trouble, but he was not impressed by others who made excuses for not carrying a full load. He inspired loyalty in most of his teachers, as well as the barbs of a few strident critics whom he tended to dismiss rather than conciliate. He also kept a distance from other Lutheran principals and was less of a leading figure in the committees and councils of the church than some of his lieutenants like Robin Kleinschmidt and Adrienne Jericho. He usually found committee work tedious. At college council meetings he could be sensitive to criticism and frustrated with more pedestrian minds. He did not dally for long at church synods, or participate overly in congregational affairs. Some people found him hard to approach, and he was not inclined to suffer fools. He could be quiet and withdrawn and enjoyed the retreat of his

private space with his books and music. In his own time he tended to take up special interests and then pursue them quite relentlessly, whether it was breeding dogs, developing a wine cellar, keeping fit in the college gym, or accumulating a classical music collection and playing it on the best sound equipment available. He found being a headmaster at times boring, at other times stressful, but he was never completely at ease with the role. At the same time he could be delightful company. He was a great entertainer, witty company when in the mood, and enjoyed good conversation with intimates. He always had a close circle of friends and he commanded respect and admiration from parents of the school and colleagues in the educational community.³⁰

In his early years as headmaster of St Peters Carson Dron enjoyed positive relations with his employing body. He had the support of JG Stolz, the chair, and he convinced the board of management to change its role to that of a college council, which meant that they stepped back into a governance role while the administration of the school was placed more exclusively into the hands of the headmaster. They had taken a big risk in appointing someone with so little experience, but they continued to support him in the early years as he worked with them to bring positive change to the college. As time passed relations settled into a more predictable mode. There were times when he would be frustrated by their inability to embrace one of his visions, and they would be troubled by the carping complaints they would hear from Lutheran critics: St Peters was growing away from the church; it was getting too big; it was a law unto itself; its principal was too aloof and did not have the church's interests at heart; the college was geared too much towards the gifted and the affluent. As the college entered the nineties Carson Dron had dreamed up another vision. A government education centre, a complex of modern buildings not far from Indooroopilly at Bardonia, was for sale. Carson Dron wanted the LCAQD to purchase the vast complex under the auspices of St



Lois and Carson Dron.

Peters. It had all sorts of possibilities as a more accessible headquarters for the church, as an extension of St Peters where senior students could be prepared for university in a less formal atmosphere, and as a facility for offering training for Lutheran teachers. Much to his frustration the church and the college council decided to pass up on the opportunity. Relations between the head and the governing body declined. At the end of 1994 Carson Dron went on leave, and never returned to St Peters. It was a sad end to a distinguished era in the life of the college. After twenty-five years at the helm Carson Dron resigned, and the college council was happy to accept his resignation.³¹

When he left St Peters Carson Dron was still in his mid-fifties. He made himself available for other positions in the Lutheran system, as a principal or system director, but because they were either overawed or underwhelmed at the prospect, no-one took up his offer. For some time he worked at developing a new school based on his own ideas. Somewhere between finding the backers and acquiring the land the project foundered. After 1998 he also did consultative work for a group of Chinese businessmen who wanted to establish an international school in South East Queensland. That project too failed to materialise. Since the turn of the century Carson and Lois Dron live in quiet retirement in the western suburbs of Brisbane, proud of their two sons and four grandchildren, somewhat aloof from official Lutheranism, at arm's length from St Peters, but still in contact with former colleagues, especially those brothers in arms from the early days like Reinhard Mayer and Maurice Fielke. Although he never totally overcame his status as an outsider in Lutheran education, Carson Dron, nevertheless, for better or for worse, was one of its most influential architects, especially in Queensland where things were done differently.³²

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- 1 R. J. Hauser, (ed.), *Conversations with Carson*, a collection of written interactions with Carson Dron, 2011, Lutheran Archives, (LA), pp. 2, 14.
 - 2 *Conversations*, p. 3.
 - 3 *Conversations*, pp. 3, 4, 15; R. J. Hauser, *Veteran Voices*, a collection of interview records, 2011, LA, p. 19.
 - 4 *Conversations*, p. 4.
 - 5 T. Livingston, *Upon This Rock*, Sydney: Focus Publishing, 1995, pp. 16 ff.
 - 6 R. J. Hauser, *An Historical Analysis of the Lutheran School Boom in Queensland 1970 – 1990*, unpublished masters thesis, University of Queensland, 1991, pp. 72 ff.; Livingston, pp. 16, 17, 21, 22.
 - 7 Livingstone, pp. 24, 25, 28, 29, 221; J. P. Weiss, *Short General and Statistical History of the Australian Lutheran Church*, self-published, p. 248.
 - 8 Livingstone, pp. 28, 86 ff.; Hauser Thesis, p. 73;
 - 9 Livingstone, pp. 90 ff.; Weiss, p. 273.
 - 10 Hauser Thesis, p. 72; Livingstone, pp. 28, 29, 95, 218.
 - 11 *Conversations*, p. 4; *Veteran Voices*, p. 19; Livingstone, p. 218.
 - 12 *Conversations*, pp. 2, 3, 5, 15.
 - 13 *Conversations*, pp. 5, 15; *Veteran Voices*, p. 19.
 - 14 *Conversations*, pp. 5, 9, 16 ; *Veteran Voices*, pp. 12, 19.
 - 15 *Conversations*, pp. 9, 10, 16, 17; *Veteran Voices*, p. 10.
 - 16 Livingstone, p. 97; *Conversations*, pp. 16, 17.
 - 17 Livingstone, pp. 74 ff., 218 ff.; *Veteran Voices*, pp. 10, 11, 12, 19.
 - 18 Livingstone, p. 97; *Conversations*, ACE Oral History Project, an Interview with Dr Adrienne Jericho by Tony Ryan, 2004, LA; *Conversations*, pp. 7, 8, 9.

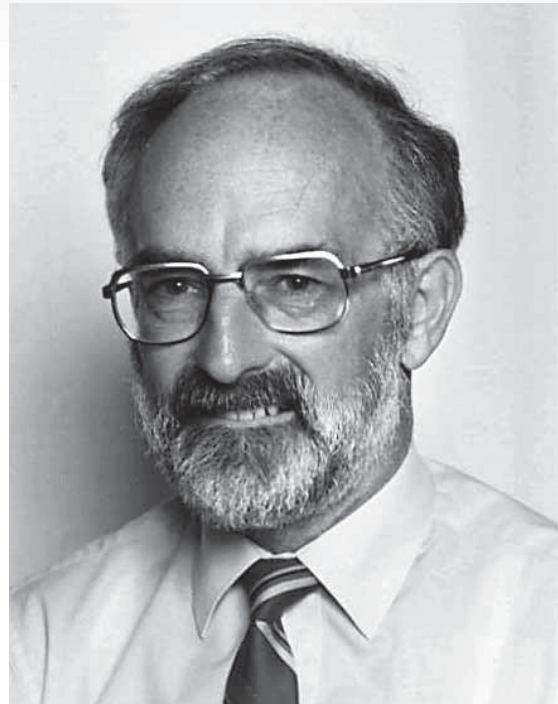
- 19 Livingstone, p. 99; *Conversations*, pp. 7, 8, 9.
- 20 Livingstone, pp. 81, 128, 133.
- 21 Livingstone, pp. 33, 218; Hauser Thesis, pp. 46 ff., 59ff.
- 22 Hauser Thesis, pp. 82 ff. *Ten Years of Grace*, Anniversary Booklet, pp. 4 ff.
- 23 Hauser Thesis, pp. 89 ff.; A. Clark & I. Hauser, *Grace Alone*, Redcliffe: Grace Lutheran College, 1998, pp. 2 ff.
- 24 Hauser Thesis, pp. 97 ff., 100 ff.; L. R. Kleinschmidt, *River of Hope*, Brisbane: Redeemer Lutheran College, 2005, pp. 10 ff.
- 25 Hauser Thesis, pp. 106 ff.; *The First Five Years*, Immanuel Lutheran College, pp. 2 ff.; G. Jennings, *Reflections in the Light*, Immanuel Lutheran College, 1991, pp. 2 ff.; *The First Ten Years*, Sunshine Coast Lutheran Primary School, 1988, pp. 2 ff.
- 26 Hauser Thesis, pp. 118 ff.; Livingstone, p. 43.
- 27 Hauser Thesis, pp. 99 ff..
- 28 Hauser Thesis, pp. 99, 100, 157ff., 192.
- 29 Hauser Thesis, pp. 77 ff.
- 30 *Conversations*, pp. 11, 12, 13, 18, 19; *Veteran Voices*, pp. 11, 19.
- 31 *Conversations*, pp. 6, 19, 20; *Veteran Voices*, pp. 11, 12, 19.
- 32 *Conversations*, pp. 11, 12; *Veteran Voices*, p. 19.

CHAPTER 8

John Zweck The Plenteous Years

“There will be seven years of great plenty in all the land of Egypt.” Genesis 41:29

In Australia the last three decades of the twentieth century were the years of plenty for independent schooling in general and Lutheran schooling in particular. Answering the demand for quality education from a population with an increasing appreciation for the value of good schooling, and buoyed by a fulsome flow of government funding, independent schools were carried along on the wave of the boom years. There were more schools, and they were bigger. Enrolments increased, the teaching force grew, education became more complex and Lutheran schools were part of the flux. By the end of the century there were Lutheran schools in operation in every capital and state except for Sydney and the ACT. One of the leading practitioners of Lutheran education during this period of expansion was John Zweck. He worked in a variety of regions and in a diversity of positions. His story was played out in an era of plenty when Lutheran schools were taking new directions. His sad end echoes, perhaps, a sense of what was lost during a time when so much was gained.



John Zweck

Family and Education

John Everard Zweck came from an extended relationship with a high profile in Australian Lutheranism. He could trace his family tree back to the first Zwecks who emigrated to South Australia on the *Gellert* in 1847. They were part of the last wave of the Old Lutheran religious migrations. Also travelling on the same boat were

two youths who were later to become presidents of the church, Philipp Oster and Adolph Stempel. This original Zweck family settled in Hoffnungsthal in the Barossa Valley. Later, John Zweck's grandfather Alfred, born in 1872, lived at Blyth in the Clare Valley. Still later he moved to Burrumbuttock in the New South Wales Riverina where he followed the occupation of farming. Nevertheless, Alfred Zweck sent his children back to Concordia in Adelaide for their secondary education. Two of his sons, Elmore and Clarence, became pastors. Clarence Zweck was third in the family. Born in 1908 he attended Concordia College from 1922 to 1925, and then again from 1928 to 1930, before being ordained as a pastor in 1934. In 1937 he married Victoria Appelt. John Zweck was their eldest son, born on 18 December 1937. They produced four more children, Coral (1940), Wayne (1943), Dean (1946) and Anne (1947). John's two brothers became Lutheran pastors, and his two sisters married Lutheran pastors. Three of his first cousins on the Zweck side of the family were pastors too. Through the Appelt family on his mother's side his great-great-grandfather had been a Dresden missionary, and his grandfather and uncle were also Lutheran pastors. Also members of the Appelt family were the five Strelan brothers, John's Zweck's first cousins, who provided their own panoply of pastors for the Lutheran Church. The word *zweck* in German means "purpose", and is an offshoot of *zweig* which means "twig". If not from his name, at least through the branches of his family tree, John Zweck's purpose in life seemed certain to involve some kind of service in the Lutheran Church. And so it was.¹

Clarence Zweck served as a pastor in two parishes during his years as a Lutheran minister. Both of them were in Adelaide, at Glenelg from 1934 to 1954, and at Bethlehem congregation in the city from 1954 to 1961, the year he died suddenly from a stroke at the age of fifty-three. For the last twenty years of his ministry he served as the secretary of the Evangelical Lutheran Church of Australia (ELCA). The five Zweck children were born during the years at Glenelg. They were all bright children and they liked their sport as well. John Zweck took his responsibilities as the eldest child and big brother quite seriously and provided an excellent example to his siblings. He prospered at school, practised hard at the piano and played tennis, cricket and football. He also had a mischievous sense of humour and was wont to tease and play tricks on his brothers and sisters. John Zweck attended Glenelg Primary School for his early education before enrolling at Concordia College as a boarder in 1951. His arrival at the college coincided with a surge in enrolments, bringing the total from 158 the previous year to 190 at the combined secondary and tertiary institution. During his four years there Concordia was passing through a period of significant change and development. Not only were there increased enrolments, but girls comprised a growing share of them. Henry Hamann, the head of Concordia, celebrated twenty-five years of service at the college in 1951. In 1953 he handed over the secondary section to Fred Blaess as Concordia was divided into two separate institutions. A new wing of the college was opened in 1953 consisting of extra classrooms, a science laboratory and a library. In 1954 an earthquake shared a day with a mathematics test in John Zweck's life and damaged the older buildings at the college, which required £1 376 (pounds) to be spent in repairs.²

Some of the college's noteworthy achievements were contributed by John Zweck. He proved himself to be a brilliant student. In the Intermediate examinations in 1953

he gained six credits in eight subjects, one of the best passes in the state, which earned him the honour of an Intermediate Exhibition. The next year in the Leaving examinations he topped the state in Latin, and finished among the best four students in two mathematics subjects. His aggregate results were so high he tied for the highest marks in the state which won him the *The Advertiser* Prize. He was also awarded a Leaving bursary and a Commonwealth university scholarship. This was the crowning achievement of a wonderful period in John Zweck's life. In his last year at college he was opening the batting for the First XI, playing tennis and football, providing organ music for church services, accompanying a school choir on piano, teaching Sunday School on weekends, earning pocket money doing gardening jobs, watering and mowing the courts and the oval at the college, going to the movies, collecting coronation stamps and riding home each weekend on his trusty bike, notwithstanding the occasional annoyance of a puncture. In March 1953 he represented Concordia in the student honour guard for the Queen during her visit to Adelaide. The Zweck home was always bustling with activity where not only the immediate close-knit family happily interacted with one another, but where there were often wider family and regular friends stopping over as well.³

For his last year as a Concordia student the college welcomed a new member of staff. Victor Georg was John Zweck's uncle through marriage, and he joined the college as a humanities teacher in 1954. He soon established himself as an effective purveyor of English and history and a great influence on the students in his care. He later served as deputy headmaster before an early death through complications after suffering a heart attack. He died early in 1969. He was a mentor and role model for John Zweck and would have had input into his decision to enrol at Adelaide University in 1955 where he studied for a bachelor's degree in arts, majoring in mathematics and Latin. He also attended Adelaide Teachers College to prepare himself for a career in education. He continued his dedication to music and played football for his university, and cricket for his teachers college as a dour and dedicated batsman. He also joined the university regiment to fulfill his national service obligations. He picked up pocket money from gardening jobs and the occasional returnable bottle collections, he continued his involvement with music and attended Luther League meetings with other young people of his congregation. He lived at home and maintained his relations with his immediate and wider family. Especially treasured were his attendances at classical music concerts with his sister Coral.⁴

At the end of his third year of teaching his father died suddenly and John Zweck found he had serious family duties thrust upon him which he conscientiously took up. His three youngest siblings were still teenagers and his mother looked to him for support as well. Meanwhile John Zweck was gaining an appreciation for various attractions in the east. In 1959 he got to know Margaret Hoffmann, a deaconess working in his father's congregation in the city. They started dating intermittently that year and continued to do so until she left Adelaide at the end of 1961 to return to Victoria where she had enrolled at university to study arts. Perhaps the event that cemented their association was the sudden death of John's father. The relationship continued at a distance and they became engaged in 1963. She was the daughter of William Hoffmann who had been a teacher at the Tabor Lutheran school in western Victoria during the 1930s, and

for many years he ran a general store in nearby Tarrington. He was also involved with the establishment of Luther College in Melbourne where he later moved and chaired its parent association and college council, and wrote a history of its first twenty-five years. John Zweck married his daughter at Tarrington on 15 January 1965 before taking her to live in Melbourne where he had accepted a teaching position at Luther. Their three children were born during their Luther College years, John, Suzanne and Kirsten.⁵

The Teacher

Concordia College in Adelaide always occupied a special place in John Zweck's heart and mind. He had enjoyed his student days there and had been one of the college's top graduates. His father and his siblings and a wider clan of relatives had been, and continued to be, found among its students. His uncle Elmore Zweck was soon to become chair of its college council, his sister Coral Zweck would join the college teaching staff in her brother's second year there, and within a couple more another relative, Nelson Zweck, was appointed as Concordia's long serving bursar. For ELCA Lutherans, Concordia was the heart of the church where its precious theology was passed on to the next generation of pastors and teachers as well as the Lutheran laity. A number of student surveys conducted during this period consistently indicated that better than one in four of them were intending to take up full-time work in the church. It was no surprise, therefore, that on his graduation from university John Zweck returned to Concordia as a teacher of mathematics, Latin and physiology. Now separated from the seminary, Concordia had an enrolment of 205 students which was to grow to 327 over the six years that he taught there. John Zweck joined the staff in 1959, the year that the total responsibility for female students was handed over to the college from the Society of Higher Education (SHE). It was also the year that another past student, Pastor Elmore Leske, took over as headmaster at the age of thirty-one. He began a process of bringing Concordia into line with wider practice. Boarder boys had to wear school uniform to class for the first time, the curriculum was broadened to cater for students with a wider range of abilities, a full-time bursar was appointed, more classrooms were built, an extra science teacher in the person of David Heinjus was employed, swimming lessons were provided for junior students, specialist athletics coaching delivered results comparable to much bigger schools, musicals were produced, two school hymns were commissioned and performed, specialist art facilities were erected and a streamlined old scholars association (COCA) put in place. They were eventful years of change and modernisation at Concordia. John Zweck played his part in them while he honed his craft as an educator. He proved a thorough and diligent teacher, conscientious and efficient, a man of obvious intellect and learning. His dignified demeanour, his earnest commitment to his calling, his precise and articulate use of language, his ability to listen rather than to talk too much, his willingness to help others, were impressive to both colleagues and students.⁶

