The Patriarchs

A History of Australian Lutheran Schooling

1839 - 1919

R J Hauser

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To all those who serve in Lutheran schools.

"Stand firm and hold on to those truths which we taught you."

2 Thessalonians 2: 15.

Foreword

Lutheran schooling in Australia has grown from an enrolment of 3 592 in 1966 to 37 000 in 2009, being very much part of the recent growth of non-government schooling in Australia. However, this growth is also part of a proud history of Lutheran schooling in this country and has only been possible because of a tradition, culture and commitment that began in 1839.

Whether it is the systemic nature of Lutheran schooling or a commitment to excellence in education, whilst affirming the importance of religious education, it all becomes clearer from the perspective of history. As with life, identity is discovered from one's history.

The Board for Lutheran Education Australia seeks to ensure that Lutheran schools are all that the Church requires of them, emphasising such areas as leadership development, vocational formation resources, and Christian Studies materials. The commissioning of this book on our history is about better understanding our identity. We will have some *Aha* moments as we appreciate the reasons why we are the way we are.

I commenced my training to be a teacher in Lutheran schools with Richard Hauser in 1965 and we had very similar formation experiences in Adelaide in the late 1960s. Yet whilst we have both spent the past 40 years in Lutheran schools, we have had quite different experiences. This diversity that is Lutheran schooling is reflected in the book. Lutheran schooling is characterised by having one church, one mission, one ethos yet many manifestations. Is this not what we should expect from an education system that is based on incarnational theology?

In better understanding our history we will have high regard for those who have laid the foundation for what we now do; we will better understand what is really important and basic to Lutheran schooling; and we will note that many of the challenges that we now confront require perspective and are not really new.

Richard Hauser has served Australian Lutheran schools with passion and distinction since 1970 in four states and at six schools. In writing *The Patriarchs: A History of Australian Lutheran Schooling 1839-1919* he makes another major contribution.

I heartily commend this book for reading, reflection and enjoyment. We will not, however, just dwell on our past but will continue to make history in the Great South Land as we go about *serving Australian communities with Christ centred education.*

Adrienne Jericho
Executive Director, Lutheran Education Australia
August 2009

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The University of Queensland Library

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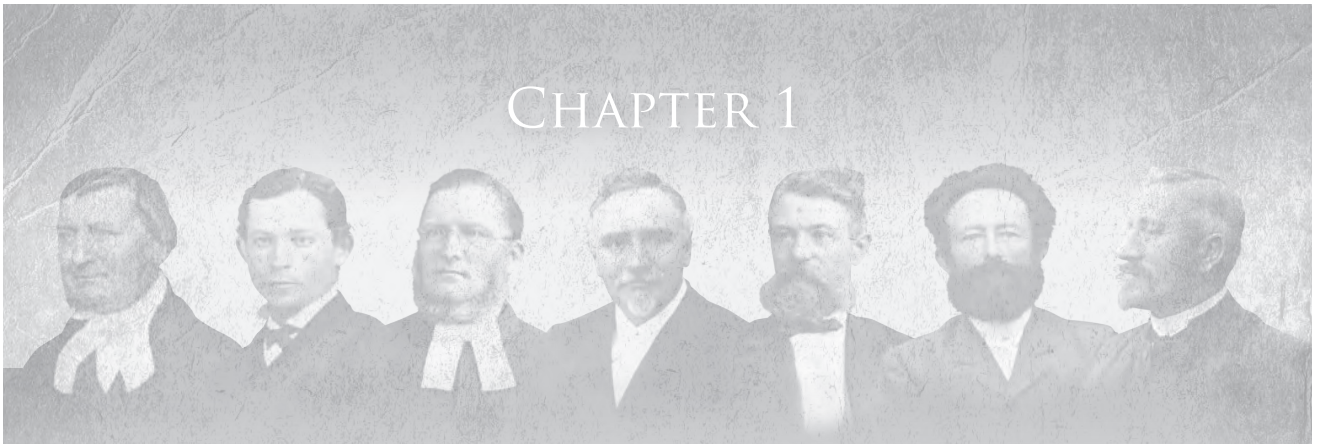
I offer a huge thank you to all those with whom I have worked in Lutheran schools and from whom I have learned so much over the last forty years.

And I thank God for everything, life, faith, hope and especially our church and its system of schools and colleges which have privileged me with my life's calling.

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

R J Hauser
August 2009

Map and Illustrations



Chapter 1

Introduction: A New Land

"Leave your country, your people, and your father's household and go to the land I will show you." Genesis 12: 1.

This is a book about Lutherans and their schools in Australia. More specifically it deals with the first eighty years of their history, from 1839 to 1919. Many of the schools have published their histories. There are also various works available with a regional basis or a thematic focus. However the current offerings on the history of Australian Lutheran schooling are piecemeal and partial. There is a deficit of a substantial work on Lutheran education from the larger national perspective which encompasses the overall picture. This history endeavours to meet that need. It draws together data from a variety of primary and secondary sources in an attempt to produce an integrated history of the early years of Australian Lutheran schooling. It starts in 1839 when the first Lutheran schools were established, and finishes in 1919 at the end of the Great War. The latter date is significant because it marks a low point in the history of Lutheran education. The first great wave of Lutheran schooling reached its peak in the latter half of the nineteenth century before the advent of state schools and the anti-German sentiment during the Great War caused its partial demise. The transfusion of government money into the private system, along with some disillusionment with state education, helped resuscitate Lutheran schooling in the last forty years of the twentieth century which culminated in a boom in its provision, and this constituted the second great wave which is still in full flow. This book concentrates on the first wave and its foundational importance in setting the basic values and traditions for Lutheran schooling in Australia.

Lutherans and Their Schools

The Lutheran church grew out of the Christian Reformation of sixteenth-century Europe. Lutherans were the first Protestants. For the inception of this church one might go back to 1517 when Martin Luther nailed his 95 theses to the church door in Wittenberg and gave voice to the issues which were to divide western Christendom. Or one might choose a particular decade like the 1530s when Luther's followers were compelled to put on record an exposition of their doctrinal positions which they did in the *Augsburg Confession* and its subsequent *Apology*. Whatever time one might choose for its origin, by the seventeenth century, Lutheranism was the majority religion in

northern Germany and had spread from there to the Scandinavian countries and Baltic states of northern Europe. By the early nineteenth century, when it found its way to Australia, it was one of the largest Protestant groupings in existence. Currently, as we start the third millennium, it is arguably, with a membership of more than eighty million people worldwide, still one of the largest Protestant denominations. In Australia, except for some specific regions, it is far less significant. Recent census figures indicate that there are about 250 000 of this country's people who claim to be Lutheran, and of these less than a quarter hold membership in the Lutheran Church of Australia (LCA). Most of them are the descendants of German migrants who came to Australia in the nineteenth century, or post World War II, with an added sprinkling of Scandinavians and Balts to enliven the mixture.[1]

The majority of Australian Lutherans have always lived in South Australia. It was here that some of the first Lutheran missionaries came to work among the Aboriginal people, and also where the first shiploads of German migrants, the vast majority of them Lutheran, arrived from 1838, the third year of the colony, onwards. This influx of Germans continued for the next thirty years. Besides the English, they were the predominant European nationality in the new settlement where they quickly became the providers of food and basic services. From the settlements around Adelaide they made their way into the nearby hills where they established themselves in villages like Hahndorf and Lobethal which retain a strong German character to this day. Soon they had also spread to the Barossa Valley where, besides setting up Lutheran churches and schools, they were largely involved in the development of the Australian wine industry.[2]

Klemzig Village: First South Australian Lutheran Settlement.

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The other colony to attract considerable numbers of Germans, mainly Lutherans, was Queensland. The first ones were a group of missionaries who arrived in Brisbane in 1838. More significant numbers of them migrated in the latter half of the nineteenth century due partly to the recruitment drive of the Queensland government through its agent, Christian Heussler, in Germany. He found potential migrants in those regions where people were anxious about compulsory military service or which were suffering downturns in the economy. Unlike many of their countrymen in South Australia, the Queensland Germans, with a few exceptions, were not strong confessional Lutherans, and some of them belonged to other denominations like the Catholics and Baptists. Although there were concentrated areas of German settlement like the Logan area south of Brisbane, and Toowoomba and the Darling Downs, they were distributed throughout the population rather than located in separate pockets. Later, Lutherans also spread from South Australia into the western areas of Victoria and along the Murray River to form settlements in the Riverina in southern New South Wales. There were also small groups of them located in Melbourne and a sprinkling in other states as well.

The Lutheran church in Australia has been in existence for over 170 years, and from the very beginning, Australian Lutherans have always had their own schools. In part this is due to the fact that Luther himself placed a great emphasis on education. His church, after all, grew out of a discovery of the Bible which Luther translated into the common tongue and made available to the people which, in turn, presupposed widespread literacy among the population. Literacy depended on education, usually provided by parish schools. The Germans who came to South Australia, mainly from Prussia and its neighbouring regions, were used to a system where the church provided such schools. Just as importantly, the first groups in the southern colony had emigrated in order to find religious freedom. They were in retreat from a Calvinist ruler who was trying to unite the two main strands of Protestantism in his own realm, and when the confessional Lutherans resisted, they found themselves in trouble with the law, operating an underground church. Ultimately, some of them took the opportunity to come to Australia to find freedom of religion. When they arrived, one of their first priorities was to establish churches and schools in order to celebrate and conserve their distinctive teachings. Migrations to Queensland and other colonies, and later migrations to South Australia, were not for religious reasons, but many of these communities established Lutheran congregational schools as well.

The Lutheran school system in Australia continued to develop through most of the nineteenth century, so that by 1900 there were about fifty schools in South Australia, approximately fifteen in western Victoria and southern New South Wales as well as a few in Queensland. Wherever a Lutheran congregation was established, very often a school was provided as well. This was especially true in South Australia and in its satellite settlements in Victoria and New South Wales, but before the advent of state schools also quite common in the more integrated Queensland German areas as well. By the end of the century, however, most Queensland Lutheran schools had disappeared, and a gradual demise of the southern schools was in process as well. As already indicated, a major reason for this was the introduction of state school systems. By the time of the Great War there were no Lutheran schools left in the north, and legislation introduced into the three southern states as a result of wartime

Lobethal Lutheran School in S.A. built in 1850.

anti-German sentiment caused the closure of all but a couple of secondary colleges in South Australia as well as curtailed the schools in the remaining states. There followed a period of low Lutheran school activity between the wars and during the Great Depression. However, in the second half of the twentieth century, with the introduction of a renewed flow of government financial assistance to the private sector, there began a gradual resurgence of independent schools which resulted in a Lutheran school boom in Australia during the last three decades of the twentieth century. By the year 2000 there were seventy-eight Lutheran schools at primary and secondary level which employed a teaching force in excess of 1 500 and enrolled over 25 000 students. By 2009 student enrolments had grown to 37 000.[3]

The European Background

Many early Lutheran migrants came to Australia from Prussia and its neighbouring states. They were used to a system where every child was expected to go to school. In their experience this educational opportunity had been provided by the church which was the usual custom in northern Germany. By the nineteenth century Prussia had become a leader in Europe for educational practice. It had been providing compulsory, universal education for its children since the late eighteenth century. This was the result of two major edicts which had been proclaimed by the Elector Frederick II. The first in 1763 made schooling compulsory for all children between the ages of five and thirteen and this was provided in church schools. The second edict, in 1794, brought all these schools under government control.[4]

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Of course one of the main reasons that there was an emphasis on education for the masses in the German states was because of the Lutheran influence. Martin Luther himself, at the time of the Reformation, had been a keen advocate of education for all Christians. He had translated the bible into German in order that it might be accessible to the laity. He also wrote a special catechism for the teaching of the young. So it is not surprising to find that Luther believed in a universal system of education and advocated this in his writings, not only within the church but in the civil sphere as well. In 1524 he published a paper entitled *To the Councilmen of All Cities in Germany, that they Establish and Maintain Christian schools.* In 1530 he circulated a tract entitled *A Sermon Stressing the Need to Keep Children at School.*[5] The titles of these publications describe his main arguments. His influence was considerable. It provided part of the background that informed the imperial edicts over two hundred years later.

Another influence on the formation of the Prussian schooling system occurred in the early nineteenth century. After the Napoleonic wars, the Prussian cabinet and the proud royal family were forced to re-evaluate their state's education system in the wake of the humiliation their country had suffered at the hands of the French. Under the influence of thinkers like Johann Gottlieb Fichte, it was decided to reconstruct the fatherland by moulding a new sense of devotion and commitment to the national good. Education of the people was one means of achieving this. Wilhelm von Humboldt was appointed as the Minister for Education in 1809 and instituted three tiers of schooling for the Prussian people. The first consisted of *Volksschulen,* elementary schools for all the nation's children. High schools (*Gymnasien)* and universities were the other two. This system of schooling was emulated in other countries like the United States and gave Prussia the reputation of being in the forefront of educational innovation and reform in Europe.[6] Coming from this background, many Germans who came to Australia in the nineteenth century took for granted a church-provided system of universal schooling for their children.

Martin Luther School in Adelaide 1917.

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The Australian society in which they settled had adopted the educational traditions of Great Britain. Where Prussia put in place a system of education designed to create a well educated work force and dedicated army from the beginning of the nineteenth century, the story in England was quite different. First, England did not introduce universal schooling until much later in the century. Second, their education system was more focussed on preparing people for the political process rather than creating capable workers or dutiful soldiers. In England the century had begun with the churches as almost the sole providers of formal education for the young. Of course not everyone was given the benefit of such schooling, and there was even some debate about the desirability of educating the poor. However, as the century proceeded, so did the notion that education was a universal human right. There were even some thinkers advancing the idea that education, rather than religion, was the chief hope of making people good. It was also clear that religious denominations were incapable of supplying the growing demand for schools, and so there was a pressing need for the state to be involved in their provision.[7]

This English experience, reflected in even more modest ways in Australia, contrasted with a more developed state of schooling in Prussia. The German Lutherans who came to Australia, therefore, even though they were mainly from rural village backgrounds, came from a society with a much stronger educational tradition than the one they were entering.

The Australian Setting

Lutheran schools were established in an Australian setting with its own special characteristics. The first settlement in New South Wales did not have a strong Christian orientation, nor did it place much importance on education, and these origins flavoured much that was to follow. The first settlers, while predominantly Anglican, showed little interest in the spiritual welfare of the general populace, let alone the convicts and Aboriginal people. Although the colony was populated by a society which officially paid lip service to Christian values and beliefs, there were many settlers who were indifferent or antagonistic to religion. Of course those who came as convicts might be counted on to have less of a religious orientation. In the context of such a society, where it did have a place, the Christian church was regarded as a guardian of social order which could serve as a civilising influence on the population. It was with this in mind that in the early days all convicts were expected to attend worship provided by the Anglican Church.[8]

Johnson, the Anglican chaplain who accompanied the first fleet, had a difficult and lonely time of it. By 1809 there were 9 000 people living in the colony of New South Wales, but only one of them was a properly ordained clergyman. The first Catholic priest had arrived in 1803 and he had been transported to Australia for sedition. The first Methodist clergyman arrived in 1815 and the first Presbyterian one only in 1823, thirty-five years after the original settlement. It was not until 1819 that two Catholic priests were appointed and paid an allowance to work in the colony. Perhaps the first religious leader of any moment was John Dunmore Lang who began a ministry to the Presbyterians in the settlement in 1825. It took until the 1830s and the governorship of Bourke for legislation to subsidise the cost of church buildings as well as provide

pay for clergy through the *Church Act*. Anglicans and Catholics were the predominant denominational adherents in the eastern settlements. In 1835 Bishop Polding became the first Catholic bishop in New South Wales and the next year the Anglicans appointed Bishop Broughton as their bishop.[9]

Just as there was a paucity of parsons in early Australia, there was also a deficit of teachers and schools as well. The British government at this time was not that concerned with the education of the lower orders and this attitude was imported into early Australia. A census taken in the colony of New South Wales in 1805, over twenty-five years after the first settlement, found that only one in seventeen children was receiving any formal schooling. It was not a high priority in a rough and ready society dominated by transported felons and their keepers. Governor Bligh reported in 1807 that there were 1 831 children in the colony of whom 1 024 were illegitimate, not the solid family background to motivate an enthusiasm for education. The first teachers were those who set themselves up as private providers or were diverted from their roles as convicts, military men or missionaries.[10]

In the early years, though education was not a high priority, the government looked to the churches, mainly the Anglicans, to provide schools for the colony. This was partly founded on a belief that schools could be the means by which an improvement in society was accomplished through Christian influence and indoctrination. There were some exceptions, but the majority of these denominational schools were of inferior quality. Those children enjoying some formal education in these parish institutions were taught, in the main, basic reading, writing, arithmetic and religion.[11]