After his degree, and before he had completed his diploma of education, John Zweck returned to Concordia as a secondary teacher in 1959, joining his Uncle Vic Georg on the staff of his *alma mater*. At the end of January he received his first pay cheque as a teacher, sixty-one pounds. Even though he was working full-time John Zweck

maintained an active interest in his own learning. He continued his studies at university where he completed a diploma of education in 1962. During this course he acquired a special interest in Lutheran educational history which he was to take up later in Melbourne. He also considered the possibility of doing further studies in the USA. In his first year of teaching he began a subscription to the Missouri Synod journal *Lutheran Education*. In the same year he attended his first Lutheran teachers conference in Adelaide where he listened to papers given by contemporary Lutheran educational luminaries like Bill Oster and Garry Matuschka. Bill Oster, a highly esteemed veteran, was soon to join the staff of Concordia in Adelaide, and John Zweck was quick to note that he was a person from whom “I hope to learn much about the process of education”. Vic Georg continued to be another sage influence on his thinking. John Zweck reflected on his performance as a teacher from the earliest days. At the end of his second year at Concordia he noted the areas where he felt he needed to improve, like making greater attempts to grow spiritually, and for this to be reflected in his classroom teaching. He also thought he should be more assiduous in lesson preparation and setting up science experiments, firmer about student neatness and work expectations, clearer in his marking comments and blackboard work and more courteous and caring in his manner to students. He became a member of the mathematics teaching association too.⁷

His emergence as a reputable educator soon ensured that John Zweck’s name began to appear on call lists of teachers under consideration for employment by other schools. When he joined the staff at Concordia, there was only one other college in the ELCA stable, the other Concordia in the Queensland provincial city of Toowoomba. By the sixties plans for a third Concordia in Victoria were well underway. At their 1952 ELCA district convention in Victoria, delegates were informed that there were forty Victorians enrolled at Concordia in Adelaide. This suggested that their own college would have real viability. There was some debate as to whether it should be established in the traditional homeland of Lutheran schooling in the west of the state where the original Concordia had been established in the small town of Murtoa in 1890; or if it should be developed in Melbourne, the capital city, in close proximity to other colleges and tertiary institutions. The president of the ELCA in Victoria since 1940, and a dominant figure in its history, was Pastor Walter Paech. His preference, as well as that of other leaders, was for Melbourne, and this view finally won out. Also, they chose the name of Luther College over building another Concordia. A site was acquired for the college on the edge of the eastern suburbs in Croydon when Philip Brucker, a supporter of the Lutheran educational cause, provided fifteen acres of land at a nominal price in 1957. In the next decade further land was purchased to increase the area for the college to more than thirty-one acres. Appeals went out to the ELCA, and support came in from all over the Australian church. Like its South Australian and Queensland counterparts, Luther College was to be a secondary co-educational boarding and day school. It would seek to serve Lutherans in Victoria and southern New South Wales. Its initially reluctant founding principal was John Paech.⁸

John Paech was one of Walter Paech’s three pastor sons. He had been born in Western Australia but grew up in Tarrington in western Victoria where for many years his father was the pastor. He attended the local Lutheran primary school before enrolling at

Hamilton High School. From 1936 he continued his education as a boarder at Concordia College in Adelaide, where he established an impressive academic record which resulted in his enrolment at the University of Adelaide from where he graduated with an arts degree in 1942. After three more years at Concordia Seminary he was ordained as a pastor who, for his first parish, was sent to Wellington in New Zealand in 1946. In 1950 he accepted a call to Geelong in Victoria where he worked among European migrants and figured prominently in the establishment of its Lutheran primary school which started in 1962. His academic ability and qualifications, as well as his interest in Christian education, made him a leading candidate for a role in Lutheran schools. However, when he was selected to receive a call as the inaugural principal of Luther College, he at first declined, partly because of his inexperience as a teacher. He was eventually convinced he could take on the role, especially after he was granted a year in which to study for an educational diploma which he completed at the University of Melbourne in 1963. He was also reassured by the presence of the ubiquitous Bill Oster, an established Lutheran educator recruited from Concordia in South Australia, as a member of the foundation staff. John Paech was also married to the former Edna Mueller who had been a teacher at Concordia in Adelaide before her marriage, and she was to provide some valued experience on the staff at Luther as well.⁹

John Paech had two main aspirations for Luther College. He wanted it to be an institution of academic excellence. He also wished to establish a college which offered a genuine Christian education in the Lutheran tradition. This was not going to be easy. Good teachers who had the right academic qualifications, could identify with the college's Christian ethos and were willing to work harder at a lesser rate of pay, were not easily found. He struggled with this challenge in the early years before he was able to convince church authorities of the necessity of paying higher wages. In July 1965 teachers' remuneration rates were on the agenda of a joint meeting of the Luther College and Concordia College councils. The matter was not so pressing for Concordia which was still able to recruit teachers paid at church salary rates. In September 1965 the Luther College council put a special request to the district church council to authorise payment of higher salaries, or special allowances in particular cases, in order to acquire fully qualified teachers for Luther College. This was granted. By the end of the sixties most teachers at Luther were being paid at state award level less ten percent. Coming from a parish background John Paech never felt totally comfortable in an educational setting. He compensated for this by seeking out and recruiting the best teachers. He put a great deal of effort into identifying likely candidates, and then wooing them until they joined his staff. He possessed a considerable talent for persuading people, even to the verge of manipulation. In the end, probably his greatest accomplishment as Luther's first headmaster, was the accumulation of an excellent staff, including a number of future leaders in Lutheran schools. After Bill Oster (1964), his next great acquisition was John Zweck (1965). Others followed, Malcolm Beck and Noel Volk (1966), Mal Wegener (1967), Lou Harms, John Kleinig, Ian Mibus (1969), Esme Baltzer (1970), Colin Krause, Robert Mau (1971), David Strelan (1973), Richard Hauser, Frank Lehmann (1977), Geoff Schirmer (1978) and Colin Hayter, Andrew Leske and Glen Natalier (1980). Seven of these went on to become Lutheran college principals, and all of them were to make significant contributions to Lutheran schooling.¹⁰

One of those teachers who was willing to accept a church worker's salary in the early years at Luther was John Zweck whose background and ideals made him more amenable to such conditions. His interest in teaching at Luther College probably began through his relationship with Margaret Hoffmann whose father was involved in its early planning. As early as 1959 he had taken the time to visit the land purchased for the college while in Victoria for a family wedding. In 1963, several months before it opened, he was given a tour of the college campus by John Paech who would certainly have had an eye on him as a possible teacher. Bill Oster's move to Melbourne to join Luther in its first year was another influential connection. He arrived at Luther College in its second year of operation. Much earlier the previous year the college council at Luther, who were involved in staffing decisions in the early days, had been convinced that John Zweck was the best from a long list of candidates to challenge with a call to the college for 1965. By October they had convinced him. As a church worker a residence had to be supplied for him and his new wife. In his call papers there had been a promise of their moving into the headmaster's house, but since a new residence for the Paechs was slow in materialising, a neighbouring house in fairly rough condition was purchased and supplied instead. It became a regular half-way house for new staff waiting on a permanent dwelling, and its occupants became a constant source of requests to the college council for improvements to their accommodation. John Zweck set about assiduously applying himself to his new posting where he taught mathematics, science and Latin as well as immersing himself in the total life of the school. Students appreciated his availability outside of class time to individually tutor those who needed help. In the early days when the college was still striving to establish its academic credentials, his qualifications, dedication and talents helped give Luther a look and feel of substance. After Noel Volk joined the staff in the third year of operation the two of them provided John Paech with the talent, experience and academic standing that the school required. It came as a blow to him then when in 1973 the college council received a letter from John Zweck advising them of his resignation from Luther College to take up a position at Balob Teachers College in New Guinea as a lecturer in mathematics.¹¹

John Zweck's service at Luther College coincided with the early years of his marriage and the birth of his children. As might be expected in a developing school, the workload was heavy. In addition to teaching mathematics, Latin and music he also coached cricket and football, ran a chess club, supervised study in the boarding house and helped with the timetable. Together with John Paech, Bill Oster and Noel Volk, he was part of an unofficial staff executive involved in making many of the decisions in policy and administration. He was also heavily preoccupied with his masters thesis on Lutheran education history. Other commitments included giving papers to the local Lutheran Student Fellowship chapter and membership of the Ringwood congregation's management committee. In 1967 he became an inaugural member of the council of Lutheran Teachers College (LTC) and served as its first secretary. In 1969 he had to take stock of his commitments when he began to suffer symptoms of burnout.¹²

John Zweck spent two years in New Guinea as part of the Lutheran mission. After that he returned to Luther College as deputy headmaster to replace Bill Oster who had stood down from that position to spend his last years at Luther in a less demanding position.

Now firmly established, Luther College was going through a period of consolidation when it had to face a number of major challenges. First, there was the pressure of enrolments. It had always been envisioned that the college would predominantly cater for a Lutheran clientele. The traditional role of providing preliminary training for church workers, as well as equipping the future laity of the church, still remained the college's major foci. Increasingly, however, there were strong enrolment pressures from non-Lutheran families in the surrounding suburbs. For a period the college adopted the policy of restricting its intake of such students, and concentrated on attracting more Lutherans in order to maintain a large majority of its own denominational members. This matter was a subject of much debate at all levels of the college, but the decision to take in a third stream of students and push enrolments, including a higher percentage of non-Lutherans, to around 500 was not taken until the 1980s. Meanwhile there were a number of other more urgent challenges. There was a need to review and modernise the curriculum offered at Luther. John Zweck led much of this endeavour. In 1977 he made a presentation to the college council which they adopted for implementation. It included the move to a semester system for the accommodation of more electives, an increased provision of art and craft subjects, an offering of options at Form IV (Year 10) including drama, electronics, typing and music. More time was allocated to the humanities and social sciences, enhanced drug and alcohol education would be included and a closer correlation between social studies and religious education would be undertaken.¹³

There were other issues which John Zweck was involved in as well. A policy concerning staff study requests was developed under his leadership. One of the downsides to accumulating so many talented staff at Luther was the strong interest they developed concerning the bigger issues confronting the college. Staff requests and recommendation to college council, including a number of industrial matters, were common, and there was a need to develop a structure for staff and council communication. A regular newsletter for parents was thought necessary, and its first editor was John Zweck who chose its name (*Crosslight*). Yet another major undertaking was the rewriting of the aims of the school in order to bring them in line with contemporary realities, as well as to reaffirm the college's Christian orientation. Social studies, a new subject specifically designed for use in a Christian setting, was developed and implemented by a committee led by John Zweck. An art and craft building which featured a number of innovative elements was designed with significant staff input at this time also. At governance level it was decided to establish a Luther College foundation. And on the sidelines there was the emergence of two new Lutheran schools in the offing, the existence of which had implications for Luther College. The neighbouring Ringwood congregation, worship home for many Luther staff members, was planning, after many years of discussion, to open a new Lutheran primary school on college land, and this came to fruition in 1979. Margaret Zweck served as the secretary on its first school council. There was a need to carefully devise policies and procedures for Luther College interaction with this new entity in areas like enrolment policy, sharing of facilities and clarifying identity issues between the two schools. Plans were also afoot for the establishment of a second Victorian Lutheran college at Hamilton which had implications for Luther as well, especially as a boarding school. Good Shepherd Hamilton was opened in 1981.

Its first headmaster, Glen Natalier, was recruited from the Luther staff where he had been an exchange teacher the previous year.¹⁴

There were two other quite significant matters which reflected on John Zweck in his role as a school leader at Luther College which bear mentioning. The first was a potentially tragic incident involving a past student of the college. In 1978 John Paech took some leave and John Zweck assumed the role of acting headmaster. Arriving at work early one morning he was confronted by a past student armed with a rifle. John Zweck was taken at gunpoint through the main building of the college towards the staff room where he was to make a public announcement on behalf of the ex-student to the college community after everyone had arrived for school. As they passed through a door John Zweck saw an opportunity to grab the gun and with the help of another staff member disarmed and detained the young man. The rest of the day saw him cutting a calm figure of reassurance to the college community as well as providing compassionate treatment for his assailant. Esteem for such grace under pressure was earned among colleagues and students alike. On a different scale, respect for John Zweck's ability was evidenced by another role he was asked to play during this period at Luther College. On the national education scene in 1978 the Defence of Government Schools (DOGS) group was in the throes of challenging state aid to independent schools in the high court. Their contention was that such funding was being used to establish a religion, an act forbidden to the state by the Australian constitution. John Zweck was asked to be part of the group of educators whose responsibility was to conduct a defence on behalf of the Lutherans, which was part of a larger response from the National Council of Independent Schools (NCIS). During the case he appeared as one of the witnesses, along with Rolph Mayer from LTC and John Paech from Luther College, who had to

give evidence on this matter. It required a sensitive approach and intelligent handling, especially representing a school sector which claimed to provide a distinctive style of Christian education. The DOGS challenge, obviously, proved unsuccessful.¹⁵

Early in 1979 John Zweck reported to the Luther College council that he had accepted a call to become a lecturer at LTC. This new challenge was an acknowledgement of his standing as one of the Lutheran educational intelligentsia. The college council at Luther accepted his resignation with regret. Later in the year as they farewelled him "glowing tributes were paid to his personal qualities, his professional skills, his devotion to duty and particularly to his Christian example." These words were quite apt.¹⁶



The LTC Lecturer.

The Scholar

When the recently married John Zweck moved to Luther College at the beginning of 1965 his new job and his new wife were not the only things on his mind. He was also contemplating taking up some further studies. He wrote to Fred Blaess at Concordia Seminary in Adelaide, who was also the ELCA's archivist, indicating his intention of undertaking a thesis in the area of Lutheran educational history. The correspondence between the two of them continued for some years, with Fred Blaess providing detailed answers to John Zweck's request for information. The thesis he wrote as part of the requirements for a masters degree in education from Melbourne University was in the area of Lutheran educational history. Its focus was the relations between the Lutheran Church and state authorities in South Australia during the nineteenth century. His supervisor for the thesis was Professor AG Austin, Australia's foremost educational historian, who headed up an internationally renowned faculty at Melbourne in this new area of academic specialisation catering for the growing surge of education students passing through Australia's universities. There had always been a perception in Lutheran circles that church leaders had opposed the acceptance of state aid for its schools during the nineteenth century, but John Zweck's thesis showed that it had been a more complex state of affairs than that. He discerned three periods in the relations between Lutherans in South Australia and their government concerning schools. Because they had suffered persecution at the hands of the Prussian state, these Lutherans were at first fearful of state interference and declined government funding. There followed a period from the mid-sixties when some Lutheran schools began to accept state aid, and generally there was a desire for co-operation with the state. Finally, in the last decade of the century, once state schools were introduced and state aid to independent schools abolished, the Lutherans had to maintain their schools in a situation of enforced independence. The research John Zweck did for this thesis was exhaustive as he delved into the Lutheran and state archives, parliamentary records and old newspapers. His argumentation and exposition were exemplary. They earned him the Freda Cohen Prize for the best masters in education thesis at Melbourne University in 1971. Rightfully, within the church, he became a recognized authority on Lutheran history, publishing articles on the church's attitude to state aid, as well as more general accounts about the origins of Lutheran schools in Australia. This expertise also made him the natural choice as a leader of the Lutheran defence in the DOGS challenge.¹⁷

His appointment as a lecturer in mathematics at the Balob Teachers' College also was a witness to his standing as a scholar. This college had been established in 1965 at Lae in order to train teachers for the large Lutheran school system in New Guinea. At that stage before independence the Australian government was promoting English as the language of education, and so Lutheran schools which had previously been operating in local languages were now adopting English for their schools as well. The big challenge was to train indigenous teachers for this change. So Balob was established. The inaugural principal was Fred Stolz, a Lutheran who had been recruited as a volunteer from the New South Wales state school system. He remained in that position until his return to Australia in 1980 as the founding head of Grace Lutheran College at Redcliffe north of Brisbane. In the first year at Balob there were eight staff members

who taught the ninety-nine students who had met the minimum required entry level of primary standard 6. Over the next decade and a half the entry level was increased to Year 10 standard, and more than 1 500 teachers were trained for the church's PNG schools. John Zweck joined the faculty for 1974 and 1975 to lecture principally in mathematics.¹⁸

When John Zweck joined the faculty of LTC in 1980 he knew the institution fairly well. While still at Luther College he had been a member of its governing council. Rolph Mayer was still the principal, and he and Bill Stoll were the two longstanding staff members. Elmore Leske, the former head of Concordia College, had joined the faculty in 1977 when he replaced John Koch who had moved on to Luther Seminary. If anyone epitomised LTC and its culture it was Rolph Mayer. Appointed to head the institution in 1970 when its inaugural principal Elvin Janetzki moved to the seminary, he was to remain the head for eighteen years. Amiable, gregarious and compassionate, he was the living manifestation of the Christian gospel which always hovered around the heart of his teaching. His ascendancy to the role had been the result of what he would term a series of accidents, rather than an inevitable progression through the ranks of Lutheran education. He came from Queensland. His parents and their young family had emigrated to Australia in 1928 to escape the hopeless economic situation in Germany. Things were not easy in their new country for them either as they arrived in time to encounter the Great Depression. The family finally settled at MacLagan on the Darling Downs west of Toowoomba where they dairyfarmed and operated a milk run while raising a family of seven children. World War II intervened in their life. Their mother, who was always quite vocal in her appreciation of her fatherland, was interned in 1941 for two years. And because his older brother Reinhard had been victimised at Toowoomba Grammar School on account of his German background,



LTC Faculty: Rolph Mayer, John Zweck, Elmore Leske with support staff.