For a brief period the government favoured the Anglicans as the chief providers of education. This occurred when Governor Brisbane established the Church and Schools Corporation in 1826 to maintain the Anglican clergy and support Anglican schools. This ascendancy of the Anglican Church with its access to educational funds did not last long and the practice was discontinued in 1829 and the corporation dissolved in 1833. Eventually, in 1836, Governor Bourke agreed to financially support all denominations and their schools, not just the Anglicans. Of Anglo-Irish background, Bourke was more tolerant of Catholics and his governorship marked a greater recognition and acceptance of them in society. By the end of the 1830s Catholics comprised more than a quarter of the colony's population. Government subsidy of their schools provided them with a tremendous boost. When Governor Gipps threatened to end support for denominational schools in 1840, the Catholics had the numbers to organise a huge march through the streets of Sydney in protest. It succeeded in dissuading Gipps.[12] This manouvering and bickering over government support was typical of the churches for much of the century. From the beginning there was little co-operation between them, and they often differed with the governor of the day as to what measures for education should be adopted. When Governor Bourke attempted to put the Irish national system in place, it was resisted by the Anglicans under Bishop Broughton and the Presbyterians under John Dunmore Lang. When Governor Fitzroy set up a denominational board to allocate funds to churches for providing education and appointed George Rusden as a commissioner to solicit local subscriptions and get schools running, this was opposed by the Anglicans and Catholics.[13]

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Against a background of bickering churches and a concern about inadequate services, there was a growing feeling in New South Wales that the government should find a solution. In 1844, a Select Committee under the leadership of Robert Lowe found that still half the children of the colony were receiving no formal schooling and recommended that the government should provide schools where there was a demand. This recommendation betrayed the fact that there were some leaders who were not committed to an education for all children. However it did establish a commitment to provide schools for those who wanted them. There were differences of opinion about who should establish these schools, the churches or the state. In 1848 a compromise was reached with two bodies being established: the Denominational Schools Board and the National Schools Board. By the end of 1851 there were thirty-five schools operating under the National Schools Board in the colony, and William Wilkins was running a model school. The denominational schools operated along side of these on very similar lines under their own board. The teaching in all schools was of a low standard, with no professional training available. There was the practice of excessive corporal punishment and overall, school buildings were in very poor condition. More than half the children in the colony were still not attending school. This system of dual boards in charge of education was adopted by Queensland and Victoria when they became separate states. But it was only a transition stage. These two boards were merged into one in Queensland in 1859, in Victoria in 1862 and in New South Wales in 1866.[14]

By the middle of the century, the tide was beginning to turn in favour of state schools. In 1854 William Wilkins toured the Hunter Valley as an agent of the National Board, and visited over thirty schools. He reported that local boards and parents were neglecting their responsibilities. Whether this was a biased opinion or not, its influence contributed to the emerging conviction that there ought to be a centralised, state-controlled system of education. In the meantime, competition and rivalry between the Christian denominations meant that there was a wasteful proliferation of their schools in some places and a scarcity in others. These schools in particular were marred by the uneven quality of the teaching profession. Although education was still mainly in the hands of these religious denominations, the tide of public opinion was one of growing dissatisfaction with this system. So it was that state aid to denominational schools was abolished in South Australia in 1851 and New South Wales enacted similar legislation in 1862. Victoria persisted with support to the private sector until 1872 when it removed all financial aid to church schools as well. By 1895 there were no longer any states where denominational schools enjoyed government funding.[15]

Each of the Australian states developed in slightly different ways, but the overall movement was similar. In Victoria there was a long debate between those who wanted the churches to run the schools and those who wanted ownership and control by the state. In the 1850s, two premiers, William Haines, an Anglican, and John O'Shanassy, a Catholic, both supported denominational schools. By 1862, however, legislation aimed at slowing the growth of denominational schools was passed causing the Catholic Bishop Goold to write a pastoral letter decrying the government's policy.[16] This only served to hasten the process. In South Australia, there were fewer Catholics and Anglicans as well as a greater toleration of dissenting views. Here the chief debates were concerned with the voluntarist issue. Voluntarists argued that state

aid for religion was against the founding principles of the colony, and the churches and their schools should voluntarily supply their own financial support. In religion, the Church of England was not granted any special privileges and all denominations were to be treated equally.[17] This principle was formalised under legislation signed by the Governor in Council in 1842. Then in 1847 when the churches were struggling to provide for themselves, Governor Robe resolved the issue for the time being through an ordinance that formalised government support of all religions and their schools through state aid. This was short lived, and state aid was finally abolished only four years later.[18] In Queensland most of the first educational facilities were provided by the churches and the pattern was very similar to that in New South Wales. Later, when state schools first appeared in Queensland, the Catholics fiercely opposed them but the Protestants were generally more supportive.[19]

Lutherans were not unique in their establishment of denominational schools in Australia. The Anglicans, Catholics, Presbyterians and Wesleyans, to name the main ones, were also strongly involved in setting up their own schools. However, because of the bickering between them as to how government money might be applied to their schools, as well as their inability to provide an education for all young people in the country, the governments in each of the states gradually assumed the responsibility for the provision of schools which were free, compulsory and secular. In each of the states, legislation along these lines was passed during the last third of the century, in Victoria in 1872, South Australia and Queensland in 1875, New South Wales in 1880, Tasmania in 1885 and Western Australia in 1895.[20] In the compulsory years, state schooling became the predominant system. This did not mean the demise of private schooling, which still specialised in higher education, where it provided an alternative for the privileged or the religious. Where the churches persisted in the provision of their own schools, it had to be driven by a strong commitment which included their own financial support as well as the patronage of those who were willing to pay for an education which was freely available elsewhere.

People and Themes

The major content of this book consists of eight biographies. The history of the first eighty years of Lutheran schooling in Australia is told through the lives of these selected people. The eight people who have been chosen as the subjects of these biographies are not necessarily the most important or significant, but in combination, a study of their lives provides a full picture of this period of Lutheran schooling. Their stories illuminate the various themes which this history examines. The fact that not one of them is a woman is a reflection, not of the author's bias, but of a strongly patriarchal church which produced the schools. Although there have been previous pieces written on these personalities, no major studies have been undertaken. The treatment of their lives in this work concentrates on their involvement in Lutheran schooling.

Australian Lutherans have always been heavily involved in missions among the Aboriginal people in Australia. This work has included the provision of schooling for these people and schools were an integral part of mission life. In fact, two of the first Lutheran schools in Australia established in 1839 were provided in the context of a mission setting. The Gossner missionaries operated a school at the German Station in

Queensland for their own children as well as the local Aboriginal population. In the same year Dresden missionaries had started a school for Aboriginal children in the Adelaide parklands in South Australia. This practice was emulated in other Australian Lutheran missions established during the nineteenth century. However, although mentioned in passing, Lutheran schooling for Aboriginals is not a central theme in this history. The attitude has been adopted that it more properly fits into a history of the church and its missions.[21]

The eight subjects chosen for biographies as a means to analyse the history of the first eighty years of Lutheran schooling have been chosen with some care. There is August Kavel (1798 – 1860), a Lutheran pastor who came to South Australia in 1838 in order to find religious freedom for himself and his congregation and established a church as well as a schooling tradition to support it. He had very pronounced views, not only on keeping his people segregated from outside influences, but also on relations between his new church and the state authorities. Kavel was followed some years later by Daniel Fritzsche (1797 – 1863), another Lutheran pastor from Germany, who was responsible for establishing the first Lutheran institution in Australia for the training of pastors and teachers. He emphasised the importance of a Lutheran school system for nurturing the young who would become the future of the church. A pupil of Fritzsche's, Wilhelm Boehm (1836 – 1917), went on to become a teacher whose influence on Lutheran schooling was of a broadening and innovative bent. Although he grew up in a very narrow Lutheran culture, he became a widely educated person who explored more liberal approaches to education and helped to push Lutheran schools into the mainstream. In contrast to Boehm, Rudolph Ey (1837 – 1893), exerted a much more churchly influence through his work as both a teacher and a pastor. A strongly conservative man, he had a conscientious commitment to preserving a system of distinctive Lutheran schools loyal to the church and dedicated to its needs. Unlike these South Australians, Theodor Langebecker (1845 – 1909), another pastor, was a pioneer Lutheran educator in Queensland. His experience of schooling in the north, where there was less of a confessional Lutheran tradition, contrasted with much of what was happening in the south. Carl Krichauff (1852 – 1921) was a Lutheran teacher based in South Australia who appeared at a critical time for Lutheran schools when they were facing the challenge of state schools. He contributed to improved teaching standards, the provision of proper educational resources and the organisation of curriculum content. Wilhelm Peters (1850 – 1925) was a Lutheran pastor and educational pioneer in Victoria who contributed significantly towards a higher education tradition for his church. He was one of those Australian Lutherans who looked to America for theological and educational support and understanding. Georg Leidig (1870 – 1925) was a Lutheran pastor and educator in South Australia and the founder of Immanuel College. He was a strong advocate of the virtues of German language and culture in Lutheran schools, a stand which brought him much grief during the Great War.