Rolph Mayer was sent to Immanuel College in Adelaide for his secondary schooling. A bright student he was advised that he should consider becoming a pastor, but he never felt a strong call to do so. However, on the prompting of Karl Muetzelfeldt, Rolph Mayer entered the seminary, completed the course and found himself serving as a Lutheran pastor in country South Australia before he had even turned twenty-one. When the offer came five years later to serve as a chaplain at Immanuel College it seemed like a good opportunity to move away from the role of parish pastor in which he had never felt entirely comfortable. After thirteen years of chaplaincy, in which time he had completed a university degree and undertaken a major study tour, he was probably the most qualified person available to fill the UELCA position on the faculty of the LCA's new teacher training institution. And within three years he was the man in charge, and his longevity in the position was a testament to the competency he displayed in the role. Many of those who attended his lessons at Immanuel, and his lectures at LTC, caught his enthusiasm for the Christian gospel and carried it into their lives and ministries.¹⁹

In 1979 John Zweck joined the faculty at LTC in Adelaide. He was the first layperson in the LCA to be appointed to teach theologically related courses at one of its tertiary institutions. This reflected his standing in Lutheran circles. The job he was given suited him very well. He was to take over the running of the external studies program, including the completion of a project to make all LTC courses available in an external mode. This work had begun in 1973 with John Koch as the lecturer in charge. It had been necessitated by the fact that Lutheran schools were growing at such a rate, and new teachers were being recruited from such a variety of backgrounds, simply offering a pre-service formation program at LTC was totally inadequate for the needs of the schools. The best way to ensure maximum coverage of new teachers was through the creation of correspondence materials supplemented by intensive workshops conducted during school holidays. With his knowledge of the field, his qualifications in education, his experience in the tertiary sector and his well-demonstrated organisational ability, John Zweck took up the external studies challenge with relish. He also became an itinerant educator, travelling to various Lutheran centres in Australia to conduct workshops. The materials he developed were well structured, clearly presented and the collection of readings chosen with insight and care. A decade after he left LTC, John Zweck's well-structured resources were the basis of several LTC courses, especially in Lutheran education, still being offered. The nature of a correspondence program ensures that every aspect of the subject is recorded and printed. As a result the materials associated with the course become public documents and their contents definitive statements. Because of this John Zweck's course materials became a common formulation of Lutheran educational philosophy. The old dichotomy of approaches left over from the ELCA and UELCA days of differentiation had been finally superseded by a broader, eclectic, open-ended form of consensus. The job was completed by 1983. John Zweck had worked at LTC for just three years but had made a lasting impact.²⁰

By the end of the century, after thirty years of training teachers for Lutheran schools, LTC ceased to operate as a separate institution. It was merged with Luther Seminary and the new entity continued to offer courses for teachers. In 1983 John Zweck was replaced by Malcolm Bartsch who became the main lecturer in Lutheran education for

the rest of the century. His masters and doctoral dissertations were both concerned with the interaction between Lutheran theology and education. He had gained an appreciation of Lutheran schooling from his years as a missionary in PNG. He valued the fact that schools provided a context where the church's theology encountered and had to come to grips with contemporary culture. He also believed that their schools should be educational institutions of excellence where Lutherans could carry out their witness to society. There was no orthodox model or structure for a Lutheran school. Malcolm Bartsch was operating at a time when, for better or for worse, Lutheran schools were no longer restricted to the nurture of their own denomination. For him this was a scenario for liberation. Lutherans could set up schools, enroll those who were attracted to them and provide a context in which the Spirit of God could do the Spirit's work. Equipping teachers for these schools was a matter of providing the theological orientation and understanding needed for them to intelligently and purposefully work as Christians in this environment. Good Lutheran teachers were formed, not to fit a set structure and theory of schooling fixed by the church, but to work creatively in an educational setting, teasing out the strands of Lutheran theology and applying them to the conditions pertaining in their schools.²¹

The Leader

His years at LTC were hectic. In addition to his faculty role John Zweck also served as the national liaison officer responsible for the staffing of Lutheran schools. It involved him in lots of extra work which interrupted his family life and, at one stage, contributed to a hand injury caused by holding a phone to his ear for long periods. John Zweck left LTC to become a Lutheran principal. He was installed as the headmaster of Concordia College in Adelaide on 7 February 1983. In the ninety-three years since Concordia had been established, he was the first layperson to hold that position. This was a mark of the high esteem in which he was held in the church, as well as a sign of the way that Lutheran schooling was changing. Also a reflection of the times was the enrolment figures for the college. The numbers had climbed to 466 as part of the trend for Lutheran schools to become bigger, and there were equal numbers of males and females. Government funding ensured that each student at Concordia was subsidised at the rate of \$814 by the Commonwealth government, and \$572 by the state government. It was the year of the tragic Ash Wednesday fires in the Adelaide Hills from where students were bused to Concordia each day. The 500th anniversary of Luther's birth was celebrated with Concordia choirs under the baton of Peter Schmidt featuring in the festivities, just as he conducted the twelve piece orchestra that accompanied *The Mikado*. It was the last year that he and David Schubert spent together at Concordia after their decade and a half of creative collusion in producing a modern worship liturgy. David Schubert, who had taught mathematics and English at Concordia, and served as its academic dean, left to join the church's publishing arm and to produce the Lutheran history classic, *Kavel's People*. And in an echo of the past, John Zweck (the son) emulated his headmaster father by producing outstanding results in the last matriculation examination conducted by the Public Examination Board. He had been attending Concordia since 1979 where his sisters Suzanne (1980) and Kirsten (1985) were also enrolled.²²



Colleagues: John Zweck and Peter Nitschke

In many ways John Zweck's years as principal of Concordia were quite successful. Enrolments increased from 466 in 1983 to over 500 in the last years of his leadership. Facilities were improved, including new courts, and the boys dormitories converted into classrooms. Boarding facilities were wound down when after nearly a century of students living on campus, Concordia became a day school. With the cessation of boarding, internal confirmation services were phased out and students renewed their baptismal vows in their home congregations. Extra bus runs from Happy Valley and the Adelaide Hills were initiated, bringing in more day students from further afield. The college continued to produce marvelous musicals, from *Ruddigore* to *Calamity Jane*. There was an emphasis on catering for special needs: a mentor system for gifted students was introduced and a learning support scheme put in place for those in need of extra tuition in Years 8 to 10. A non-tertiary stream was introduced in Year 12, and school based subjects gained more space in the timetable. Concordia was keeping up with technology: its library catalogue was computerised, a computer studies subject added to the Year 12 curriculum and a micro-computing laboratory provided for Year 8 students. John Zweck's interest in Lutheran history was reflected in the various dates which were celebrated during his headmastership: the 80th anniversary of Concordia in South Australia, the 300th birthday of JS Bach (1985), and the 60th year of co-education at the college (1987). Students were involved in the openings of the Klemzig memorial garden and the historical Hahndorf walking track to Adelaide (1986). With the increase in enrolments the house system was extended from three (Brown, Gold, Blue) to four (Malvern, Cheltenham, Winchester, Highgate) in 1987.²³

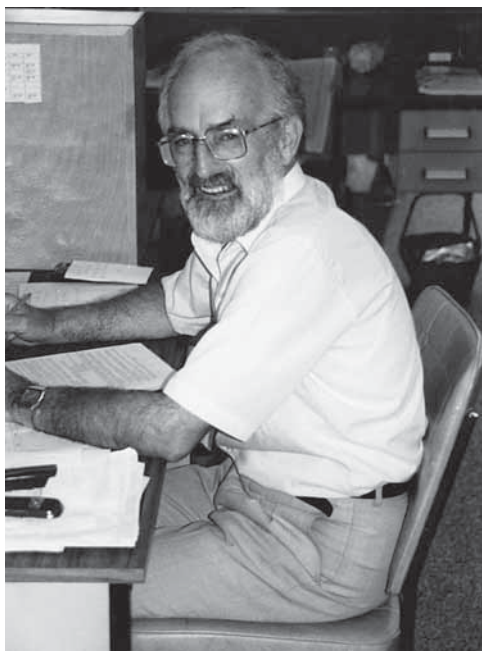
However, John Zweck's period of leadership at Concordia ended prematurely and unhappily. A complexity of issues contributed to this situation. It was an era of change and growth in Lutheran schooling when a frontier mentality pertained and rough justice (injustice?) could be meted out more in the style of the lynch mob than through a considered process of conflict resolution. John Zweck was not the only eminent

Lutheran educational leader to experience rough treatment. Like any independent school in existence for nearly a century, Concordia had generated a variety of traditions, expectations and interest groups. The college represented the heart of the church for many former ELCA Lutherans and they kept a jealous eye on developments, and situated as it was in Adelaide, there were a myriad of critical eyes, including many of the church's clergy, subjecting it to close scrutiny. There was also the involved web of family relationships, including John Zweck's own connections, which complicated issues. With the advent of a lay principal, the college's chaplains gained a higher profile, especially after the arrival of Geoff Burger (1975) and Bob Kempe (1982), who had to come to terms with teaching Christian studies to a new generation of more assertive students. These two chaplains were charismatic personalities with an innovative bent that sometimes led to controversy. They had the support of the teaching staff, some of the more longstanding ones dating back to the Reuther years when there had been an accumulation of bright, young teachers who embraced educational change and questioned some of Concordia's traditional practices. In John Zweck's second year at Concordia it was deemed fitting to hold a group dynamics seminar for teachers, as well as a conference promoting a vision of the church school as a Christian community. Certainly there was a vibrant culture of Christian commitment among the staff at Concordia, the downside of which was the expectation that the head would act in certain ways, or be accommodating to pet projects and approaches. The formation of a staff guild in 1987 was symptomatic of an independently minded staff who wanted to extend their voice in college affairs. There was also some unrest among those with whom John Zweck worked most closely. At the centre of it all was John Zweck himself, a gentle, bookish idealist with a forgiving Christian heart who lacked the political instincts and sense of self preservation needed to deal with the issues and machinations with which he was faced. Although a man of obvious intellectual ability and with strongly held Christian principles, he was geared to a Concordia of a more sedate era, and he found it difficult to handle some of the more aggressive people with whom he was faced. He lost his standing with staff and the support of his council and tendered his resignation after five years at the helm. He left the college in August 1988.²⁴

Having to give up Concordia was a great blow for John Zweck. He did it with a gracious spirit but would have borne a deep hurt. For him, Concordia was the great prize, his *alma mater* from which he had gained his most enduring beliefs and values, where he had distinguished himself as a brilliant student and effective teacher, and the college he aspired to lead into a new era of achievement. It did not end as he would have wished it. As a man of faith and commitment there was no way he was going to leave the Lutheran system, or retreat into a world of self pity or recrimination. The measure of the man was that he chose to move on and find another way to employ his many gifts and considerable skills in the service of the church. After a few months' break from schools, John Zweck accepted a position offered to him by the headmaster of Redeemer Lutheran College in the southern Brisbane suburb of Rochedale. Redeemer had been opened in 1980 and was nearing the end of its first decade of operation. Its founding head, Robin Kleinschmidt, had been associated with John Zweck in the Lutheran defence against the DOGS case. He held John Zweck in high esteem and

was happy to offer him a job in a secondary college which had grown to a level where it required an addition to the management team. The position John Zweck filled at Redeemer for the next five years was that of its inaugural director of studies in charge of the organisation of its curriculum and teaching staff.²⁵

Redeemer, along with Grace at Redcliffe, formed the spearhead of a new wave of Lutheran colleges in the north which was to continue into the following years. In the last two decades of the twentieth century eight new Lutheran colleges opened in Queensland. Robin Kleinschmidt, whose family had been part of the only Old Lutheran settlement in Queensland at Bethania south of Brisbane, was its first headmaster. He had enrolled at St Peters Lutheran College at Indooroopilly in 1949 for his secondary education, distinguished himself as a scholar there, and after training as a teacher and working in a state high school for a period, he returned to his *alma mater* in 1965 to teach English and history. In 1971 he became the college's first deputy headmaster under Carson Dron, a position he filled until 1980. From August 1978 until August 1980 he filled the role of acting headmaster while Carson Dron undertook a period of study leave in the USA. A man of considerable drive and energy, during the same period in which he had taken the helm at St Peters, Robin Kleinschmidt was intricately involved in the planning of Redeemer, and for most of 1980 he was managing both colleges at the same time. Emanating from a strong Lutheran background, Robin Kleinschmidt was very much a man of the church. He was committed to Lutheran education as well as exercising a strong interest in the wider church. He was involved in Queensland regional committees responsible for oversight of the church's education program, and presided as chairman of its schools council during its early days. He later served on the national Board for Lutheran Schools (BLS). He brought to Redeemer much of the flavour of St Peters, an emphasis on high academic standards, a vibrant music program and a solid sporting emphasis. By the 1990s the college had acquired a reputation for academic excellence, in one year achieving the status of being in the



John Zweck at Redeemer.

top six schools in Queensland based on the league tables the media constructed from Year 12 results. In one respect, Redeemer, under Robin Kleinschmidt, was quite different from St Peters, as well as Grace at Redcliffe, in that it deliberately kept its enrolments down in order to maintain a smaller school. St Peters and Grace, in the face of general Lutheran policy of the period, continued to expand, both of them in time pushing their student populations well past 1 000 secondary students.²⁶

John Zweck spent five happy years at Redeemer. His position in charge of the curriculum suited him well. He had the organisational ability and the quiet air of someone in command of his portfolio which inspired enthusiasm and respect in his colleagues. He was not the kind of ex-principal who had designs on the top job,

and was very solid in support of Robin Kleinschmidt. At the end of 1993, just as he turned fifty-six at the end of the year, John Zweck retired from Redeemer in order to re-emerge in the tertiary program. There had been intermittent discussion over the years about relocating LTC to Queensland, mainly because it had become the state with the most Lutheran schools and enrolments. There was little likelihood that this would ever happen, but a compromise was achieved when it was decided that one of the LTC lecturers would be permanently based in Queensland. John Zweck, already in residence in Brisbane, as well as being thoroughly experienced in developing and delivering the LTC program, was an obvious choice. He was offered and accepted the position which he was to take up at the beginning of 1994.²⁷

The End

John and Margaret Zweck travelled south at the end of 1993 to spend Christmas with relatives and to attend a family wedding. While they were in Adelaide John Zweck was installed by Lance Steicke, the president of the LCA, in his new office as a lecturer of LTC based in Queensland. Early in January they left Melbourne to make the trip back to Queensland by car. They had reached Jerilderie in NSW on the afternoon of 7 January when they were involved in a car accident in which they both lost their lives. Their funeral service held in Adelaide six days later was performed by two of John Zweck's cousins, David and John Strelan.²⁸

Despite the tragic shortening of John Zweck's life, and notwithstanding the fact that he had the potential of another decade of service to offer Lutheran schooling in Australia, much was accomplished in the years he did serve. By the time of his death he had established himself as a prominent figure in the Lutheran schooling movement in Australia. At all levels in his stints as a teacher, middle manager, college headmaster and tertiary lecturer he had made his mark. In addition to those paid roles he also served in other capacities as well. His role in the DOGS high court challenge was an important one. From 1982 to 1988 he occupied the chair of the LCA's Board for Lutheran Schools. At one stage he was responsible for co-ordinating the staffing of Lutheran schools. He was called as the first national director for Lutheran schools but declined the opportunity in order to take up the headmastership of Concordia in Adelaide. In retrospect he might have been better suited to the role he did not take. During his Queensland years he served as secretary to the schools council in that region. In Adelaide he also served on the peak theological body of the Lutheran Church, the Commission on Theology and Interchurch Relations (CTICR), a distinction offered to few laymen. During his days as a headmaster at Concordia he was a member of several government sub-committees on education, and also took a place on the Independent Schools Board of South Australia. He worked very hard and possessed a strong sense of calling and vocation. His usual weekday practice was to work all day and then spend the evenings in his study. In general he was a cautious man, conservative by nature. He was principled and proper and not given to impulse or hyperbole. He was not driven by self gain, and most of his service in schools was performed for the modest remittance of the church worker award. He was resilient in the face of disappointment and seldom spoke of his problems. Besides the church and its schools he harboured a wide range of interests. He continued to follow developments in the discipline of



John and Margaret Zweck: The Last Photo.

mathematics, and he read widely. An accomplished musician he cultivated his taste for the classics. He followed sport. He liked to go bushwalking. And he also enjoyed good films from his days in Melbourne when he and Margaret had joined a film society. Dubbing him a man for all seasons would not be an exaggeration.²⁹

John Zweck's service in Lutheran schools was conducted from 1959 until 1993. The path he followed took a number of crucial turns, and not all of them were necessarily the best choices. In hindsight perhaps his greatest contribution was his work at LTC where he played a role in refiguring and consolidating the tradition of Lutheran schooling philosophy. When he took on the challenge of its practical application as a headmaster in a college, his talents were less suited. Nevertheless he accomplished much that was of distinction. His sudden end deprived his church and its schools of even more. His was not, in this time of plenty, the only case of false starts and lost opportunities, but his contribution was one of the more substantial ones.³⁰

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- 2 Weiss, p. 305; Zweck, pp. 70 ff.; E. Leske, *Concordia 100 Years*, Adelaide: LPH, 1990, pp. 199ff.
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- 4 John Zweck Diaries, 1955, 1956.
- 5 Zweck, pp. 69 ff.; John Zweck Diaries, 1959, 1960, 1961, 1962, 1963; R. J. Hauser, *Veteran Voices*, a collection of interview records, 2011, p. 31, Lutheran Archives (LA); Leske, pp. 202, 226, 227 ; F. W. Hoffmann, *Bell, Clock and Cross*, Melbourne: Luther College, 1988, flyleaf.
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- 9 Hoffmann, p. 73ff.; E. Paech, *John Paech – A Short Biography*, LA; Weiss, p. 280.
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- 13 Hoffmann, pp. 27 ff.; Luther College Council Minutes, 21 July 10 October, 1977.
- 14 Hoffmann, pp. 30 ff.; Luther College Council Minutes, 10 October 1977; 20 July 1978; Lehmann, pp 4 -7.
- 15 Hoffmann, pp. 78 ff.; Luther College Council Minutes, 15 June 1978; 17 August 1978; 19 October 1978; 19 April 1979; 21 June 1979;
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- 21 M. I. Bartsch, *Why a Lutheran School?*, Adelaide: BLS, 2001; *Veteran Voices*, p. 4.
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CHAPTER 9

Thomas Reuther The Big Picture

“I will unite them into one nation in the land.” Ezekiel 37:22

The growth of its schools in Australia in the latter part of the twentieth century raised many issues for the Lutheran Church of Australia (LCA), including the need for some kind of structure to keep an oversight of their operations. This was especially necessary if the LCA was to retain a continuing influence over them, including their rate of growth, their staffing, their policies, the training of their personnel, their finances and their governance. By 1999 Lutheran schools were no longer restricted to those regions which were the main centres of Lutheran population, but they were spread throughout the nation. They served a broad clientele and employed teachers who were not members of the Lutheran Church. The more they expanded, the greater the responsibility for their supervision became. It was against this background that Thomas Reuther became involved in Lutheran schooling. He did not set out to make a career in Lutheran schools. Rather his story shows how the schools gradually, but relentlessly, drew him in until he had to take some responsibility for the whole system. In that way his story provides, in microcosm, a view of what was happening to the LCA at large in its late twentieth century journey through a national terrain increasingly featuring its burgeoning schools.



Thomas Reuther

Family and Education

There is no doubt that Thomas Theodore Reuther sprouted from a family tree whose branches connected him to an imposing array of Lutheran pastors and leaders. His great-grandfather was Julius Rechner who was employed as the Lutheran day school teacher at Light's Pass in South Australia from 1850 to 1860, before he was ordained as the pastor who ministered there for nearly forty years. Pastor Julius Rechner was also the president of the Immanuel Synod (IS) between 1874 and 1900. Julius Rechner's daughter Pauline was married twice, first to Pastor Martin Stolz, and then when he died to Pastor JG Reuther. Seven of her sons from these marriages became Lutheran pastors. Her eldest son, born in 1878, was Pastor Johannes Stolz who, from 1925 to 1953, served as the president of the United Evangelical Lutheran Church in Australia (UELCA). Her youngest son, born in 1897, was Berthold Reuther. Berthold served in two parishes during his years as a pastor, Bethania in Queensland from 1923 to 1936, and then the Strait Gate church at Light's Pass in South Australia from 1936 to 1966. In 1925 he married Helena Ludcke. They had their two children while they were in Queensland, Thomas born on 7 May 1929, and Naomi born on 25 October 1932. So it was that Thomas Reuther was born into a family where his great-grandfather, his grandfather, his father and six uncles were all Lutheran pastors, and two of them served as the president of their church for a total of fifty-four years!¹

Thomas Reuther did a year of schooling in Queensland at Waterford State Primary School before the family moved to Light's Pass in South Australia. Although there had been a congregational school at Bethania, where his father was the pastor, up until 1909, like all the other Queensland Lutheran schools it had closed down before World War I. Berthold Reuther, a keen advocate of Lutheran schooling, expressed his enthusiasm for Christian education by organising the first UELCA Sunday School conventions in Queensland. When the family arrived in Light's Pass it coincided with the re-opening there of the first UELCA primary school established in Australia after the war. Berthold Reuther immediately got behind the effort, and his son Thomas joined the school in its first year. This move to the Barossa Valley brought the Reuthers back into the family heartland. The first pastor of the Strait Gate congregation when it had been founded back in 1861 was Julius Rechner, Thomas Reuther's great-grandfather. He had been succeeded as pastor by Thomas' uncle, Pastor Johannes Stolz, who served there for the next thirty years. Berthold Reuther continued to develop an enthusiasm for Lutheran schooling and worked hard as the pastor of the congregation to support the teachers and improve the facilities and resources. His son Thomas became an engaged and successful student, one of those chosen from the older pupils to hear the reading and spelling and check the sums of the younger ones. They were difficult years for the school. Coming out of the Depression era of the early 1930s and moving into the war years, money was scarce and resources were at a minimum. There were also renewed rumblings, reminiscent of World War I, which were hostile to Lutherans and their schools because of their German connections. One of Thomas Reuther's uncles, Pastor Christoph Stolz from Eyre Peninsula in South Australia, was interned for some months during the war because he provided an assumed threat to Australian security.²



Thomas Reuther Confirmation Photo.

For his secondary schooling, Thomas Reuther spent his first three years at Nuriootpa High School until he achieved his Intermediate Certificate. For his senior secondary studies he was sent to Immanuel College where he completed his Leaving Certificate. The college, which had moved from Point Pass to North Adelaide in 1923, was now situated in the Adelaide suburb of Walkerville. Even though it had made some deliberate attempts to avoid being identified with the German enemy when World War II broke out in 1939, the college inevitably attracted the disapproving attention of those who were suspicious of its background and activities. In November 1940 the campus was raided by the army, and staff and students were held at gunpoint as the buildings were searched. Then in 1942 the college had been forced to move when the North

Adelaide campus was taken over by the Royal Australian Air Force (RAAF) as part of the war effort. After the war the seminary moved back to the North Adelaide campus in 1946, but Immanuel College was to remain operating in the confined and partially rudimentary facilities at Walkerville until it moved to broadacres at Camden in 1957. During the time at Walkerville, Paul Löhe passed over the role of headmaster at the college to Edwin Auricht. He had been one of those UELCA pastors who had done their theological studies in the USA just after World War I at Wartburg Seminary in Dubuque, operated by the Iowa synod. He had joined the staff at Immanuel in 1929 and was to serve as its head from 1942 until 1956. Edwin Auricht presented as a well dressed gentleman with exemplary manners and a quiet approach whose most accomplished teaching area was in history. When it was separated from the seminary he broadened the college's curriculum with practical subjects to accommodate non-tertiary bound students. In 1944 the college only had 120 enrolments and when Edwin Auricht took over he had no secretarial help or even an office to run the school. His official space for administration was a desk in a hallway. The other main teachers were the laymen, Teachers Doecke and Keller, who were longstanding members of staff. Thomas Reuther was one of that unique band of Immanuel students who attended the college in its Walkerville era, even if it was for only two years. From there he moved on to Immanuel Seminary back in North Adelaide to train as a pastor for four years. There his main lecturers were the long-serving Paul Löhe and Wolfgang Riedel, as well as the more accomplished Karl Muetzelfeldt, Siegfried Hebart and Hermann Sasse. Although not a natural scholar, Thomas Reuther was a hard worker and used the abilities he had to good effect.³

Thomas Reuther graduated from Immanuel Seminary in 1950. In February 1951 he was ordained as a Lutheran pastor. All six of Thomas Reuther's pastor uncles had done their theological studies at the Lutheran mission seminary at Neuendettelsau in Bavaria in the days before the Immanuel Synod (IS) had its own tertiary training institution for pastors. However, Thomas' father Berthold did not have this option open to him when he reached the age for seminary studies. He completed his secondary years at Immanuel College at Point Pass in 1919. For various reasons rising out of World War I, Germany was no longer available for Berthold so he was sent to the USA to study at Wartburg Seminary in Dubuque. He, along with Edwin Auricht, was one of four students from the UELCA to be sent to this Iowa Synod college, even though it was regarded as second best to a German theological education. Berthold Reuther was impressed enough by his American training to make an offer to his son, Thomas, to have the same experience. So during Thomas Reuther's last year at Immanuel Seminary he and his father decided that he would go to the USA to further his education. At first they considered that he would pursue these studies at Wartburg like his father. However, just at this time, Hermann Sasse had arrived in Australia with his family to take up a position on the faculty of Immanuel Seminary. As someone who had recently completed a lecturing stint in the USA, he advised the Reuthers that the best place for Thomas to study was not at Wartburg but at Concordia Seminary in St. Louis which belonged to the Missouri Synod. Concordia, he said after a period on its staff, had an accomplished faculty and offered better post-graduate courses. The Reuthers accepted his advice.⁴

Thomas Reuther studied at Concordia Seminary in St. Louis from August 1951 until May 1954. This decision to go to St Louis was not likely to gain the blessing of officials within the UELCA because of the strong ties between Missouri and the rival ELCA. So the whole enterprise had to be arranged privately by the Reuther family without church help of any kind. It meant that Thomas Reuther had to make all his own arrangements as well as find work in the USA in order to support himself. It was a character and faith building experience. In the school holidays he did all sorts of jobs from cattle herd testing to working in a trolley factory, from labouring in a quarry to shift work in a tool and gauge factory. He bought his first typewriter, and got a job typing documents for a lawyer. During term time he worked in the seminary archives. On one occasion when visa difficulties and the lack of any work prospects convinced him that he had to give up and go home, he was forced to fall back on his faith and put his trust entirely in God to provide. And when something did turn up the next morning it gave him a sense of God's protection that remained with him for the rest of his life. In some places of employment his calling as a pastor invited ridicule, but at other times he was given opportunities to offer Christian service and witness to fellow workers.⁵

In the time at Concordia Thomas Reuther completed bachelor degrees in arts and divinity as well as doing some work at the masters level in the area of worship, including some progress on a major dissertation to do with the Johannine concept of worship. He might have accomplished more except for the need to earn a living which limited his study time. He was surprised that Americans knew so little about Australia, but he was impressed by their friendliness, their acceptance of him and the sheer size of the

program offered at Concordia. By the time he left there were 900 young men studying theology at the St. Louis campus. The worship was magnificent. The whole campus came to a halt for people to join in. Lecturers were friendly and erudite. He was limited in the courses he could undertake because of the poor grounding in linguistics from his Immanuel days. He concentrated on church history and liturgics. In his final year he did pastoral ministry work in a congregation for a few months. Because Thomas Reuther had been ordained as a Lutheran pastor before he left Australia he was given opportunities to preach in churches and speak on radio programs while studying in America. He was also able to observe the Missouri Lutheran school system at first hand. While he was doing relief teaching in Lutheran schools he was impressed with the strong, positive ties between parishes and their schools, and the teamwork exercised by the pastors and teachers. Two fellow Australians at Concordia were ELCA theology students Clemens Koch and Norman Nagel. His years at Concordia proved to be the beginning of a continuing trend, for this UELCA pastor, of proactively interacting with people and institutions connected with the ELCA.⁶

The Chaplain

When Thomas Reuther returned to Australia in 1954, despite his unorthodox choice of study institution, he was welcomed back into his church. The vice-president of the UELCA, Pastor Johannes Doehler, met him on arrival and told him about his new job. As was customary for a theological graduate, Thomas Reuther was assigned, rather than called, to his first Australian ministry, in this case to the chaplaincy of St Paul's College at Walla Walla in the New South Wales Riverina. St Paul's was a very small school in a country setting and still in its formative years. At this stage in its history it belonged to the local association which had established it in 1948. Its acknowledged founder was Walla Walla's pastor from 1925 to 1953, JTP Stolz, who was also Thomas Reuther's cousin. He and his investigating committee had already been meeting as early as 1937, before the war, at a time when the only UELCA college in operation was Immanuel in Adelaide. The original plans were for a "super primary school" which the Walla Walla Lutheran congregation had decided to establish in 1946, but by the end of that year it had progressed to the concept of a Lutheran high school. Walla Walla, situated just over thirty kilometres north of Albury, although only a small town, was at the centre of an area of concentrated Lutheran settlement. It is estimated that seventy percent of NSW's UELCA membership of just over 2 000 lived within a seventy kilometre radius. The leadership of the UELCA in New South Wales was not that supportive of the venture, so the project began as a local one in strong contrast to the two other Lutheran colleges operated by the UELCA in Adelaide and Brisbane. Like them, however, it was a co-educational, secondary boarding school. The college opened with twenty-eight students spread over three lower secondary classes in 1948. For two years classes were conducted in the local church hall before the college moved to its permanent site at the edge of the Walla Walla township on a triangle-shaped, former grazing paddock comprising thirty-two acres. The first principal was Werner Hebart who was recruited from the Friends School in Hobart, but who had strong connections with Immanuel College in South Australia. By 1955 enrolments had grown to 103 students and St Paul's installed its first full-time chaplain, Thomas Reuther.⁷

Thomas Reuther took on a heavy load of responsibility at Walla Walla. His central role was that of college chaplain. He also taught a full load of scripture, English and history as well as some physical education and woodwork. He served as a housemaster in the boys' boarding house as well as sportsmaster for the college's teams and carnivals during his early years. Ironically, one of the lesser demands on his time was the role of a preacher. The founding headmaster of St. Paul's, Werner Hebart, insisted on taking most of the school worship sessions himself, and on Sundays boarders attended church with the local Walla Walla congregation. In his role as a Scripture teacher Thomas Reuther had to find his own resources. In this respect one of his more responsible duties was to take charge of the confirmation class. Like other Lutheran colleges of the era, one of the main reasons parents sent their children to a church secondary school was for a thorough grounding in the faith before they were confirmed. Thomas Reuther put a great deal of effort into the design of his course, and it soon attracted students to St Paul's from ELCA congregations in the area. In turn this brought Thomas Reuther into contact with ELCA pastors like Elmore Harms at Burrumbuttock with whom he developed positive and co-operative relations. Through such associations he found himself on some occasions publicly defending the integrity of ELCA pastors among his UELCA colleagues. At a district level he served on committees for Sunday schools and finance as well as being elected as secretary for the district church. President of the New South Wales UELCA was Pastor Bruno Muetzelfeldt, the son of Karl Muetzelfeldt from Immanuel Seminary. Pastors conferences were relaxing and friendly times in this small district of the UELCA with only eight to ten clergy. During his time at Walla Walla Thomas Reuther met his future wife, Una Habermann, a local Lutheran girl who also taught at St Paul's, and they were married in December 1957. Their first two daughters arrived during their time at Walla Walla, Robyn born in 1960, and Kay born in 1962. A third daughter, Marcia, was born in 1964 after they had moved to South Australia.⁸

The Colleges

After eight hectic years at St Paul's, Thomas Reuther accepted a call into a congregational ministry. In 1963 the family moved to the Appila parish in country South Australia which included congregations in Caltowie and Willowie. Given his years of experience at St Paul's it was not surprising that he was soon elected to the governing council of Immanuel, the UELCA college, in Adelaide. At this stage in its history, after inhabiting three different campuses, the college was settling down at its fourth and permanent site on broadacres at Camden. It had moved into a new campus there in 1957, the same year that Wilfred Schneider, the founding headmaster of St Peters Lutheran College in Brisbane, had returned to Immanuel, with its enrolment of 219 students, as its principal. It was the beginning of an unsettled period for the college as it established itself on a new campus and adjusted to new leadership. Wilfred Schneider only stayed for one year. The dearth of a headmaster's residence on the new campus meant that the Schneiders lived in the sick bay of the boys dormitories. It was an intolerable situation, especially for the headmaster's wife, and Wilfred Schneider, despite the pleadings of board of management leaders, resigned his position. He was replaced by Werner Hebart who had been the founding headmaster of St Paul's at Walla Walla. He only

stayed for two years. A highly strung man, he could be an erudite and brilliant English and German teacher in the classroom, but his style of leadership which featured fierce disciplinary actions on student miscreants, counterbalanced by emotional addresses about God's love in chapel, soon alienated many members of the staff and student body. The board had no option but to replace him. Their next choice was Dr Erich Meier who was also recruited from St Paul's in NSW where he had been a teacher in agriculture. He took over at Immanuel in 1960 and was to stay there for the next twelve years. A conservative and steady personality he had a settling influence on the college, especially during the culturally turbulent sixties and early seventies. It was during the Meier years that Immanuel opened its gates to a broader range of students. Although the college board had adopted a policy of limiting the number of non-Lutheran enrolments in 1957, a few years later their numbers had risen from twenty to sixty-four. And casting a huge shadow over Immanuel College from 1943 to 1971 was the dominating figure of Pastor TG Obst, the chair of its governing body. Frugal and dedicated, he played an influential role in most areas of college life, from directing finances to planning the new Camden campus. It was during the Obst era that Thomas Reuther served on the council at Immanuel.⁹

The trend at Immanuel, which started in 1957 when it moved its campus to Camden, was to appoint laymen rather than pastors as college headmasters. In this way it adopted the practice employed by the two other UELCA colleges in Brisbane and Walla Walla. Meanwhile the ELCA colleges in Adelaide, Toowoomba and later at Luther were to maintain the practice of calling pastors to the position of headmaster for some time. Edwin Auricht's last year as a pastor headmaster at Immanuel was 1956.



Thomas Reuther and UELCA President Max Lohe 1966.