An examination of the lives of these patriarchs, especially as they relate to Lutheran schooling in Australia, provides a rich understanding of the character and nature of this educational system as it evolved in its first eighty years. A number of themes tend to predominate. From the beginning Lutheran schools have been tied closely to

Patriarchal Places in 19th Century Germany.

August Kavel:
- born in Berlin
- schooling in Berlin
- university in Berlin
- tutor in Berlin
- pastor in Klemzig

Daniel Fritzsche:
- born in Liebenwerda
- schooling in Liebenwerda and Dresden
- university in Breslau
- tutor in Pinne
- pastor in Posen

Wilhelm Boehm:
- born in Muschten

Rudolph Ey:
- born in Zellerfeld
- schooling in Clausthal

Theodor Langebecker:
- born in Havelberg
- schooling in Potsdam
- tertiary in Berlin

Carl Krichauff:
- born in Altona
- schooling in Altona and Hamburg

Wilhelm Peters:
- born Nemitz
- tertiary in Hermannsburg

Georg Leidig:
- born Markstefft
- tertiary at Neuendettelsau

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the church and somewhat resistant to government interference as well as aloof from the mainstream of educational development. In fact they have often been depicted as being locked in a symbiotic embrace with the church, depending on it for direction and support just as the church has looked to the schools for its future members and leaders. Lutheran schools also came to accept they had a charter to provide a general education as well as a churchly one, and during their seminal years began to strive for excellence in this area as well. In doing so there were reminders along the way that as they entered mainstream educational provision, they still needed to preserve those essential and distinctive characteristics which made them uniquely Lutheran. There were some regions where the Lutheran tradition of schooling did not survive and others where it prospered, and an understanding of why this was the case is important too. From the beginning there was always an acceptance of the necessity for Lutherans to train the teachers in their schools and to ensure their continued growth and formation. Overseas influences were significant as well, and one of the most potent was that of the American Missouri Lutheran Synod which established a strong philosophical foothold in the Australian system. On the other hand, the German roots of Lutheranism, including the language and culture, held great sway over Australian Lutheran schools way up to and even beyond the Great War, resulting in disastrous repercussions for the Australian church and its schools. These are some of the thematic strands which are woven into this series of biographies.

Patriarchal Leaders, Pastors Strempel (left) and Oster seated.

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A Note on Patriarchy

Since the term is used, quite deliberately, in the title of this history, there needs to be some introductory discussion about the term "patriarch". The word carries with it various connotations, both positive and negative. The original patriarchs, of course, were male, family leaders like Abraham, Isaac and Jacob, among the Hebrews of the Old Testament. Though not outstandingly virtuous, they were heroic, authoritarian figures who took the lead, made the decisions and provided for their people. They have often been held up as men of God and heroes of the faith. In contrast, there is the more recent meaning associated with the word "patriarch" which is less adulatory. It is used as a derogatory term describing a society in which women and children are dominated and controlled by males. The patriarchs who inhabit this history can be seen in both lights. The ambiguity is deliberate. It is also a little dangerous, especially in the context of religious schools. Feminists have often cast the church as playing a major part in supporting a social order based on patriarchal assumptions.[22] There is a risk that the term carries too heavy a negative load. The intention, rather, is that it supplies a balance, and captures the good and the bad, the admirable as well as the less praiseworthy elements of their leadership. The Lutheran patriarchs who are the subjects of the biographies in this book were men of faith and admirable leaders of their people. They also presided over a church and schooling system heavily dominated by men.

One point that needs to be made is that while Lutheran leaders of the nineteenth century qualified as patriarchs in the sense that they presided over a system which strongly discriminated against females, the same was generally true of the situation which pertained in most of nineteenth century society. There was also common discrimination against women in all education systems of the era. For instance, in Victoria the *Public Service Act of 1883* included provisions for excluding women from the principalships of all except the smallest schools in the state system. Their salaries were also set at eighty percent of the male rate. In fact women often served in school positions which attracted a modicum of pay but demanded considerable professional expertise. The term "sewing mistress" depicted such a role which was humbly remunerated but could involve teaching over the whole curriculum up to full time. This situation was echoed in the other states.[23]

However, it must also be pointed out that the Lutheran patriarchs presided over a system which was even more discriminatory against women than society in general. There was an assumption that leadership in the family, church and society belonged to men. In part it was a result of Christian beliefs. To this extent their discrimination was not motivated by their desire to exercise power. They placed themselves under the authority of the Bible which, they believed, taught that the man should be the head of the house, that wives were subject to their husbands, that women should not speak publicly in the church and that only men could be ordained as pastors. In part it was just the traditional practice of their church. Men sat on one side of the congregation while women and children sat on the other, and all positions of leadership from pastor and teacher, to lay reader and elder, as well as voting rights and committee memberships were the domain of men. There was even the unsavoury practice when an unmarried woman became pregnant that she, but not the father, had to appear before the congregation to express repentance.[24]

Two Female Students at Immanuel College.

These patriarchal assumptions spilled over into the schools. There was always a close connection in Lutheran schools between the roles of pastor and principal. In the first German villages established in the south, the church and the school were built in the middle of the settlement, and there was always a pastor to preach in the church and a teacher to teach in the school. Because of their roles and their education, they were the natural leaders in the community, and when the pastor was absent the teacher would usually lead the service. Some Lutheran schools had pastors as principals and Wilhelm Peters, Theodor Langebecker and Georg Leidig were all examples of this situation. Being a Lutheran teacher was sometimes the first step to becoming a pastor. Both August Kavel and Daniel Fritzsche worked as tutors in Germany before being ordained. Rudolph Ey in Hahndorf taught for years before studying for the ministry and becoming a clergyman. Being a teacher in the Lutheran church was one step away from being a pastor, a role reserved for men. So it was not surprising that men should run the schools as well. Women, in contrast, were often involved in school enterprises, but always in a subsidiary role.

Not a Girl in Sight - Concordia students, 1905.

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This patriarchal domination of the history of Australian Lutheran schooling is oddly juxtaposed with the fact that the same system has a long tradition of co-education. The very first Lutheran schools enrolled both genders, and every Lutheran school in this country in modern times enrols roughly equal numbers of males and females. Obviously, while for the years covered by this history it was the practice of the church to provide co-educational schools, it was also just as commonly accepted that these schools should be presided over by males. A number of reasons for this superficially contradictory situation present themselves immediately. The first is that according to Lutheran theology and the teaching of the priesthood of all believers, all people, male and female, are called to be Christians in an equal way. Luther believed that this included the obligation to get to know the Scriptures personally. To do this young people had to become literate, and this in turn involved an elementary education. So from the very beginning girls were automatically enrolled in congregational schools just as the boys were. Significantly, however, it was in the institutions of higher learning that girls had a decidedly lesser place. For instance for the first five years of Immanuel College at Point Pass, only two of the first thirteen students were female.[25] At the rival synod's college called Concordia there were no female students enrolled at all between 1890 and 1926.[26] This reflected the belief that while females required a basic Christian education in order to be taught the fundamentals of the faith and to read their Bibles and the confessions of the church, because of their gender they did not qualify for the training to become leaders in the church.

Against this background, then, the patriarchs in this history are meant to be seen in two ways. They were the pioneers of character, the fathers with influence, who established the Lutheran schooling tradition in Australia. They were also, some more determinedly than others, the leaders and power brokers in a male dominated church.

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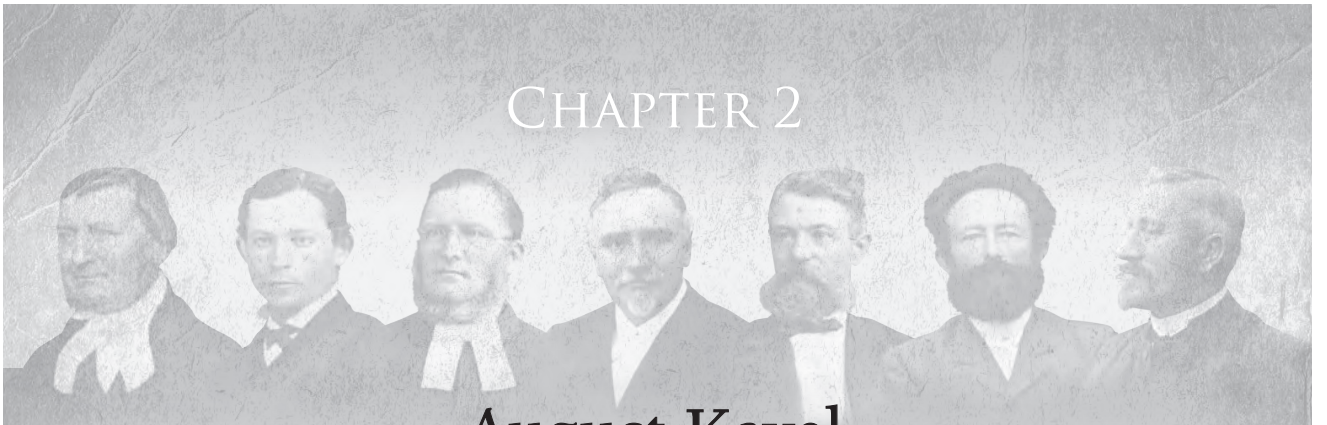

Chapter 2

August Kavel
Caesar Versus God

"Give to Caesar what is Caesar's, and to God what is God's." Luke 20: 25.