At Concordia the last pastor headmaster, Thomas Reuther, finished in 1982. Just as the UELCA colleges were more inclined to appoint lay heads than the ELCA ones, so also they led the trend to enrol non-Lutherans. These two aspects of their operation reflected differing philosophies of Lutheran schooling. The ELCA saw the Lutheran college as an integral part of the church involved in a special ministry of education to its own people. The UELCA was more inclined to see schools as belonging to the secular realm and the church's involvement as a special contribution to society. When Thomas Reuther returned to South Australia he observed the operation of these two approaches at close quarters, first as a member of the governing body at Immanuel, and then at Concordia. In 1966, at the time of the union of the UELCA and ELCA into the one LCA, it was considered sensible to exchange some members of the governing bodies of Immanuel and Concordia. At that juncture Thomas Reuther was moved to the Concordia College council. As a graduate of its namesake in America, he already had an underlying empathy with the school and its ethos. In his mind, despite his UELCA background, Concordia was closer to his ideal of the Christian college than Immanuel was. In 1967, because of the realignments in parish boundaries implemented as a result of the church union, Thomas Reuther accepted a call to the newly formed Coonalpyn parish in South Australia which included congregations at Meningie and Tintinara. The trip to Adelaide for college council meetings at Concordia was long and tiring and after a period he had to resign.¹⁰

It came as a bit of a shock for Thomas Reuther now focused on his parish work when a call came in 1968 to become the headmaster of Concordia College in Adelaide. Of course he had taught in a Lutheran college, and his membership of the college council at Concordia had made him known to its other members. The process started with a contact from his fellow student from St. Louis, Pastor Clem Koch, to attend a joint convocation of the Concordia College council and the council of the SA district. On attendance he was thoroughly grilled for a couple of hours, without much explanation, on matters pertaining to Lutheran education, and then he went home again. It was a significant decision for the community of Concordia which had been the principal education institution of the ELCA since 1890, and which had a long tradition and a network of committed old scholars, to consider a former UELCA pastor becoming its new head. It was also a proactive decision in support of the ideal of a united church. So the call was offered to Thomas Reuther. He accepted. Concordia had been his choice, rather than Immanuel which he himself had attended, for the education of his own children because he considered it to have closer ties with the church. It happened very suddenly. At the end of April, the previous head, Pastor Elmore Leske, announced his decision to take up a position as preceptor of Westfield House at Cambridge University in England, at the end of July the Leske family set sail for England and in the middle of August Thomas Reuther was installed as headmaster. For the last term of that year he spent half of each week as parish pastor at Coonalpyn, and half the week as headmaster of Concordia. It was a relief when the family moved to Adelaide in December and he could concentrate on just being a headmaster.¹¹

Thomas Reuther served as the headmaster of Concordia College in Adelaide from 1968 to 1982. One of the first necessities that he faced was to establish his authority and credibility in the college. As a former UELCA pastor with no formal educational

qualifications he was confronted with two immediate challenges: to convince the Concordia community that, as somewhat of an outsider, he was an acceptable choice as leader, as well as to improve his own formal qualifications for the job. He felt the pressure from some fellow pastors to equip himself as an educator and undertook an external masters degree in educational administration with the New England University at Armidale in New South Wales. He completed it in 1976. He also began to establish himself in the wider educational community. He was invited to serve on the Medlin Committee which advised the state Minister of Education, and also became a South Australian representative on the Commonwealth Planning and Finance Committee for education under the federal government. Within the church he served on the national education committee of the church, the Board for Lutheran Schools (BLS), latterly as its chairman. So he established himself in his new position. It was a period of considerable growth and change as Concordia moved from being a small Lutheran college serving its mother church to a city school with a growing reputation in the wider community. Enrolments moved from 271 students to 474 in these years while at the same time boarding numbers gradually diminished.¹²

Other challenges in Thomas Reuther's Concordia years included staffing. In a growing school it was difficult to find suitable teachers, especially when the college's staff members were not paid at parity with colleagues in the state system, and women still attracted only eighty percent of a full male church salary. In the first six months of his headship Thomas Reuther lost one of his deputies, the Concordia stalwart Victor Georg, who died of complications following a heart attack. Remaining with the staff, however, were two teachers who were to make a huge contribution to the school and its standing in the church, David Schubert (English and mathematics) and Peter Schmidt (music) who, beside their classroom acumen, through their work on liturgies and church music were to make Concordia a centre for worship excellence which flowed



Concordia Principals: Elmore Leske, Henry Hamann, Thomas Reuther.

over into the wider church. An innovative media studies program was also introduced at Concordia during the Reuther years. The college was becoming cramped for room. There was less demand for boarding and so other means of recruiting students were necessary, including a promotional film as well as new bus services from Gawler and the Adelaide Hills. Very helpful, of course, was the government funding which started to become available by the end of the 1960s. Thomas Reuther wanted to keep Concordia close to the church. He would have appreciated more churchly interaction with colleague heads of the other five Australian Lutheran colleges but he sensed that they guarded their schools and their independence like feudal warlords. He, alone of all Lutheran college heads during this era, maintained his pastor's salary, while they gradually moved to more rewarding rates of pay.¹³

Both Immanuel and Concordia Colleges celebrated their centenaries in the 1990s. While maintaining their individually unique traditions, in some ways, they grew closer to developing similar traits. They continued to specialise in co-educational secondary schooling. By 1999 both colleges had lay principals and enrolled larger numbers of non-Lutherans. At Immanuel Erich Meier was replaced by Rob Paterson, a Queensland born past student, from 1973 to 1983. He was wider in his outlook than his predecessor and broadened the college's profile and reputation as an independent school in the community. He introduced an outdoor education program and a house pastoral care system to Immanuel. He also cultivated closer relationships with students and worked on developing the leadership skills of his senior class members. He was succeeded by Noel Volk who also made a significant contribution to the development of the college during his regime which lasted from 1984 to 1996. He brought an emphasis on academic excellence and a quality performing arts program. Under his leadership the music department was rebuilt, and a cutting edge technology centre established. At Concordia, after Thomas Reuther left at the end of 1982, there followed an extended period of unsettledness which featured uneasy relations between heads and the council which, by the end of the century was settling into a more stable situation. During the last three decades of the twentieth century both colleges tended to recruit their principals from among their past students. At Immanuel, besides Rob Paterson (73-83) there were Graham Ottens (97-98) and Neville Highett (99-02), while at Concordia there were John Zweck (83-88) and Ken Bartel (96-06).¹⁴

Between 1985 and 1998 five new Lutheran colleges were established in South Australia. As a result of the groundwork done by Thomas Reuther, Faith Lutheran Secondary School opened in 1985. Established at Tanunda in the heart of the Barossa Valley with its large population of Lutherans, it was the logical place to start another Lutheran college. It recruited Brian Eckermann from Immanuel College as its founding principal. He was also to serve for some years as the chair of the BLS. In contrast to Faith, the next Lutheran secondary school established in South Australia was Cornerstone College at Mt. Barker in the Adelaide Hills. It had started as an ecumenical effort by Christians in the area, but on the initiative of Lutherans in the leadership team at Concordia, the LCA gradually took over the project. In 1990 it opened with forty-nine students under the headship of Malcolm Wegener whose experience as a Lutheran school leader in Victoria in conjunction with his gregarious personality made him an ideal choice as a principal in a multi-denominational context. In 1995 another Lutheran college was

established south of Adelaide on some land which belonged to a Lutheran camp called Tatachilla. It started with sixty-seven students under the leadership of Richard Bruss, who was recruited from the middle management team at Concordia. In 1997 the Lutheran primary school at Murray Bridge was extended to the secondary years and became Unity College with Neville Grieger from Faith in the Barossa as its eventual head. One year later Endeavour College in northern Adelaide grew out of a demand for Lutheran secondary schooling from families associated with the church's primary schools at Wynn Vale, Para Vista and Blair Athol. Sited next to, and cultivating special ties with, the University of South Australia at Mawson Lakes, its first principal was Michael Leske who also had a Faith background. In this context of a greater variety of Lutheran colleges offering secondary education in South Australia, Concordia and Immanuel were no longer the only options for families seeking such an education for their progeny. Consequently the two colleges could become just another couple of choices in a larger suite of offerings. For Lutherans with a sense of history, however, the values and traditions they had nurtured for over a century continued to give them a special distinction.¹⁵

The National Director

In 1919, just after World War I when the Lutheran schooling movement in Australia was at its lowest ebb, there were a dozen primary schools in existence, ten of them in western Victoria and two of them in the NSW Riverina. There were also two secondary colleges in South Australia to make a total of fourteen. In 1969, just at the time when the federal government was beginning to ramp up its injections of funding into the independent school system in Australia, the LCA was operating twenty-eight schools and colleges in Australia. At that time there were six colleges offering a secondary education, and twenty-two primary schools. Two of the colleges were in Queensland, two in South Australia and one each in Victoria and New South Wales. Twelve of the primary schools were in South Australia, seven were in Victoria, two in New South Wales and one in Queensland. In the period from 1969 to 1999, the three decades of growing government funding to independent schools, fifty-nine new Lutheran schools appeared on the Australian landscape. On average two new Lutheran schools started every year over this period. These new learning institutions consisted of fifteen colleges offering secondary education, as well as forty-four primary schools. In Queensland, where there was the greatest growth, eight colleges and fifteen primary schools were added. In South Australia four new colleges and sixteen primary schools appeared. In Victoria there was one new college and seven primary schools which started in this period. The Northern Territory took responsibility for one college and three primary schools, Western Australia provided a new college, and two new primary schools were established in New South Wales and one in Tasmania. Government funding, accompanied by a popular demand for private schooling, had instigated a huge growth spurt of Lutheran schools which reached its peak in the 1980s but continued to the end of the century. The high point was reached in 1982 when eleven Lutheran schools were started in the same year. This was phenomenal growth. It put a great deal of pressure on the financial and human resources of the church. In the five years from 1978 to 1982, no less than twenty-five new Lutheran colleges and primary schools

got under way. It was in this context that a decision was made to establish greater oversight of, and provide more direction to, this burgeoning school system at both regional and national levels.

The rapid growth of Lutheran schools was never directly financed by the church. The main fuel driving the boom was government funding in the form of a constant flow of recurrent and capital grants. However, the Lutherans also had a longstanding facility for helping themselves. Way back in the 1920s an ELSA laymen called Ben Koch had been impressed with the way laymen of the Missouri Synod in the USA had established a financial facility to enable Lutherans to use their money in support of the church. So the Lutheran Layman's League (LLL) in Australia was born. In the early years it was slow to take hold, and it was not until the 1950s that it really began to establish widespread support. The main principle was that church members could lodge money with the LLL, which in turn could be loaned out for church projects at low rates of interest. For many years supporters received four and a half percent on deposits which could then be borrowed at five percent. After its formation in 1966 the LCA continued with the LLL and it became a mainstream Australian Lutheran institution. Its first project back in the 1920s had been to accumulate £20 000 (pounds) to support the building program at Concordia College in Adelaide, and the funding of school capital projects continued to be its largest area of activity, especially in the boom years from 1970 onwards. For instance, \$300 000 was provided as bridging finance when the LTC facility moved to North Adelaide in 1974. In 1991, of the thirty-nine million dollars loaned out by the LLL, over seventeen million, by far the largest allocation, had been loaned to schools. The facility continued to grow. By 1996 its loans to church projects had reached almost eighty-five million dollars. With so much LLL money tied up in Lutheran schools this was another reason for the church to establish, through a national directorate, a more active oversight and co-ordination of their activities.¹⁶

Already in the nineteenth century there were suggestions among Lutheran school leaders that a board of education should be set up, and that a school inspector should be appointed, in order to keep oversight of the schools on behalf of the church. Committees with responsibility for the schools were added in the next century. Up until 1966 both Lutheran synods in Australia operated school committees at district and national levels, but no full time officers were employed to act on their behalf. When the LCA came into being in 1967, it created two major Lutheran school boards at the national level, one for primary, and one for secondary education. These met regularly with representatives from the main districts of the church, and managed the affairs pertaining to schools chiefly through the voluntary services of their members. Typical of this was the work of people like Ophie Renner and John Zweck who served co-ordination and liaison roles for the staffing of Lutheran schools at the same time as they worked full-time in other positions. In response to the rapid growth in Lutheran schooling, however, the LCA at its general synod held in 1981 at Indooroopilly in Queensland agreed to establish a single Board for Lutheran Schools (BLS) to commence in 1982. The BLS was also given the authority to appoint a full-time executive officer. Things moved quickly. When the BLS met for the first time in June 1982, Thomas Reuther had already accepted the position as its national officer for an inaugural term of three years. The system he now presided over was of considerable proportions. In

1984 the BLS reported to general synod for the first time, indicating that the school system currently consisted of sixty-two schools with a combined enrolment of 10 564 students.¹⁷

Church leaders, as well as many church members, were alarmed at the rapid growth of Lutheran schools. It had not been instigated by a deliberate policy implemented by synodical leaders but was, in essence, a grass roots movement originating among the congregations and people of the church. In some cases it developed in response to demands from outside the LCA. It seemed like undisciplined growth which was not sustainable, given the church's financial and human resource capabilities. The appointment of a national officer had been the result, not of a general church initiative, but of an investigation by schooling representatives which presented a report to the church. The LCA, in synod, agreed on the understanding that schools would fund this office through a levy system. The first call went to John Zweck at LTC. When he declined, Thomas Reuther was given the challenge and decided to take it up. It set off an interesting chair swapping exercise. Thomas Reuther accepted the position of director which John Zweck had declined. John Zweck then took over the headship of Concordia College and the chair of the BLS which Thomas Reuther left vacant. The new job as director was quite challenging. It was not just a matter of fitting into a physical office, but also of creating a space in the minds of church leaders so that they could take into account this growing area of church activity. The LCA leadership understood a need for the role, but found it difficult to adjust to the presence of a schools person in their midst. Thomas Reuther had to establish his office at LCA headquarters in O'Connell Street in North Adelaide, relegated to a back room on the ground floor which had once been a hotel scullery, one storey down from the main church offices on the first floor. He began to assert himself in little ways. He insisted on getting the model of typewriter he required, and took some time to establish the case for his own photocopier which, when it was installed, he had to share with people from other departments who found it very useful. At first this new department in the church was seen as something which might be wasteful of scant church resources. As it turned out, the church gradually gained great benefits from its presence. It modeled sound administrative and office practices, it introduced the latest technology to church headquarters, and its work in establishing adequate sick and long service leave arrangements for teachers overflowed into the church to the benefit of pastors.¹⁸

In 1983 Thomas Reuther became the first national director for Lutheran Schools in Australia, a position he was to fill until his appointment concluded in 1994. Even before taking up the new position he had been involved in broader state and national issues. For instance, he had already conducted a feasibility study for the new college in the Barossa Valley, Faith Lutheran Secondary School. His efforts resulted in a generous Commonwealth capital grant for the establishment of the school. However, as the director his work started in very modest fashion with a limited budget and an office he shared with someone else. His equipment consisted of one typewriter. The BLS, to which he was responsible, only met a couple of times a year. During his time in office he never achieved any increase in his staff except that his secretary became full time. His position was titled director *for* Lutheran schools, not director *of* Lutheran schools, which made it more of a consultative than a managerial role. The job was

partly a public relations one where the director had to represent Lutheran schools to the public, government and other school systems; partly administrative in that the director had to develop national systems for sick leave and long service; partly policy writing in that the director had to produce model documents for school boards and councils; partly trouble shooting in that the director had to sort out conflicts between school principals, their boards, their pastors, and even pastors' wives; partly a human resources job as the director devised programs for recruiting staff and grooming future principals; partly a liaison position between the schools and the church and its leaders; partly the role of delegate at meetings and conferences; partly serving as a growth manager as Lutheran schools continued to multiply and get bigger. The work was mainly reactive; the church did not lead growth but came to terms with it, responded to needs rather than set directions.¹⁹

During the period of Thomas Reuther's tenure as national director the staffing of Lutheran schools remained a major concern. This was particularly true in the primary sector where the call system and church award salaries were still paid until phased out in 1989. Each year there were LTC graduates to be allocated to the schools, and other staff needs met. In 1985, for instance, sixty-four new teachers were appointed to Lutheran schools in Australia. Eleven of these were LTC graduates, seventeen were graduates from other tertiary institutions, twenty-three were teachers returning to work from retirement or leave, and thirteen were recruited from other school systems. In addition to this, forty-two teachers had transferred within the system. Those from outside the system, or without Lutheran formation at training level, had to be orientated. There was the added concern of finding suitable principals for Lutheran schools. Rapid growth meant rapid promotion. Some principals were ill-prepared for the new responsibilities thrust upon them. Lutheran principals, when compared to their counterparts in other systems, were characterised by lower levels of qualifications and experience. One of Thomas Reuther's first initiatives was to offer training for this growing group of leaders whose qualifications for the job were often quite modest. He put them through some gruelling courses he devised. With the explosion of schools a frontier mentality existed in many situations with inexperienced congregations, governing bodies, pastors and principals getting into all sorts of difficulties. The relationship between the school and the congregation was always an area fraught with problems, and when pastors and principals fell out, the results for the local Lutheran community could be toxic. In the eleven years of Thomas Reuther's oversight of Lutheran schooling, he was involved in the movement of nineteen Lutheran principals from positions where things had gone awry.²⁰

Thomas Reuther became the national director for Lutheran schools the year he turned fifty-four. He stepped down the year he turned sixty-five. This role occupied his twilight years as a Lutheran educator. It also reflected how the BLS saw the role. It was for an elder statesman, wise enough to give counsel, sort out the main problems, keep a churchly eye on things, act as a symbolic leader of the school system, write the necessary policies and arrange the financial schemes. However, the national office was not so much an engine room, as it was an observation deck. Thomas Reuther brought great energy and purpose to this pioneering role. After being a college headmaster used to regular meetings with a governing body and being surrounded by colleagues and support staff, this new position was lonely and only minimally supported. It was

as if the church did not know what to do about its schools, but hoped the director did. Meanwhile, they could not afford to provide him with more than the basics. Thomas Reuther did what he could in his new job, a step at a time. He found it necessary to spend considerable time away from the office, up to fifteen weeks a year. Part of this effort was expended in Canberra where Thomas Reuther forged relationships with leaders of other independent school systems in order to establish a Lutheran profile in the nation's capital. For a period he was able to attend meetings of the national Independent Schools Board. A lot of the Lutheran schooling action was in Queensland, and in Victoria where the south-east region did not have its own support structures in place for a while. New regional directorates for Lutheran schools in Queensland and South Australia were put in place at about the same time as the national office, so demarcations had to be established and there was the inevitable tendency for parochial interests to assert themselves.²¹

During his time as the national officer Thomas Reuther worked with a number of regional directors. During the 1980s three directorates for Lutheran schooling emerged which were based in Adelaide, Brisbane and Melbourne. Each one was headed by a full-time officer working under the supervision of a district committee. In South Australia primary schools had been organised into a Lutheran Schools Association (LSA) as early as 1976. Between 1993 and 2001 the colleges in the region joined it as well. Parallel to the LSA there were also two separate committees with responsibilities for primary and secondary education way up into the nineties. By 1999 there were still two major committees with responsibilities for schools in South Australia, a Lutheran Education Council and a Lutheran Schools Association, and these two were to amalgamate in 2001. The first full time Director for Lutheran Schools in SA was Kevin Oster who served in that position from 1983 to 1992. An experienced primary principal, he had served in Lutheran schools in three different states and was in the final years of his service. With few resources and little support, his main job during a period of rapid school growth was mainly reactive, finding staff for the schools and handling the crises which emerged in a system going through a growth spurt. In 1993 he was replaced by Barry Kahl, another experienced primary school principal whose service, except for one short stint in Queensland in the late seventies, had been in South Australia. He was able to consolidate the department which was to later take responsibility for schools in the Northern Territory and Western Australia as well. The more proactive approach of his regime was echoed in the makeup of his office staff in 1999 where, besides himself, there were an administrative officer and professional development co-ordinator as well as a full-time secretary. The demarcation between regional and national responsibilities was sometimes blurred, most commonly in South Australia where the respective directors' offices were in close proximity. The national director had no authority over his counterparts in the regions who, while they attended the meetings of the BLS, were answerable to their local committees. Naturally some tensions arose from this situation. On the other hand the various directors were seasoned educators who understood the need to work in cohesion.²²

In Queensland there had been a single entity responsible for schools since the 1970s and by the end of that decade it was called the Education Committee. It had the demanding duty of overseeing the school boom which was particularly pronounced in this northern

state. Under the leadership of Lutheran education stalwarts like Maurice Schuller and Adrienne Jericho, it encouraged and advised, even if it had not initiated, the movement to establish new schools. As Lutheran schools proliferated, a separate Schools Committee was formed under the chairmanship of Robin Kleinschmidt. By 1983 it had appointed Terry Armstrong as its full-time Schools Officer. A former student of St Peters Lutheran College with a business background he played a troubleshooting role in the early days of this new department. He served for three years before moving to Victoria in 1986 to establish a similar office for the south east. In Queensland it took some time to establish this new schools committee. To counter fears that schools would lose their independence under central control, it was made quite clear that the committee and its officer would be put in place as a support facility, but not as a control body. From 1986 until the end of the century the director for Lutheran schools in Queensland was Ken Albinger. He had been one of those Lutherans who had been recruited from the USA during the seventies to cope with the acute shortage of teachers in Australia. He had served as principal of various Lutheran schools in Queensland and South Australia before taking on the role of director in Queensland. Together with a strong personality he brought to the task an astute understanding of Lutheran educational philosophy and a feel for policy and organisation. Queensland, where things were always done a bit differently, and where there was so much development activity, provided him with a bailiwick which extended his creative talents in administration as well as his ability to articulate new paradigms to southern colleagues in more traditional settings. By 1999 his office in Brisbane also included several other officers with responsibilities for business management, early childhood learning, education and workplace relations as well as three administrative assistants.²³

Victoria, which in 1919 had been the leading state for Lutheran schooling, by 1999, had reverted to third place behind Queensland and South Australia. Nevertheless, the region was well served by two quality directors in the years before the end of the century. After Terry Armstrong had spent a year in Victoria doing the groundwork, Bob Bartram, whose background was as a senior officer in the RAAF, brought his special talents to the job and served as the south eastern region's director for Lutheran schools from 1987 until 1993. His experience in administration and organisation coupled with a confident, gregarious personality suited the situation well. He visited the schools, most of which were in regional centres, and integrated a diverse and scattered group of education providers into a cohesive system. He helped them develop a distinctive profile in the education community and gave them a sense of credibility. He supported principals by visiting them and sharing their problems, while at the same time insisting on high standards in professional presentation and conduct. He was replaced in 1994 by Alan Wiebusch who came from a primary teaching background and with considerable experience as a principal. He took over a school system under the oversight of a Council of Lutheran Schools (CLS) which held its first meeting in February 1994 and conducted its first Schools Assembly in November that same year. The director, in consultation with these bodies, took on a raft of issues pertaining to the schools: principal-council relationships, industrial matters, funding and budgets, establishing new schools, organising conferences, conducting professional

development and putting in place a safe place policy. Good Shepherd College, which had been established at Hamilton in 1981, was a continuing area of preoccupation as it strove to establish and consolidate itself in difficult circumstances. By 1999 the Lutheran Education South East Region (LESER) office was responsible for schools in New South Wales and Tasmania as well as Victoria. Its headquarters were occupied by the director whose staff included a business manager as well as secretarial assistance.²⁴

When he stepped down from his role as national director at the end of 1993 Thomas Reuther was replaced by Adrienne Jericho. Born in South Australia and raised at Wharminda on Eyre Peninsula, Adrienne Jericho attended Concordia College in Adelaide before training as a Lutheran teacher and graduating as the first secondary product from LTC in 1969. He taught at Concordia in Toowoomba and St Peters in Brisbane before becoming the founding principal of Immanuel Lutheran College in Maroochydore at the tender age of thirty-three. After thirteen years as a principal he was called to fill the position of national director vacated by Thomas Reuther. He assumed the role with relish and vision, and by 1999 was well ensconced in the position and coming to terms with the major issues facing the Lutheran school system in Australia. Although much of his effective work came to fruition in the first decade of the next century, during the nineties the foundations were laid. Aware that the distinctive character of Lutheran schools depended on strong links with the church, he forged a close relationship with the president of the LCA, Lance Steicke. He also sought to continue the work of creating a clear profile for the Lutheran sector in the national political and educational arenas, so he cultivated connections with Fergus Thomson of the National Council of Independent Schools of Australia (NCISA), Peter Crimmins of the Australian Association of Christian Schools (AACS) and John Hammond of

the Adventist schools in order to gain greater access to the federal government. He instigated a principals' appraisal scheme, and with Noel Volk, produced a governance handbook. He started establishing relations with Lutheran school leaders in the USA and PNG. A constant agenda item was the input into the training of Lutheran teachers through the courses offered at Luther Seminary. Schemes for long service and sick leave needed to be finalised as well. Perhaps the crowning achievement of his tenure in the nineties was the generation of the LIFE Christian Studies curriculum for Lutheran schools. There was also the inaugural Australian Conference on Lutheran Education (ACLE) in 1999 which was organised as a national initiative. By 1999 the office of the



Adrienne Jericho

national director had increased its staff to include a national education officer as well as a schools liaison position plus administrative assistant.²⁵

Latter Days

Thomas Reuther's service in the church led him to a long involvement with Lutheran schools. It was not a road he had chosen so much as one that had beckoned him. His first role as a chaplain in NSW was selected for him, and together with his family background and student years in the USA, branded him as a schools person. As a result he was a natural choice as a governance member for Lutheran schools which role, in turn, pushed him closer to the position of college principal he later filled. Again, that experience fitted him well for the directorship he accepted toward the end of his working life. In all this his years as a church servant mirrored the experience of the LCA itself which entered the twentieth century with a handful of schools left over from the previous one, and then watched them grow in later years to prosperous proportions. This happened almost accidentally for the church, not as the result of deliberate policy, but because of the initiatives of its members, plus broader societal pressures and government policies. By the end of the century the church found itself with a huge responsibility for schools. And gave them to Thomas Reuther to look after.

Thomas Reuther was nearing the retirement age of sixty-five when he concluded his service as National Director for Lutheran Schools. Still being fit and relatively healthy he accepted the call to become the chaplain at Fullarton Lutheran Homes and began serving there in 1994. He spent over ten years in this role, as well as taking an executive



Two National Directors - Thomas Reuther and Stephen Rudolph.

position on its board of directors, and even serving as managing director for a short period. In July 2004, at the age of seventy-five years, he finally retired from full-time service in the church, although he continued to fill roles on a casual basis into his eighties. He and his wife Una maintained residence in the house in the Adelaide suburb of Myrtle Bank which they had occupied from the days when he had been a principal. Their lives were saddened by the loss of their daughter Kay to cancer in 2009.²⁶

Back in 1988 he had been made a Fellow of the Australian College of Education. In the July 2006 Queen's Birthday Honours list Thomas Reuther was also awarded the Medal of the Order of Australia for service to the LCA in education and aged care. It was a fitting tribute.²⁷

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- 11 Thomas Reuther Personal Papers; *Veteran Voices*, p. 24.
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- 19 Thomas Reuther Personal Papers.
- 20 National Director's Report to BLS, 1986.
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- 23 *Lutheran Church Yearbook*, 1975, 1979, 1984, 1999; *Veteran Voices*, pp. 13, 25.
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CHAPTER 10

Conclusion: The Way Ahead

“You will show me the path that leads to life.” Psalms 16: 11

The road taken by Lutheran schooling in Australia after World War I maintained a constant direction. There were divergences and detours along the way, and what was once a country road became a major highway, but at the end of the twentieth century its destination remained basically unchanged. Lutheran schools in 1999 were just as strongly connected to the church as they were in 1919. At their core they continued to embrace the Christian gospel as their main source of inspiration. Equipping students for a rich and full life in church and in society remained their central purpose. But much had also changed. Out of a period of postwar uncertainty there emerged a slow and faltering period of re-establishment and consolidation. Before the formation of the Lutheran Church of Australia (LCA) in 1966 there had really been two roads with slightly different surfaces running parallel to one another. After a period of adjustment following church union the two became one. Their convergence coincided with the beginning of an era of expansion. They grew in size and number and broadened their purposes and spread to new regions. Although, by the end of the century, they were still, at heart, very much the same, they also displayed a variety of differences. Simplicity had given way to complexity. Once detached from mainstream society, they had moved to a closer involvement. More prosperous than ever they were also bothered by more questions about their future. Out of the flux of changing times there arose new leaders who explored the terrain and directed others on the way ahead. This book, through an examination of the lives of some of these twentieth century pathfinders in Australian Lutheran schooling, has used their stories to illustrate what was happening on the larger journey.

In the wake of World War I, Lutheran schooling in Australia was in a state of demise. The remnant of an earlier system had survived in a couple of southern pockets, but its future was precarious. The United Evangelical Lutheran Church in Australia (UELCA) had only one school left. At this stage it lacked the will and conviction to re-establish a school system. In contrast the Evangelical Lutheran Synod in Australia (ELSA) maintained a much stronger school tradition. In large part this was due to its close fellowship with the Lutheran Church Missouri Synod in the USA. By 1919 the Missouri Synod had taken a strong hold on the ELSA, providing it with pastors for its parishes,

theological teachers for its seminary and presidents for its church. The Missouri Synod had a rich tradition of Lutheran schooling which it also passed on to its Australian counterpart. Under this influence the ELSA not only maintained its schools, mainly in Victoria, which had survived the war years, but also looked to re-opening, at the first opportunity, those schools in South Australia which had been closed down during the war. The style of Christian schooling advocated by the Missouri approach had two major emphases. At primary level the schools were seen as an integral agency of the local congregation assisting parents in nurturing their children in the Christian faith. At a higher level of education, secondary and tertiary institutions were established to recruit and train the next generation of pastors and teachers for the church. So it was in this context that Henry Hamann came to Australia from the USA in the 1920s to take a leading role in the schooling program operated by the ELSA. The style and content of Lutheran schooling he and others of the period espoused had a lot in common with nineteenth century traditions. At primary level the Bible and the catechism were the main tools for religious teaching, and the rest of the curriculum remained narrow and solid. There was a focus on a thorough confirmation instruction in the college as well as a general curriculum biased towards the classics and humanities to prepare students for theological studies at a tertiary level. One change was that under Missouri influence these ELSA schools used English as their main language of instruction. Overall the major legacy of the Missouri influence on the ELSA was the preservation and promotion of Lutheran schools. Missouri institutions in the USA also provided the major training ground for ELSA theologians. On the downside the American involvement in the ELSA was the chief source of its continuing antipathy towards an amalgamation with the UELCA.

For the UELCA the interwar period was characterised by a diminished interest in Lutheran schooling. This was evident in the two decades of dearth in the provision of congregational schools. Immanuel College in Adelaide supplied its only educational institution up until 1936. The UELCA maintained a strong German orientation during this period, and the hostility to that language and culture generated by the war was part of the impediment. Immanuel College continued to be supported, partly because of its traditional role in providing solid confirmation instruction, as well as its preparation for the training of pastors and teachers. Its seminary section, however, remained fairly lacklustre and pedestrian during this era. Although, in the early years after World War I, aspiring theologians in the UELCA had to go to America for further theological studies, there lingered a strong preference for a German postgraduate exposure. In fact, at Immanuel Seminary, considerable teaching was still conducted in the German language up until the 1940s. Meanwhile, despite proclivities to the contrary, there remained in some sections of the UELCA a desire to revive its congregational day schools. This movement gained impetus with the arrival of Karl Muetzelfeldt at Immanuel in the mid-thirties. His advocacy of Lutheran schools at synodical level, as well as his provision of a teachers' class at the seminary, resulted in a resurgence of support for Lutheran primary schools which began to re-emerge in UELCA congregations from 1936 onwards. His belief that congregational schools were not an optional but a necessary agency for Lutheran congregations flew in the face of the thinking of some UELCA pastors and leaders, but it attracted its adherents as

well. His presence, later complemented by a fresh crop of German educated Lutheran theologians at Immanuel Seminary, boosted standards at that institution as well. The new primary schools emerging in the UELCA as a result of his campaign were similar in style to their ELSA counterparts, with an emphasis on the catechism and the Bible, as well as a strong focus on literacy and numeracy. They were small country schools with one or two teachers serving Lutheran families. This later revival of a Lutheran schooling tradition in the UELCA ensured that, as the two Lutheran synods in Australia made their halting progress towards union in the years following World War II, both of them brought to the marriage table a firm commitment to Lutheran schooling.

In the years that followed World War II the two Lutheran synods in Australia, bolstered by natural increase as well as the influx of European migrants, continued their support for Lutheran congregational schools, albeit predominantly in the south. Some older schools faltered, some new ones struggled to make a start, as both traditions gradually grew and consolidated. Both seminaries provided a gentle but regular trickle of teaching graduates to staff them. A dispersed but committed band who were called by congregational committees for service in the church's schools, these teachers developed a strong sense of Christian vocation, and a tradition of taking an integral role in congregational life. Along with that of the pastor, their office as Lutheran teacher was respected and honoured as they not only taught in the school but played the organ, or conducted the choir or directed the Sunday school. Some of the more gifted ones like Garry Matuschka became prominent in the affairs of the church, and served on regional and national committees. In their schools, which were open to government inspection, they had to establish themselves as competent teachers who could hold their own as practitioners working in the broader curriculum, and able

to be compared to their counterparts in the state schools. As government funding fuelled a Lutheran school boom in the last three decades of the century, Lutheran primary teachers had to cope with the new realities, establishing fresh schools from scratch, building new facilities, forging partnerships with inexperienced congregations and adjusting to larger schools while still trying to maintain the distinctive values and traditions of the past. The new schools were more likely to be urban and to enrol increasing numbers of non-Lutherans, and even non-Christians. And then as human resources in Lutheran circles became strained, the schools gradually employed Christians from other denominations to serve as their teachers. Besides pre-training of staff there was an increasing need for in-



Lutheran Primary Teachers Conference 1972

service. The expansion of the boom years occurred because of popular demand, not because of new policies officially adopted by the church and its educational leaders. Principals in their offices and teachers in the classrooms had to make their own philosophical adaptations to this new reality while on the job. Garry Matuschka and his senior colleagues found their roles changing from serving as the carriers of a steady tradition to being the trail blazers leading their people across a new frontier. By the end of the century the nature of Lutheran schooling in Australia had changed irrevocably.

There was another significant dimension to the eras of re-establishment, consolidation and change affecting Lutheran schools in the twentieth century. If the previous century had been the era of the patriarchs when the Lutheran schooling system had been dominated and largely staffed by men, the next century saw women assuming an increasing role. Early in the period balanced numbers of boys and girls were enrolled in the church's primary schools, but in the colleges offering a higher education females were represented in much fewer numbers. Higher education was mainly for boys who would become the pastors and teachers of the church. There were still few female teachers serving in Lutheran schools, and those who were, worked in subsidiary roles. Except in emergency situations and some tiny one teacher schools, it was expected that the principal would be a man. Women worked at a lesser rate of pay and had to resign their calls once they married. But gradually the exceptions began to emerge. With women constituting a greater percentage of the work force in society generally, the same trend began to assert itself in the church. In the primary sector the pioneering was done by women like Gertrude Jacob who started as an untrained assistant in her father's school, but in a fairly short time gained proper teacher qualifications, and then took over as a principal founding a Lutheran school. As female students in Lutheran secondary colleges gradually caught up in numbers with the boys, there were more of them who equipped themselves to be teachers in the church. Step by step, they staffed schools in greater numbers, achieved equal pay and took up leadership roles. One of the crucial stages in this process was when it became accepted not just for a woman to become a leader in a Lutheran school, but that she assumed leadership over men. By the end of the century women were taking up such principal positions in increasing numbers. In the secondary sector there was a similar development. Concordia and Immanuel Colleges in Adelaide employed some women in the earlier days, but they were usually young and single and taught what would have been considered "less important subjects" at lower rates of pay. By the end of the century this too was changing. It was still rare for a female to be principal of a Lutheran college, but commonly they were represented in senior management teams. By 1999 female principals and teachers were well on the way to establishing an equal footing alongside their male colleagues in Lutheran schools. This was a welcome development because it brought to an end an era of gender discrimination in Lutheran schools. It had major positive consequences for the nature of Lutheran schooling too in that it brought a broader suite of gifts and talents to the schools, as well as increased the pool of human resources at a time of burgeoning growth.