August Kavel.

The story of the first eighty years of Lutheran schooling in Australia starts with August Kavel. He certainly was a major influence and participant in its inauguration and growth as well as something of an icon, a symbolic father figure in its genesis. As the acknowledged founder of Australian Lutheranism, Kavel's life was inextricably bound up with the church he established in the new colony of South Australia after his arrival with his congregation of disaffected German Lutherans at the end of 1838. This church had its own school system from the beginning, and Kavel was responsible for founding that too. If, as he and others were often to quote, Lutheran schools were the "nurseries of the church", then Kavel fathered the church in Australia and was the parent who built the first nursery. It was he who set the pattern of the church providing its own schools as an integral agency of its work. He was also a source of the first schisms in the Australian Lutheran Church which had a significant effect on the development of its school system. As well, he was an early advocate of Lutheran higher education in order to provide pastors and teachers for his church. Kavel and his people, soaked in the confessional theology of Old Lutheranism, touched with a sprinkle of European pietism and tempered with a dose of spiritual awakening, brought all these influences to Australia. They were part of the imprint that Kavel, the patriarchal leader, left on Lutheranism in Australia and its schools. He was an isolationist who established the foundation for much of the early thinking about the church's relations with the state and the role of Lutheran schools in the church and in society.

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The Years in Europe

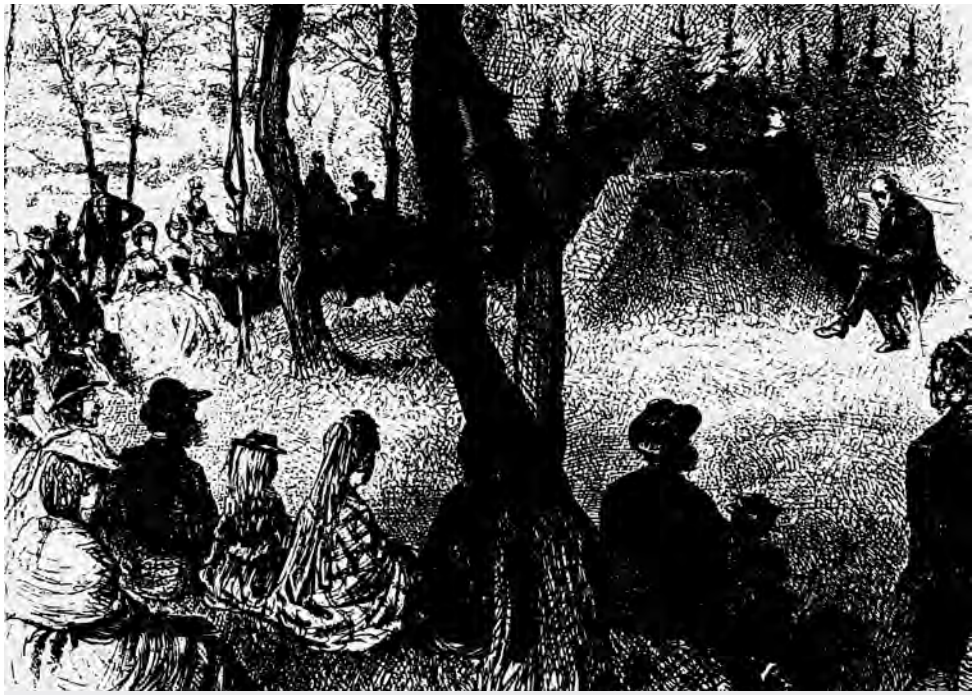
The first forty years of Kavel's life were spent in Europe, mostly Prussia. That was where his ideas, including those on church-state relations, were forged. August Ludwig Christian Kavel was born on 3 September 1798, the eldest of five children surviving infancy born to Albrecht Christian Kavel and his wife Sabine. The family lived in Berlin where Albrecht was a struggling tailor. August was used to being the dominant figure in his social circle from his first years. He was always the promising achiever in the family, first in scholastic accomplishments, and then as a charismatic pastor. Later in his life it would seem the fitting thing that all of his family, including his parents, should accompany him to South Australia. Because August was a gifted scholar, his parents wanted him to further his education. After his years in elementary schooling he attended Grey Cloisters College for his secondary education, and then went on to the University of Berlin where he studied theology from 1819 to 1821. During his tertiary studies he supported himself by working as a private tutor. When he graduated he continued his tutoring work, as was customary for theological graduates, until he was ordained as a Protestant pastor in 1826.[1]

One of the main keys to understanding Kavel is to appreciate the theological perspectives he gained early in life. Kavel's parents were pious and religious. His training to be a pastor of the church would have been a natural consequence of their aspirations for him. It at least partly explains why he was impervious to the liberal theology that was prevalent in the intellectual environment of his university days. In the period of Kavel's formative years as a student there were three main theological groupings in German Protestantism. On the one extreme were the rationalists, who demystified the Scriptures and denied the miracles and other supernatural elements of the Bible. At the other end of the spectrum was confessional orthodoxy, which recognized the divinity of Jesus, but where the main emphasis was on dogma, the systematic setting out of the teachings of the church. Between these two camps was a collection of "mediating" theologians, who employed some of the critical methods of the rationalists, but still had faith in a divine Christ. Berlin University had been established in 1810, and by the time Kavel studied there nine years later, it included in its faculty two influential proponents of the mediating school of theology. They were Friedrich Schleiermacher and Johann Neander; the latter with his strong personal faith was a special influence on Kavel. Another prominent personality at Berlin University during Kavel's time was the philosopher Georg Hegel who was an important contributor to nineteenth-century thought.[2]

Although he lived and studied in this environment, and would have been confronted with the ideas of more liberal thinkers, Kavel retained the simple, pious Christian faith of his parents. In later years he said that God had closed his ears to the disdainful comments of his lecturers about the veracity of the Bible and had helped him to survive the atheistic and rationalistic writings he encountered in his studies. During his student days, Kavel was a serious and morose figure with a morbid fear of death who avoided the excesses of student life and spent his time in study and devotion. He kept close to his family and the money he earned as a tutor he used to pay for his own upkeep as well as contributing to their support. The text for his ordination as a pastor at the end of 1826 was Matthew 10: 16 and it became part of his mindset: "Listen! I am sending you out just like sheep to a pack of wolves. You must be cautious as snakes and

as gentle as doves." His formative years were ones where he developed a pronounced sense of belonging to a small, godly group of Christian believers defensively poised before larger, threatening powers.

After his years at university, there were two more major influences on Kavel's theological formation which occurred after he had been ordained and was serving as a pastor. His first parish consisted of three congregations: Klemzig, Harthe and Goltzen in the district of Zuellichau in the Prussian province of Brandenburg. He found the parish in poor condition with most of its members only nominally committed to their church. This discouraging situation was attributed by Kavel to his predecessor, Pastor Ritthausen, who was a rationalist. Kavel went through a period of depression and anxiety about this situation, before trying to win his parishioners to a more committed religious life. It was at this point that he encountered the Revivalist movement which was then gathering momentum among Christians in Europe. It called upon people to set aside the practice of a dogmatic, orthodox religiosity and recapture the joy and commitment of the New Testament church. Revivalism came to Kavel through some members of his parish. He felt inspired by them to rediscover his own faith. He began to minister and lead in a way that spread the revival through his own people. His preaching, it is claimed, made inroads into the inns, gambling dens and dance halls in the villages in his parish. It also instigated a mounting interest in Bible studies and lectures, and the number of people attending church to hear his sermons increased. His own family, including parents and siblings, came to live with him and share his new found zeal. He continued to support them out of his own income. He was becoming more pious, zealous and assured of his own point of view.



Clandestine Congregation.

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Caught up in this new found zeal, a new crisis was soon engulfing him. It was the second major ecclesiastical issue which affected Kavel during this time, and the one which was central to developing his ideas about church-state relations. It was instigated by the King Friedrich Wilhelm III of Prussia, when he sought to establish a Union Church in his domain. Friedrich himself belonged to the Reformed element of German Protestantism, and advocated a union between it and Lutheranism. This had been a policy of the Prussian royal family ever since it had converted to Calvinism in 1613 and had to preside over a kingdom predominantly made up of Lutherans. Friedrich Wilhelm proclaimed the union in 1817, the year which marked the third centenary of the Lutheran Reformation. The chief means of achieving this was through the publication of a new church worship book. After some early criticism, it was amended and finally accepted by most of the clergy. The deadline for all churches to introduce the book was set for 1830, the third centenary of the writing of the *Augsburg Confession* by the first Lutherans. It was accepted and duly introduced by 7 750 congregations in Prussia, but there was a stubborn minority who refused to do so. The "Separatists" or "Old Lutherans" as they were called, were led by Dr J. C. Scheibel, a professor at the University of Breslau. Scheibel was scathing and extreme in expressing his views and even developed some unique ideas about church organisation which were not really Lutheran, but he became the focus of their opposition to the changes.[3]

For his part, Kavel's original reaction was to accept the new worship book, and he preached a number of sermons in support of it. Some of his more fervent parishioners questioned his stance, however, so Kavel made a study of the issues. He was influenced by Scheibel's writings, and became convinced that the new Union Church compromised some of the basic tenets of the Christian faith. In 1835 he made a public stand on the matter of the new liturgy by resigning from the church. In the same year he published a pamphlet entitled *The True Lutheran Church* in which he outlined various forms of false Lutheranism ranging from the dead orthodoxy of earlier years to the contemporary establishment of the Union Church.[4] His state salary was discontinued and he was no longer allowed to occupy the pulpit in the local church at Klemzig. After his final sermon which he preached on 19 April 1835, the church and the manse were occupied by the police and he was barred from using either of these buildings. He was joined by about a hundred loyal supporters. From now on their worship would be illegal and clandestine In Kavel's eyes the rulers of the land had become the enemies of the true church. He began to look elsewhere for a place where he and his people might live free of government interference.

Migration

There were good reasons for Kavel to relocate his church to the settlement in South Australia. This colony was something of an experiment which grew out of a scheme proposed by Edward Wakefield, an Englishman who saw other possibilities for Australia besides the penal colonies which had been the major form of settlement. His idea was to sell colonial lands, and apply the money to provide free immigration to poorer people who would find a new life in the colony. The *Act* for the establishment of South Australia was passed in August 1834. The first settlers arrived in 1836. The development of the colony was assisted by George Fife Angas, a prominent businessman, who together with

several colleagues, floated the South Australia Company. They bought up a large portion of the land for twelve shillings an acre, and then resold it over time to ensure that the first funds were generated. Needless to say, they also ensured they made a profit.[5] The new settlement was to have no convicts, and though a crown colony controlled by the Colonial Office with its own governor, it would become self governing as soon as possible. Although he was an astute businessman, Angas was also genuinely philanthropic. A strict Baptist, he supported the notion that the new colony would be a place of political and religious freedom where dissenters and idealists from English society might found a successful new community, a "paradise of dissent".[6] Such a settlement had obvious attractions for Kavel and his people. When he contacted Angas about the possibility of migrating to South Australia, Angas became a supporter of the Lutheran cause, lent them the money and presided over the arrangements to make it achievable.[7]

George Fife Angas.

When Kavel and his congregation, after two years of waiting for permission to leave Germany, finally arrived in their new country towards the end of 1838, their main desire was to celebrate their freedom of worship. By 1840, in four boatloads, he brought about 570 German Lutherans to the colony. Under Kavel's leadership they went on to establish distinctive communities which included a dedicated life of religious observance as well as a tradition of Lutheran schooling. The first was at Klemzig, named in honour of their home town, on the Torrens River on the outskirts of Adelaide. Contrary to the expectations of their sponsor Angas, they did not disperse themselves over the colony as labourers, but chose to take up land next to one another and form their own villages. Kavel, who displayed a sound grasp of the economic situation prevailing in South Australia, argued that it made sense to take up farming since the new colony was importing food and needed to produce its own. In his regular correspondence with Angas he would make detailed analyses of the economic situation in the colony. He could see that a key problem was that there was an abundance of arable land not being used to produce food crops.[8] This was true because in the first two years of settlement there had been a delay in the establishment of primary production, partly because of property speculation, and partly because of the tardiness in opening up land for farming. Within a month of their arrival, Kavel and Angas' agent, Flaxman, made a deal for the Germans to join forces and take up land owned by the South Australia Company and pay it off over a period of time. Kavel was probably also aware of the advantages of keeping his people together under his supervision for the maintenance of their religious orientation.

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Separate Villages

In the two months of December 1838 and January 1839, three agricultural villages were set up: Klemzig on the outskirts of Adelaide, Glen Osmond in the Adelaide foothills, and Hahndorf in the Adelaide Hills. Early the next year, an article appeared in the Adelaide press which noted the rapid advances these German Lutherans had made within a short time at Klemzig. It captures the two sides of the lifestyle that became typical of the first Lutheran settlements in South Australia. After only four or five months there were signs of hard work and positive citizenship. Their "industry and quiet perseverance" are mentioned illustrated by the fact that they had already erected thirty spacious homes and covered the banks of the river with vegetable gardens. Their religious commitment was also evident and their escape from the religious persecution of their native land is alluded to as a "retreat of persecuted piety".[9] Under his leadership, Kavel's people had already set in place the main elements which would characterise their settlements for the years to come.

Each village comprised two rows of houses set up along a main street, and in the middle of them, there was a church and a school. Land for cultivation and pasture surrounded the village, divided into private holdings. Because they worked hard at tending and watering their crops, despite the dry weather, they were soon supplying Adelaide people with fresh produce including melons, cabbages, turnips, peas and carrots. According to the census of 1841, the village at Klemzig consisted of thirty-four dwellings, a school and 209 inhabitants. Hahndorf had a church, fifty-two houses, a public house, cattle sheds and stockyards. A visitor to Klemzig in 1841 describes "one long street with picturesque cottages (with) a quaint foreign look (and) a Lutheran Chapel which appeared much frequented".[10] Another visitor to Klemzig during the same period mentions a visit to the church: "We . . found it then in use as a school." The report goes on to say that Pastor Kavel was himself the teacher and that there were about two dozen students of both sexes.[11] This was the pattern: a German-speaking, rural village set in a small farming environment with a church and a school at the heart of it which was to be copied in Lutheran communities in South Australia, and to some extent in Victoria and New South Wales, in the decades that followed.

Whether it was August Kavel the visitor saw teaching the children, or whether he was mistaken for his brother Ferdinand who was the first teacher at the Lutheran school in Klemzig, we do not know. August was the pastor to all three villages, while Friedrich Schwarz and Ferdinand Welke were the teachers in the Lutheran schools at Glen Osmond and Hahndorf. In these villages, under the careful scrutiny of Kavel, the Lutherans lived quite separate lives from those of the rest of the colony. They spoke their own language, and kept their own customs. The centre of community life was the church and the school, and the leaders of each community were the pastor and the teacher. Besides the Sunday services where there could be two worship sessions in one day, and sermons were regarded as superficial if they did not last at least an hour, there were also the week night prayer meetings, Bible studies and discussions on the Lutheran Confessions, a collection of writings encapsulating Lutheran teaching which had been produced at the time of the Reformation. The church was the focus of their weekly lives. Each family owned a copy of the large Breslau devotion book which included nearly two thousand hymns, as well as set prayers, the gospel and epistle readings for the church year,

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in addition to a copy of the Lutheran Confessions. Fundamentalism and pietism governed the community. The Bible, which was interpreted quite literally, was regarded as the main guide for religious and practical living. Sins of a serious nature such as dancing required confession to the congregation, marriages with non-Lutherans were forbidden and women were not allowed to appear in public after childbirth until they had come before the altar. Angas' son George described these Germans as "frugal and industrious to an extraordinary degree" while being "a slow plodding class with many conventional prejudices". Like some other Protestant groups in the colony, they opposed amusements of any kind, especially on a Sunday. So these Lutherans, under Kavel's leadership and guidance, developed their own separate religious and social enclaves.[12]

It is somewhat ironic that while Kavel the pastor was quite insistent that his people marry within their own religious community, he did not adhere to this policy himself. Before coming to Australia, Kavel had spent two years in England where Angas had found him work as a missionary to London's Germans. During this time he met Miss Anne Pennyfeather whom he was introduced to as a friend of the Angas family.[13] She did not travel to Australia with him in 1838 but appeared in the new colony in early 1840. Less than two months after she arrived, this notice appeared in the local press: "MARRIED, on the 28th ultimo, by the Rev C. Teichelmann, at the German Lutheran Church, at Klemzig, the Rev A. Kavel, to Miss A. C. Pennyfeather, of Laytonstone, Essex."[14] Teichelmann was a Lutheran missionary who had preceded Kavel to South Australia. Kavel was somewhat conscience-stricken in taking a course of matrimonial action which had been forbidden in his congregations. On her arrival in the colony he treated his future wife rather distantly, and on the day of the wedding he procrastinated, calling it off, then on again, then off again. Finally, late in the evening, they were married.[15] These events reveal something about the man which sheds light on his personality and character. One interpretation of these events would be to see him as a hypocrite who adopted one set of rules for himself and another for his people. Perhaps closer to the mark, as evidenced by his own indecision on the day, is to recognise a man caught between a sensitive conscience on religious matters and an even stronger belief in himself and his own rectitude. The same characteristics asserted themselves in various disputes and schisms he was involved in during his lifetime. Meanwhile, the marriage to Anne was tragically short-lived. On Christmas Eve in 1841 she gave birth to a still-born son. On Christmas Day she herself died. Kavel consoled himself with the thought that she had departed "to a better world".[16] Inevitably his mind would have revisited the misgivings of his wedding day. On the other hand there is little doubt that this marriage to an Englishwoman would have had some advantages for him in his role as spokesperson for the Lutheran community in a British colony.