Supplying the demand for suitable teachers for its schools has been a perennial challenge for Lutheran schooling in Australia, even from the earliest times. It is one thing to establish the physical facilities for a school, another to secure the enrolments

and establish the curriculum. But teachers have always been the crucial element. The daily interaction between students and their teachers is the stuff of schooling. If the schools were to accomplish their distinctive aims and objectives, they had to have teachers trained in that philosophy. That is why Lutherans have always been involved in teacher training. From 1919 until 1967 this training was done at Concordia and Immanuel Seminaries. From 1968 until late in the century the responsibility for teacher formation for Lutheran schools was done at Lutheran Teachers College (LTC). The faculty members at this institution, like its founding principal Elvin Janetzki, had the responsibility for developing and teaching a clearly articulated philosophy and methodology of Lutheran schooling. One of the first challenges faced by Lutheran educational leaders, and the LTC faculty, was to reconcile the two different traditions of Lutheran schooling which had emanated from the two synods that existed before union in 1966. This was accomplished over time, but as this matter was settled new realities had to be faced and accommodated. Lutheran schools had originally been places of nurture for the young people of the church. It was generally agreed that this was their central role. As they moved into the mainstream, they began to attract and enrol Christians from other denominations. It was decided that it was acceptable to nurture Christians of other traditions in their faith as well, even though this made instruction in Lutheran doctrine a more complicated process. Non-Christians began to be accepted into the schools too, and this was justified in terms of Lutheran schools becoming agencies of mission outreach for their local churches. Such thinking added another layer of complexity to the catechetical process. Yet another dimension to an already complicated situation was the fact that increasing numbers of teachers for the schools were not Lutheran either, some not even Christian. These new developments required a fresh articulation of Lutheran educational philosophy, underpinned by the church's theology, so that councils and principals and teachers could operate with reason and consistency in their schools. From this point of view the rationale behind Lutheran schooling in Australia at the end of the twentieth century remained a work in progress. The most positive aspect was that church and school leaders had a commitment to maintain a strong relationship.

Nowhere were the new trends in Lutheran schooling more evident than in Queensland. Earlier in the century Lutherans in this northern state did not have their own schools. Two colleges were established just after World War II, but with the influx of government money into the independent system in the last three decades of the century, Queensland became the boom state for Lutheran schooling. Because it lacked a tradition, it was more open to new paradigms. Because its Lutheran population was spread more thinly, it was more dependent on the enrolments of outsiders, and more likely to engage teachers from other churches. Up until the 1980s the only Lutheran colleges in Australia were boarding schools serving the major regions of the church. It was in Queensland that the trend started to establish secondary day schools exclusively serving local populations. Schools and colleges in Queensland tended to be bigger as well. Showing the way in so many areas was St Peters Lutheran College in Brisbane under the leadership of Carson Dron. It became the biggest Lutheran school in Australia and one of the most innovative, pioneering a variety of initiatives in areas ranging from curriculum content to outdoor education. Its senior staff also proved a

recruiting pool for other Lutheran colleges. It was the flagship in a flotilla of northern schools which developed what was called the “Queensland model” of Lutheran schooling. It featured a policy of utilising the schools as mission outreach agencies of the church, of embracing a more ecumenical approach to catechesis and worship, of emphasising academic, cultural and sporting excellence as part of their profiles as a Lutheran schools. By the end of the century Queensland was the biggest state for Lutheran education in Australia, and its system of schools were well established as a major component of the independent sector. The patterns of Lutheran schooling set in Queensland, either through emulation, or through a similar process of development, spread to the more orthodox southern states as well as to Tasmania, the Northern Territory and Western Australia. But nowhere was the boom in Lutheran schooling more rampant than in Queensland which was both the pride and the worry of the burgeoning system.

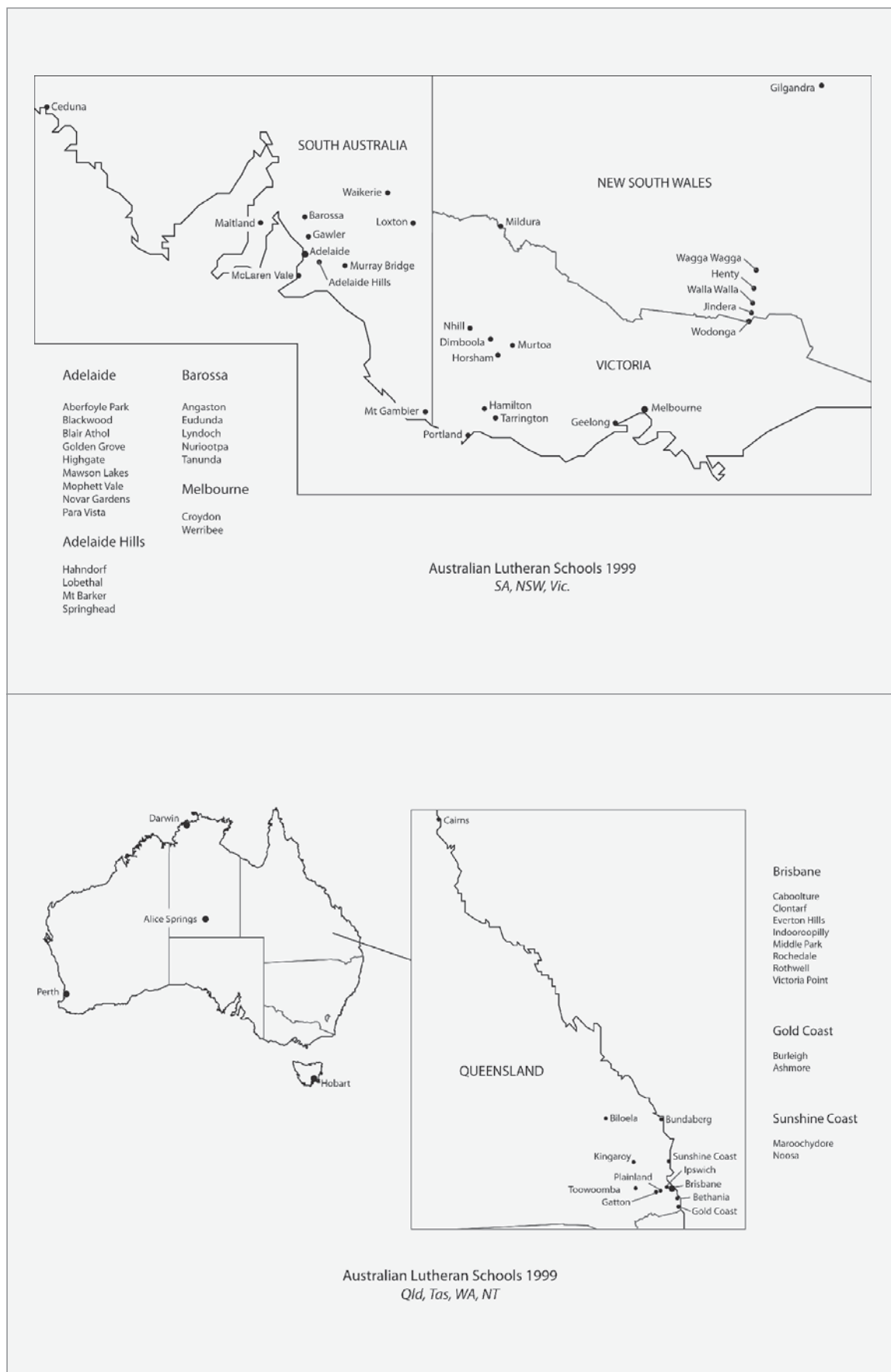
The period from 1970 to 2000 was a challenging and demanding period for people working in Australian Lutheran schools. For those who were emerging as educational leaders within the church the boom provided an increased range of challenges and possibilities. There were more leadership vacancies regularly available for principals, middle managers and regional officers and directors. There was greater room for specialisation in areas like curriculum, pastoral care, special education, administration, human resources and tertiary teaching. Lutheran teachers were becoming better qualified with all sorts of study options open to them, including those within the Lutheran church at home and abroad. The Lutheran system was developing as a national



Lutheran College Principals 1976, Jim Janetzki, John Paech, Rob Paterson, Carson Dron, Peter Nitschke, Tom Reuther with Dr EW Wiebusch and Sakey Donic from PNG.

one, and job possibilities were becoming available all over Australia. Emerging leaders like John Zweck were able to build a career of service which included teaching, research and scholarship, tertiary lecturing, middle management, principalship and an overseas posting. Essential for all this activity and growth was the need to evolve a philosophy of Lutheran schooling to give it purpose, shape and direction. For these hectic latter days of the twentieth century, the rationale for it all followed, rather than led, the process of development. The boom was born out of a grass roots demand for Lutheran schooling fuelled by substantial government capital and recurrent funding to the independent sector. Although there were many Lutheran leaders who adapted well to the rising need, they did so by applying their training in an older tradition to the new paradigms which they were facing. The old question of whether Lutheran schools were primarily performing an ecclesiastic or civic function had been resolved by LTC lecturers like John Zweck who maintained that they operated in a balanced way in both realms. The new debate was about whether Lutheran schools could legitimately move from their traditional role of nurturing the children of Lutheran families in the faith of the fathers to one more focused on outreach into the wider community, with ecumenical and evangelistic intentions. By the end of the century, with increasing numbers of non-Lutheran teachers and students populating Lutheran school communities, and the development of a deserved reputation for excellent schooling in a competitive market place, the rationale for Lutheran schooling was continuing to evolve in new ways of thinking. The fact that it was continuing to apply the church's theology to changing societal and educational realities remained its greatest hope for the future.

There was a period stretching from 1919 until 1969, when Lutheran schools in Australia were a small enough collection of fairly simple enterprises which did not require a great deal of oversight and co-ordination. The greatest responsibility from a broad church perspective was to supply them with suitably trained teachers. Besides that, local committees and councils sufficed to oversee their management. With the proliferation of the schools later in the century, with the growth in size of campuses and facilities, with the impressive amounts of debt that had to be guaranteed, with the emergence of a range of industrial issues, with the accountability to governments which came with state funding, with the implementation of accreditation requirements for a rapidly expanding teaching force, with the urgent demand for policies and constitutions, with the constant need to adjust to changing curriculum requirements and, most important, with the obvious need for the LCA and its districts to establish some oversight over its booming school sector, centralised bureaucracies, the boon and burden of larger administrative systems, became the lot of Lutheran schooling as well. The tension between local and centralised authority over Lutheran schools became a working reality. Congregations have always enjoyed a great deal of autonomy in the LCA, and the schools were cast in a like light. As the first national officer Thomas Reuther was a director *for*, not a director *of* Lutheran schools. He, and the regional directors who were appointed around the same time, took on roles which were more consultative than managerial in nature with no direct authority over the schools. Initially they tended to react to demands from schools to help with staffing, deal with governments and step in to adjudicate in conflicts. Over time these directors and their committees took a more proactive role in controlling the rate of school

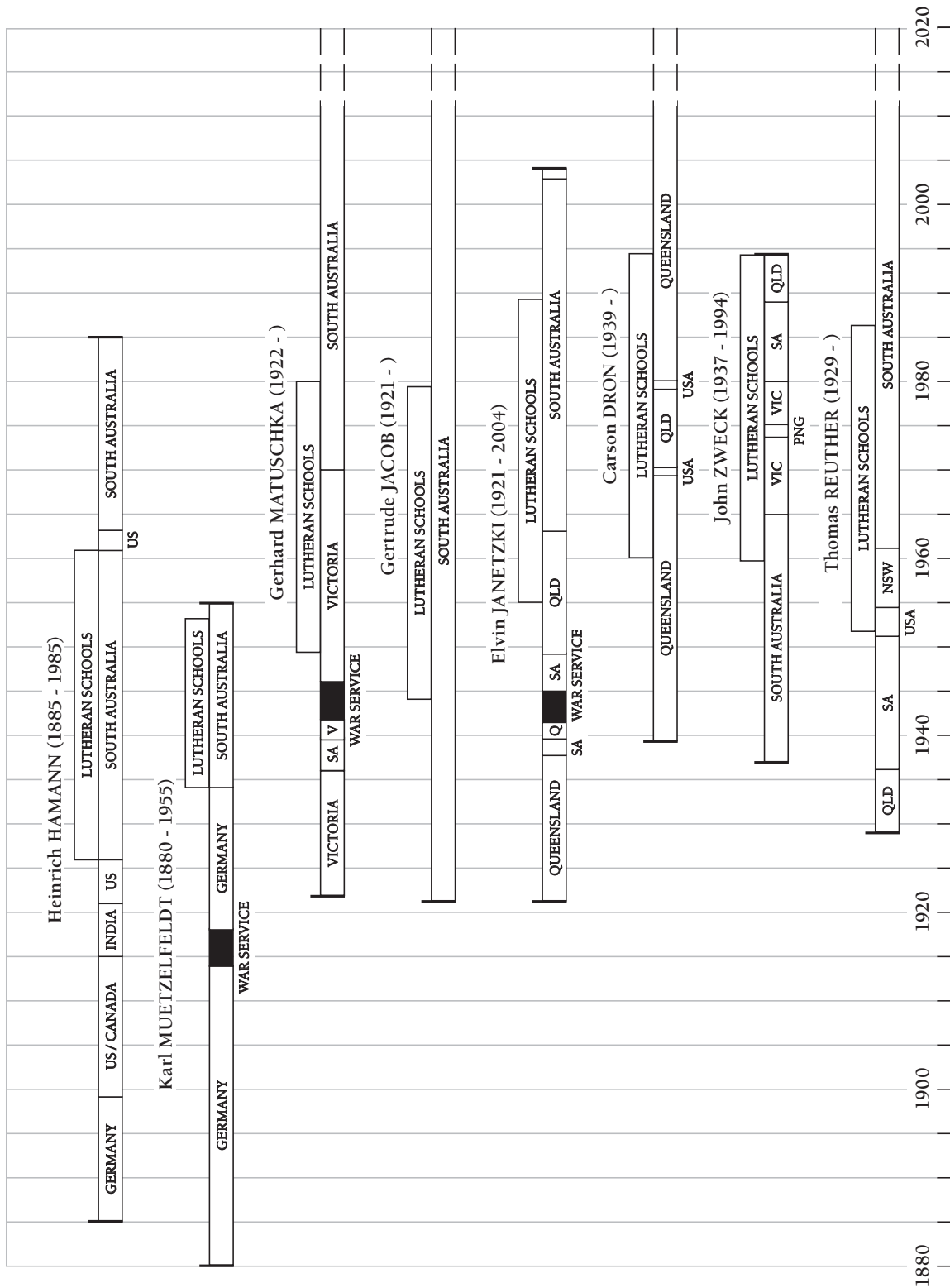


expansion, setting standards and guidelines, developing leaders, accrediting teachers, creating curriculum and professional learning resources. By the end of the century, at both national and regional levels, directors were increasingly gathering around them the small bureaucracies of experts and assistants needed to meet the increasing complexity of demands generated by the system of schools. Lutheran schools were losing some of their local autonomy and replacing it with the security of belonging to a larger system.

While Christians have been told that teaching is an integral function of being church, Christian schools are not commanded in the Bible. Over the centuries formal schooling has been adopted by various societies to train the young, and for over a hundred years now universal schooling has become an essential part of modern society. Since the time of the Reformation, Lutherans have continued to consider schooling to be one of the best means of carrying out the responsibility of nurturing children in their faith for a life in church and in society. And while society in general continues to favour schooling as its main means of education, such agencies will be useful for the work of the church as well. There is no classic model, no single style for a Lutheran school. Lutherans can validly establish schools designed to nurture their own, to reach out to others, or simply to perform a service to the rest of the community, or even, as is often the case, to try to do all these things simultaneously. Lutherans can also legitimately set up schools of excellence for the education of the gifted, or for those with special needs. What will make them genuinely Lutheran will be the extent to which they apply Lutheran theology to the context in which they work so that they can develop a distinctive philosophy. In order to assure that this happens, Lutheran schools of the future will need to continue their symbiotic relationship with the church. As our society enters the third millennium, the future shape of schooling has become increasingly unclear. It is entirely possible that education in the formal setting known as schools might gradually disappear from our society. However, while it is possible, and while the Lutheran Church continues to maintain a schooling system, its viability as a distinctive entity depends on two major principles. The church needs the schools to assist in carrying out its mandate to educate its people and train its leaders. The schools need the church to provide them with the motivation to teach and the theology to guide and direct their efforts. That relationship and those processes are the basic prerequisites which ensure a continuing history of Lutheran schooling, both in Australia and the wider world.