The Schools

One of the most important contributors to the distinctive culture forged in these early settlements was the local Lutheran school. Unlike most of Australia which quickly became a monolingual society, and where schools everywhere reflected this, Kavel's people were one of the rare cases where things were different. In various places in South Australia and wider afield, the faith and traditions of their country of origin were strictly maintained as part of a culture partly frozen in time.

Langmeil School built in 1845.

Part of this was a tradition carried on from Germany where it was the custom in many states for the church to provide schools. In fact, in those territories under Prussian control, an 1819 law required each parish to maintain at least one elementary school which included religious training and instruction as part of the curriculum. So entrenched was this requirement that in 1834 punitive action was taken against those dissenting Lutherans who refused instruction from Union pastors. Instead they had petitioned the government for the right to have their own schools where distinctive Lutheran teachings might be promulgated. This practice had its roots in the Reformation where Martin Luther himself had been a keen exponent of education for the masses. Schools were the nurseries of the church, and for the sake of the church it was regarded as essential that they be retained. Lutheran presuppositions about schooling had been informed by this Prussian background where there was compulsory schooling, provided by the church but under the control of the state. While this very system had been a problem for them when the state forced Lutheran parents to send their students to schools run by the Union Church, it was the model they knew and which they sought to modify to fit their own needs in the new colony.[17]

The Lutheran village schools in South Australia taught basic literacy (in German) and numeracy, as well as some geography, history and music, which was much the same curriculum as in their homeland. However, religious and moral teachings were at the heart of the curriculum. These would have been strongly permeated by the fundamentalist and pietistic attitudes integral to the life of Kavel's people. After travelling across the world in order to practise their own brand of Christianity freely, one of the chief aims of the new settlers was to pass on the faith of the fathers to the next generation. Families had a role to play in this, but it was essential that each congregation have its own school as an agency for the Christian nurture of the community's children as well.

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One of the fundamental principles laid down in Kavel's earliest constitution for his Australian church was an oral, public examination before the elders of anyone who was to become a teacher, to ensure that they were fully equipped theologically to perform their task.[18] These teachers were regarded not only as having a role in the school, but were leaders in the church as well. Friedrich Topp, from the Bethany school in the Barossa Valley, for instance, played a significant role in church theological controversies. It became quite established, then, that these Lutheran schools, even though they taught secular subjects, were considered agencies of the church, not of the state. Memories of state authorities in Prussia controlling the school system with Lutheran children being forced to submit to the teachings of the Union Church made Kavel's people acutely aware of a need to preserve their independence.

Another feature that made these early Lutheran schools unique was that, in the early years, virtually all of the teaching was in German. In part this was because the teacher and the community would have had little, if any, English. Another reason was that the hymns, liturgies and teachings of the church, as well as Luther's Bible, were all in German. The language and the religion were inextricably integrated. The language also formed a natural barrier between the villages and the larger community of the colony, preserving culture, custom and, most importantly to the Lutherans, religious purity. Early descriptions and visual depictions of Klemzig and Hahndorf provide a picture of communities where the people, dress, buildings, language, churches, schools, farming methods, seem as if they had been transplanted as a whole from Europe. Kavel made it clear in letters to Angas that he and his people were committed to contributing to the colony as a whole, and to embracing full citizenship in this new land. However, just as ardently, he wanted to preserve the exclusive nature of his communities because that was a way of protecting the exclusive nature of his church. Admittedly, it also ensured Kavel's continuing control over his people. The schools needed to preserve the German language to ensure that this would happen. This use of German in Lutheran schools persisted well into the twentieth century. Even today most Lutheran schools still teach German as one of their languages other than English.

The system that Kavel and his people set up to maintain the schools showed that their main role was to support the church's agenda, and only on a lesser scale did they seek to advance the commercial and social interests of the people. This ensured that rather than helping the young to gain the skills to integrate into society, they became a powerful segregating force in those communities. The local congregation, under the leadership of Kavel, took a supervisory responsibility over the schools. This included the provision of suitable premises as well as the payment of the teacher. Each family had to contribute, and was expected to borrow money if necessary to cover their obligation to pay for the local church and school. Those who failed to do so risked church discipline. As was the practice in the Prussian system, the pastor himself took up the role of inspector. He made his own assessment of the school twice a year and reported his findings to the congregation. There was also a committee of school elders who looked after maintenance of the facilities, paid the teacher, checked on academic progress and student attendance and supervised the teacher and his performance. They carried on the Prussian practice of requiring children to attend school until the age of fourteen.[19] The fact that a succession of early synodical conventions of the

church found it necessary to pass regulations on these matters not only indicates that such strictures were not completely effective but also emphasised the importance the schools had as agencies of the church.

The schools of the church often contributed to the agenda at Lutheran conventions, or synods, as they were called. For instance, at the synod held at Klemzig in July 1841, school matters occupied a prominent place in discussions. There was debate about spelling books and a decision to order leather Bibles with clear print from Halle in Germany along with Breslau hymn books and catechisms. Parents would be subjected to church discipline if they did not send their children to school, and where they had good reason for keeping them away, had to explain this to the elders of the church. In the synod held in 1843 a timetable and curriculum for Lutheran schools were discussed, especially for Klemzig. It was agreed that the older children be sent to school in the morning and the younger ones in the afternoon. It was also decided that on Mondays teachers should question students about the contents of the Sunday sermon. At other synods in the 1840s various school issues were taken up by delegates: the necessity to appoint a board of school elders; a school leaving age of fourteen; an outline of school board duties; the employment of someone to provide scientific training. In the 1850s school times were set at synod. Students started their school day at 8.00 am and finished it at 4.00 pm in winter and 5.00 pm in summer, with a two to three hour break in the middle of the day. Children with farm duties were allowed extra holidays. Rules were laid down for private lesson arrangements with teachers. The time for the annual school exams was set. The obligation of the school teacher to help out with Sunday instruction was laid out.[20] Although some of these issues may seem trivial, the fact that they were discussed at Lutheran conventions of the church shows how important the schooling system was to the church.

After establishing these rural German villages as segregated enclaves whose community life centred on the congregational church and its school, Kavel began to entertain grand designs for the future. If such a society was to be maintained, there was a necessity to find pastors and teachers. Some pastors might be recruited from Prussia. Some teachers, like Kavel's brother Ferdinand, had emigrated with him. Other teachers were found among the more suitable of the new settlers. Although they did not have a teaching background, this practice was not uncommon, even back in Prussia. Friedrich Schwarz at Glen Osmond was a tailor by trade, and Ferdinand Welke at Hahndorf had emigrated as a locksmith. It was clear to Kavel that the new Lutheran communities in South Australia would have to train their own pastors and teachers. Writing home to the continuing Lutheran Church in Prussia in July 1839, he invited more Lutherans to join him in Australia, including suitable persons who might come so that "a theological professorship be soon established for the preparation of men for service in school and church." He went on to appeal for books to be sent as well, especially Bibles, Greek and Roman texts as well as a printing press.[21] In a letter to Angas in 1841 Kavel writes of the need for a seminary "for the education of divines, schoolmasters, travelling preachers . . . and missionaries." He stated his intention to use Australia as a base to train missionaries to send to its own people as well as to the United States.[22] As early as 1839 he had invited Pastor Daniel Fritzsche, another dissident Lutheran pastor back in Germany, to join him in South Australia with such

a project in mind. Again, in a letter to Fritzsche in March 1840, Kavel mentions the training of pastors and others in the new colony as one of the reasons Fritzsche should come. When Fritzsche did arrive in October 1841, one of his early initiatives was to set up facilities and arrangements for higher education. Kavel later took on the education of one of these students, the future Pastor Christian Auricht, himself.