Appendix A

Patriarchal Lives



Appendix B

Australian Lutheran Schools (and Founding Principals) 1919 - 1999

- 1919: Tarrington Lutheran School (Hochkirch), Vic (1854 -) *ELSA*
 Bethlehem Lutheran School, Tabor, Vic (1863 – 1942, 1948 – 1990) *ELSA*
 St John's Lutheran School, Jindera, NSW (1868 -) *ELSA*
 Minyip Lutheran School (Kirchheim), Vic (1875 – 1936) *ELSA*
 CONCORDIA COLLEGE, Adelaide, SA (1890 -) *ELSA*
 St Martin's Lutheran School, Katyl, Vic (1891 – 1940, 1947 – 1958) *ELSA*
 Ni Ni Well Lutheran School, Vic (1893 – 1929) *ELSA*
 Warrayure Lutheran School (Moutajup), Vic (1893 – 1976) *ELSA*
 IMMANUEL COLLEGE, Point Pass, SA (1895 -) *IS*
 Kewell Lutheran School, Vic (1900 – 1959) *ELSA*
 St. John's Lutheran School, Pella, Vic (1902 – 1942) *ELSA*
 Lake Linlithgow Lutheran School (Croxtan East), Vic (1906 - 1942, 1944 - 1947, 1949 - 1953) *ELSA*
 Trungley Hall Lutheran School (Duck Creek), NSW (1907 – 1947) *ELSA*
 Vectis Lutheran School, Vic (1909 – 1975) *ELSA*
- 1925: St John's Lutheran School, Eudunda, SA (1925 -) *ELSA*
Ernst Ziersch
- 1926: South Kilkerran Lutheran School, SA (1926 - 1960) *ELSA*
Oswald Lange
 Trinity Lutheran School, Leeton, NSW (1926 - 1929) *ELSA*
Pastor Rudolph Traeger
- 1928: Lutheran School, Gawler, SA (1928 – 1941) *ELSA*
Herbert Mackenzie
- 1929: Kunden Lutheran School (Carlsruhe), SA (1929 - 1959) *ELSA*
Walter Bittner
- 1930: St Paul's School, Henty, NSW (1930 -) *ELSA*
Frieda Koch
 Lobethal Lutheran School, SA (1930 -) *ELSA*
Albert Brueggemann
- 1931: Spring Head Lutheran School (Mt Torrens), SA (1931 -) *ELSA*
Roy Schueller
- 1935: St Jakobi Lutheran School, Lyndoch, SA (1935 -) *ELSA*
Dora Doecke

- St John's Lutheran School, Cambrai, SA (1935 – 1955) *ELSA*
William Jansen
- 1936: Light's Pass Lutheran School, SA (1936 - 1982) *UELCA*
Friedrich Jacob
- 1938: Tanunda Lutheran School (Langmeil), SA (1938 -) *UELCA*
Ernst Prenzler
 Appila Lutheran School, SA (1938 - 1975) *UELCA*
Dulcie Gehling
 Concordia Lutheran School, Loxton, SA (1938 – 1945) *ELSA*
William Jansen
- 1940: Downfall Creek Lutheran School, Q (1940 – 1956) *UELCA*
Dore Serotzki
- 1945: ST PETER'S LUTHERAN COLLEGE, Indooroopilly, Q (1945 -) *UELCA*
Wilfred Schneider
- 1946: St Michael's Lutheran School, Hahndorf, SA (1946 -) *ELCA*
Oswald Lange
 CONCORDIA MEMORIAL COLLEGE, Toowoomba, Q (1946 -) *ELCA*
Pastor Rudolph Altus
- 1947: Loxton Lutheran School, SA (1947 -) *UELCA*
Gertrude Jacob
- 1948: ST PAUL'S COLLEGE, Walla Walla, NSW (1948 -) *UELCA*
Werner Hebart
- 1949: Greycliffe Lutheran School, Biloela, Q (1949 – 1952) *UELCA*
Adele Schmoecker
 Purdeet Lutheran School, Vic (1949 – 1953) *ELCA*
Irma Schultz
 Neukirch Lutheran School, Stockwell, SA (1949 – 1959) *UELCA*
Gladys Leschke
- 1952: St John's Lutheran School, Highgate, SA (1952 -) *ELCA*
Dora Doecke
- 1958: Dimboola Lutheran School, Vic (1958 -) *ELCA*
Bruno Matuschka
- 1962: Good Shepherd Lutheran School, Angaston, SA (1962 -) *UELCA*
Gertrude Jacob
 St John's Lutheran School, Geelong, Vic (1962 -) *ELCA*
Garry Matuschka
 Good Shepherd Lutheran School, Hamilton, Vic (1962 – 1993) *ELCA*
Bruno Matuschka
- 1964: Concordia Primary School, Toowoomba, Q (1964 -) *ELCA*
Viv Kuhl
 LUTHER COLLEGE, Croydon, Vic (1964 -) *ELCA*
Pastor John Paech

- 1966: Maitland Lutheran School, SA (1966 -) *ELCA*
Eric Rathjen
- 1970: Immanuel Primary School, Novar Gardens, SA (1970 -) *LCA*
Garry Matuschka
- 1971: Grace Lutheran Primary School, Redcliffe, Q (1971 -) *LCA*
Lyn Hauser
- 1973: St Paul Lutheran School, Blair Athol, SA (1973 -) *LCA*
Robert Hoff
- 1976: Bethania Lutheran Primary School, Q (1976 -) *LCA*
Andrew Koch
- 1977: Martin Luther Primary School, Toowoomba, Q (1977 -) *LCA*
Barry Kahl
 Nhill Lutheran School, Vic (1977 -) *LCA*
Eric Rathjen
- 1978: Redeemer Lutheran Primary School, Biloela, Q (1978 -) *LCA*
William Schick
 Holy Trinity Lutheran Primary School, Horsham, Vic (1978 -) *LCA*
Maurice Schuller
 St John's Lutheran Primary School, Bundaberg, Q (1978 -) *LCA*
Ruth Schmaal
 Murray Bridge Lutheran School, SA (1978 - 1996) *LCA*
Trevor Winderlich
- 1979: Sunshine Coast Lutheran Primary School, Q (1979 -) *LCA*
Norm Auricht
 Good Shepherd Lutheran Primary School, Croydon, Vic (1979 -) *LCA*
Irma Dymke
 Waikerie Lutheran Primary School, SA (1979 -) *LCA*
Ric Kube
- 1980: GRACE LUTHERAN COLLEGE, Rothwell, Q (1980 -) *LCA*
Fred Stolz
 REDEEMER LUTHERAN COLLEGE, Rochedale, Q (1980 -) *LCA*
Robin Kleinschmidt
 St John's Lutheran School, Portland, Vic (1980 -) *LCA*
Leon Zander
 Murtoa Lutheran School, Vic (1980 -) *LCA*
David Durow
- 1981: Trinity Lutheran School, Ashmore, Q (1981 -) *LCA*
Joe Dickerson
 GOOD SHEPHERD COLLEGE, Hamilton, Vic (1981 -) *LCA*
Glen Natalier
 Good Shepherd Lutheran School, Para Vista, SA (1981 -) *LCA*
Bruno Matuschka

- 1982: Eastside Lutheran School, Hobart, Tas (1982 -) *LCA*
Natalie Schiller
 Faith Lutheran Primary School (Victoria Point), Redlands, Q (1982 -) *LCA*
Rob Marriott
 Peace Lutheran Primary School, Gatton, Q (1982 -) *LCA*
Neil Schiller
 Bethany Lutheran Primary School, Raceview, Q (1982 -) *LCA*
Maurice Schuller
 IMMANUEL LUTHERAN COLLEGE, Maroochydore, Q (1982 -) *LCA*
Adrienne Jericho
 Wagga Wagga Lutheran Primary School, NSW (1982-) *LCA*
Steve Rudolph
 Crossways Lutheran School, Ceduna, SA (1982 -) *LCA*
Joe Dickerson
 St Martin's Lutheran School, Mt Gambier, SA (1982 -) *LCA*
Neil Fulwood
 Redeemer Lutheran School, Nuriootpa, SA (1982 -) *LCA*
Ken Albinger
 Holy Trinity Lutheran School, Mildura, Vic (1982 -) *LCA*
Loyd Fyffe
 St Mark's Lutheran School, Mt Barker, SA (1982 -) *LCA*
Alan Wiebusch
- 1983: St John's Lutheran Primary School, Gilgandra, NSW (1983 -) *LCA*
William Schick
 Calvary Lutheran Primary School, Morphett Vale, SA (1983 -) *LCA*
Gaydon Freiberg
 St Andrew's Lutheran Primary School, Darwin, NT (1983 -) *LCA*
Naomi Hoff
- 1984: Good News Lutheran Primary School, Middle Park, Q (1984 -) *LCA*
Richard Hammer
 Prince of Peace Lutheran School, Everton Hills, Q (1984 -) *LCA*
David Doecke
- 1985: St Paul's Lutheran Primary School, Caboolture, Q (1985 -) *LCA*
Trish Brady
 FAITH LUTHERAN SECONDARY SCHOOL, Tanunda, SA (1985 -) *LCA*
Brian Eckermann
 Immanuel Lutheran Primary School, Gawler East, SA (1985 -) *LCA*
Roy Bell
- 1986: Our Saviour Lutheran School, Aberfoyle Park, SA (1986 -) *LCA*
Neil Schiller
 Good Shepherd Lutheran Primary School, Noosa, Q (1986 – 1991) *LCA*
Vern Schultz

- 1987: Living Waters Lutheran Primary School, Alice Springs, NT (1987 -) LCA
Peter Hassold
 TRINITY LUTHERAN COLLEGE, Ashmore, Q (1987 -) LCA
Peter Nitschke
- 1988: Golden Grove Lutheran Primary School, Wynn Vale, SA (1988 -) LCA
Trevor Winderlich
- 1989: St John's Lutheran Primary School, Kingaroy, Q (1989 -) LCA
John Smith
- 1990: CORNERSTONE COLLEGE, Mt Barker, SA (1990 -) LCA
Malcolm Wegener
- 1992: GOOD SHEPHERD LUTHERAN COLLEGE, Noosa, Q (1992 -) LCA
Richard Hauser
 Victory Lutheran Primary School, Wodonga, Vic (1992 -) LCA
Jerry Smith
- 1993: ST ANDREWS LUTHERAN COLLEGE, Tallebudgera, Q (1993 -) LCA
Wolfgang Stuetzel
 YIRARA COLLEGE, Finke River, NT (1993 -) LCA
Pastor Mark Doecke
- 1994: PEACE LUTHERAN COLLEGE, Cairns, Q (1994 -) LCA
Michael Gladigau
- 1995: TATACHILLA LUTHERAN COLLEGE, McLaren Vale, SA (1995 -) LCA
Richard Bruss
- 1997: LIVING WATERS LUTHERAN COLLEGE, Warnbro, WA (1997 -) LCA
Julian Denholm
 Good News Lutheran School, Werribee, Vic (1997 -) LCA
Roger Schwarz
 UNITY COLLEGE, Murray Bridge, SA (1997 -) LCA
Leon Zander
- 1998: Good Shepherd Lutheran School, Palmerston, NT (1998 -) LCA
John Heffernan
 ENDEAVOUR COLLEGE, Mawson Lakes, SA (1998 -) LCA
Michael Leske
- 1999: FAITH LUTHERAN COLLEGE, Plainland, Q (1999 -) LCA
Theodore Helbig
 St Peter's Lutheran School, Blackwood, SA (1999 -) LCA
Margaret Linke

Aboriginal Mission Schools:

Hermannsburg Lutheran Mission School, NT (1880 - 1989) *IS*
Hope Vale Mission School, Qld (1899 - 1974) *IS*
Koonibba Mission School, SA (1903 – 1962) *ELSA*
Yalata Mission School, West Coast, SA (1958 - 1962) *ELCA*

New Zealand Lutheran Schools:

Marton Lutheran School, NZ (1915 - 1925) *ELSA*
Rongotea Lutheran School, NZ (1922 – 1924) *ELSA*

Government Subsidised Lutheran Schools:

Pallamanna Lutheran School, SA (1936 – 1939) *ELSA*
Canna Lutheran School, WA (1949 - 1950) *ELCA*

Papua New Guinea Lutheran Schools:

A number of Lutheran teachers from Australia regularly served in New Guinea schools at primary, secondary and tertiary levels, especially during the years from 1950 to 1975.

Appendix C

Twentieth Century Leaders and Theologians

Presidents of the Church

Evangelical Lutheran Synod in Australia/Evangelical Lutheran Church of Australia

Theodor Nickel (1903 – 1923)

William Janzow (1923 – 1941)

Clemens Hoopmann (1941 -1965)

Harold Koehne (1965 - 1966)

Immanuel Synod/United Evangelical Lutheran Church in Australia

Friedrich Leidig (1907 – 1921)

Paul Löhe (1921 – 1925)

Johannes Stolz (1925 – 1953)

Max Lohe (1953 – 1966)

Lutheran Church of Australia

Max Lohe (1966 – 1972)

Leslie Grope (1972 – 1987)

Lance Steicke (1987 – 2000)

Tertiary Lecturers

Concordia Seminary (ELSA/ELCA)

*Friedrich Graebner (1905 – 1941) 1905 – 1941

Georg Koch (1907 – 1929)

Martin Winkler (1908 – 1942)

Wilhelm Zschech (1911 – 1945)

***Henry P A Hamann** (1926 – 1961) 1942 – 1960

Rudolph Altus (1936 – 1966)

David Pahl (1942 – 1967)

Friedrich Blaess (1943 – 1967)

*Henry P Hamann (1942 – 1967) 1961 – 1967

Elvin Janetzki (1963 – 1967)

Victor Pfitzner (1966 – 1967)

Wartburg Seminary (IS)

Theodor Hebart (1921- 1922)

Richard Held (1921 – 1922)

Wolfgang Riedel (1922)

Immanuel Seminary (UELCA)

*Paul Löhe (1923 – 1952) 1923 – 1944

Wolfgang Riedel (1923 – 1958)

Karl Muetzelfeldt (1934 – 1953)

*Siegfried Hebart (1939 – 1967) 1945 - 1967
Hermann Sasse (1949 – 1967)
Erich Renner (1952 – 1967)
Adolph Lohe (1954 – 1967)

Luther Seminary (LCA)

*Siegfried Hebart (1968 – 1978) 1968 – 1979
*Henry P Hamann (1968 – 1985) 1980 – 1985
Adolph Lohe (1968 – 1969)
David Pahl (1968 – 1979)
***Elvin Janetzki** (1970 – 1988) 1986 – 1988
*Victor Pfitzner (1968 -) 1989 – 1997
Erich Renner (1968 – 1991)
Hermann Sasse (1968 – 1969)
Clarence Priebbenow (1970 – 1989)
Maurice Schild (1970 – 2000)
*John Koch (1976 – 2000) 1998 – 2000
Friedemann Hebart (1980 – 1985)
Trevor Zweck (1980 – 1986)
Malcolm Bartsch (1998 –)
John Kleinig (1982 –)
Noel Weiss (1986 – 1993)
John Strelan (1986 – 1998)
Elmore Leske (1990 – 1997)
John Vitale (1990 – 1992)
Marlene Cooper (1991 – 1999)
Peter Lockwood (1992 –)
Andrew Pfeiffer (1992 –)
Wendy Roehrs (1993 – 1997)
Michael Hassold (1996 -)
Jeffrey Silcock (1996 –)
Mark Worthing (1997 –)
Graham Harms (1998 –)
Deborah Myers (1999 –)

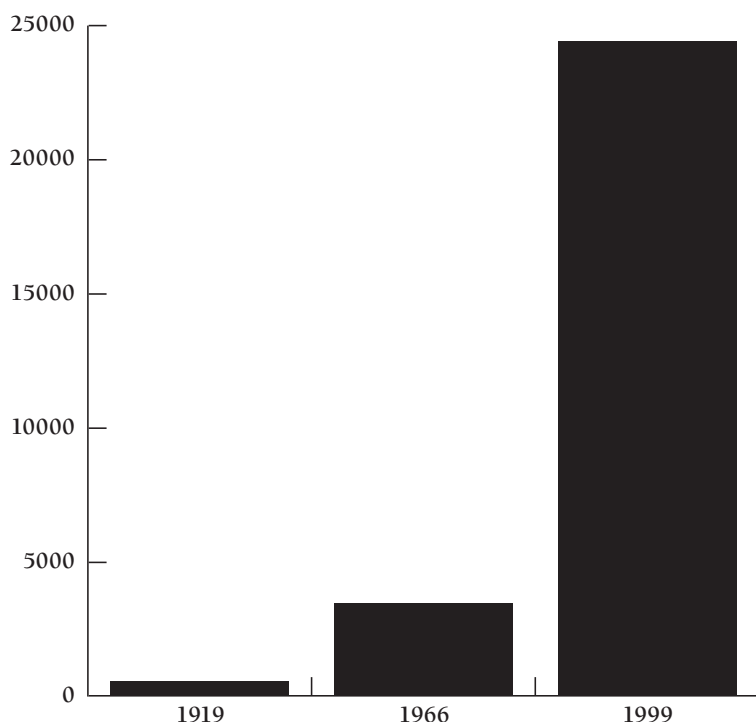
Lutheran Teachers College (LCA)

***Elvin Janetzki** (1968 – 1969) 1968 – 1969
*Rolph Mayer (1968 – 1995) 1970 – 1995
Wilhelm Stoll (1969 – 1995)
John Koch (1970 – 1975)
Elmore Leske (1977 – 1989)
John Zweck (1979 – 1983)
*Malcolm Bartsch (1982 – 1997) 1996 – 1997

**Denotes Principal*

Appendix D

Lutheran School Enrolments 1919-1999



1919:

Primary Students: 382 (Vic 309; NSW 73)

Secondary Students: 61 (SA 61)

ELSA: 418

IS: 25

TOTAL: 443

1966:

Primary Students: 1 532 (SA 859; Vic 493; NSW 90; Qld 90)

Secondary Students: 1 628 (Qld 705; SA 565; Vic 206; NSW 152)

ELCA: 1 714

UELCA: 1 446

TOTAL: 3 160

1999:

Primary Students: 13 893 (Qld 5748; SA 4823; Vic/Tas 1834; NSW 682; NT 457; WA 349)

Secondary Students: 10 139 (Qld 5689; SA 3070; Vic/Tas 913; NT 232; NSW 213; WA 22)

LCA: 24 032

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Personal Information

The author was continuously involved in Lutheran schools as a student, teacher and principal from 1961 until 2008, and has called on personal recollections as well as information gathered over these years.

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Richard Hauser.

Richard Hauser was born in Laidley in Queensland and baptized in the Lutheran church there in 1946. He attended Blenheim and Forest Hill State Schools before undertaking his secondary education as a boarder at Concordia Memorial College in Toowoomba. He is a graduate of Lutheran Teachers College in Adelaide and holds various degrees in Arts and Education from Adelaide and Queensland Universities, including a PhD in history.

Between 1970 and 2008 he was employed in six Lutheran colleges in four Australian states, and for the last seventeen years of this work, served as a principal in Queensland, first at Good Shepherd Lutheran College in Noosa, and then at Redeemer Lutheran College in Rochedale. As a secondary teacher his main curriculum expertise has been in English, history, drama and Christian studies. He has served on many committees and boards of the Church, including over ten years as the chair of the Lutheran Church of Australia Queensland District (LCAQD) Schools Council, and on the Board of Lutheran Education Australia. In 1999 he was the keynote speaker on the history of Lutheran schooling at the inaugural Australian Conference on Lutheran Education (ACLE) on the Gold Coast.

Richard is retired and lives with his wife Sylvia at Noosa on Queensland's Sunshine Coast where he follows his interests in reading, writing and keeping fit. Richard and Sylvia have four children and five grandchildren.

In Memory of

Noel Volk (1938 - 2008)

and

Adrienne Jericho (1948 - 2010)

esteemed Lutheran educators and leaders.