Relations with the State

One of the most influential roles Kavel played amongst his people was to inculcate in his communities a clear understanding of what their attitude should be to the state. While employing a deliberate policy of establishing cultural and religious ghettos where he had a dominating influence, Kavel was also intent on establishing good relations with the government. He was adamant that the state should not interfere with their churchly affairs. At the same time he was a keen supporter of the government and its role in society. Because of his time in London, his command of English was good enough for him to communicate fluently in both the spoken and written word and he was the natural mediator between his people and the government. In a letter he wrote to Angas shortly after he arrived in the colony in 1838, his English is not discernibly that of a foreigner at all. John Bull, who recorded his observations of these Germans many years later, claims that "Kavel was universally beloved" because of his untiring efforts on behalf of his people, including the role of interpreter.[23]

From the beginning it was clear that Kavel believed it was important for him and his people to embrace their new land as loyal citizens. About four months after they settled in Klemzig, Kavel and his followers took an oath of allegiance to the British sovereign on the occasion of Queen Victoria's birthday on 24 May 1839. Kavel made a public pronouncement explaining why they had decided to do this, emphasising their delight in the liberty of worship they now enjoyed after being denied it in their native land. His declaration included a promise to be faithful subjects and useful citizens, and a statement that it was part of Lutheran teaching to show such loyalty to the secular powers. On the same day Kavel sent a basket of vegetables to Mrs Gawler, the governor's wife, as another mark of respect.[24].Although this oath did not make them British citizens, and they had to wait until 1847 to be naturalised, it clearly conveyed their attitude towards the government in the colony. This set up an interesting tension in the mindsets of these early Lutheran communities. While maintaining a strict separatist mentality about their own lives in the villages, they expressed a strong sense of loyalty to the government.

They were not being hypocritical in this dual allegiance. The reason for it can be found in Lutheran theology. Kavel's understanding of the proper relations between the church and the state would have been governed by Luther's doctrine of the two kingdoms. According to this teaching, Luther maintained that there were two ways in which God cared for the world, through the kingdom of the left hand, and the kingdom of the right hand. The left hand kingdom comprised those secular institutions like government, police, family and industry where God provided for the material wellbeing of people, whether they were Christian or not. The right hand kingdom was the spiritual realm of his church, where God provided for the eternal salvation of those who accepted it in faith. Although these two kingdoms overlapped, and a Christian operated in both sectors,

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any confusion of the two always resulted in problems. Therefore the church should refrain from turning the pulpit into a political soapbox and from taking sides on issues of legislation, just as the government should not make laws on how the church should worship or what it taught in its doctrines. The only time a Christian could speak in the name of God against the government was when it was acting in clear contravention of its secular role. It was in keeping with this teaching, then, that Kavel wanted to show clearly that he and his people supported the government of the new colony, including the Queen who was head of state. On the other hand, the Lutherans had just emigrated from a country whose government had infringed on their rights of freedom of worship. Clearly, he and his followers would continue to be wary on such issues.

However reluctant they were to become embroiled in the political issues of the day, Kavel and his people did have the assurance that the toleration of differing political and religious views was part of the new colony's reason for being. In South Australia, the main feature that underlined relations between the state and the church was the principle of voluntarism. There were far fewer Anglicans and Catholics in South Australia, compared to the other states, and more Methodists, Presbyterians, Congregationalists and Baptists as well as Lutherans. Discomfited by the resurgence of high church Anglican leadership in England, the new colony of South Australia attracted many Dissenters and Non-Conformists as well. According to the 1844 census, while Anglicanism in South Australia could still claim a majority, a third of the population were Dissenters and only six percent were Catholic. It was in this context that the colony's founders adopted the principle of voluntarism in order to protect the rights of these individual churches which, along with the Lutherans, had come to the colony to practise their religion freely. It was envisioned that there would be no special status given to the Anglicans and each denomination would be treated equally by government. The best way to ensure this was for each church to fend for itself and for none of them to receive help from the state.[25]

This principle was formalised under legislation signed by the Governor in Council in 1842 which ensured that laws could not impede any form of worship in the colony. There were varying points of view as to what this meant in practice. Did it mean that there should be no government support of religion at all? Or was it a case for the practice of equal government support for all denominations? Voluntarists argued that state aid for religion was against the founding principles of the colony and led to the political corruption of the church as well as unnecessary discord between competing denominations. The church party, on the other hand, claimed that the churches would be supplanted by atheism and anarchy unless the government assisted them to provide services to a rapidly expanding population.[26] However, despite the general commitment to voluntarism, because of the churches' financial struggles, Governor Robe bowed to the inevitable, and gave grants to all the denominations according to numbers. This included funds for the support of denominational schools. In the public debate that accompanied this measure, Kavel made his only statement concerning the Lutheran position on state aid to the general public. He wrote to the *Register*, making it clear that Lutherans were averse to state aid because they feared it might compromise their religious liberty.[27] Government assistance to the churches did not last very long. Enacted in 1847, state aid to church schools in South Australia was abolished in 1851, the first state in Australia to do so.

Kavel was supported by most of the Lutheran community in his stand of rejecting state aid for his church and its schools. Of the thirty-one land grants for churches made during this period, the Lutherans only received one compared to the Catholics' seven and the Anglicans' sixteen. In the same year the government set up a new post of Inspector for Schools which would have caused some qualms amongst the Old Lutherans who would have seen in it the spectre of government interference even though their own schools were not in receipt of state aid. In fact a German speaking deputy was appointed to report on the Lutheran schools, and his main concern was not their religious teaching but the fact that they neglected English. In 1851 there was an election in the colony and the Lutherans were a significant voting bloc in some electoral districts like the Barossa Valley, and so were courted by various politicians. Many Old Lutherans supported George Fife Angas in this electorate because of his opposition to state aid of any kind. Kavel himself kept completely out of the electioneering. After the vote, the *Education Act of 1852* was passed and stipulated that there would be no more state aid to denominational schools, but that private groups or individuals could set up schools which, when licensed, could receive a grant. Kavel's Lutheran synod had six schools at this stage and there was no question of any of them applying for such money. Kavel's principle of not accepting state aid for church schools was a precedent which influenced the thinking of major elements in the Lutheran church for the rest of the century. There were some exceptions. As early as 1849 Pastor Klose, a former Dresden missionary at odds with Kavel, accepted state aid for his Lutheran congregation in Adelaide. His argument was that because of the itinerant nature of his members where impecunious newcomers to the colony would attend until they found some profitable occupation elsewhere, his churches could not survive without government help. They were soon followed by others, although not all of them were successful in attracting a subsidy. A Lutheran congregation in the Barossa which was not aligned with Kavel, for instance, set up a Lutheran school which received a government grant from 1851.[28]

There was also the issue of the *Marriage Act of 1842*. This was passed by the Governor in Council in South Australia and gave the automatic right of clergymen of the Church of England and the Church of Scotland to perform marriages. Clergymen of other denominations had to apply for a licence. There were some objections from the Catholics and Dissenters, but Kavel was happy to comply. He duly applied for such a licence and it was granted. He and his church regarded marriage as a civil estate and a legitimate area in which the government might make laws. It was in the area of education, however, that they were more sensitive to government action. On the one hand, according to Lutheran teaching, this too was the responsibility of the state; on the other it was also a traditional area of church activity because the church had a responsibility to teach its own faith and doctrines to its people. Where the church chose to set up its own schools for the express purpose of Christian teaching, it would not brook government interference in these schools, nor could it accept government money to provide such schools. Therefore, when the Legislative Council in South Australia passed the laws to provide state grants for religion and education in September 1846, Kavel rejected it. There was a fierce public debate on the issue, but except for this statement the Lutherans kept fairly aloof. Besides the conviction about the proper separation of church and state, there was probably at play an element of pietistic disdain for politics which they regarded as being tainted and worldly, as well as their reluctance to overstep the mark as migrants of non-British descent.[29]

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Challenge and Schism

In 1847, the year Kavel's people finally became naturalised citizens, Mr F. Dutton, a landholder who had helped the Lutherans acquire land for the village of Hahndorf, wrote a description of the Lutheran settlements in South Australia which found its way into the newspapers. Through his association with them over a number of years he knew them very well and his observations are quite astute and capture the culture and atmosphere of these localities. He estimates their population as being in the vicinity of 1 500 people who were located in five main villages, Klemzig, Hahndorf, Lobethal, Bethany and Langmeil. The latter two were in the Barossa Valley where more Lutheran settlements were made in the early forties. Dutton describes them as being industrious, frugal, orderly, law-abiding, people who have already paid off all the debts incurred on their arrival in the colony. They may be "slow, awkward, and dull of comprehension", but this is outweighed by their industry and good behaviour. He notes that "they are strictly religious", and that their emigration was motivated by a desire for freedom to practise their faith. He also reports that "they generally keep together in separate communities", and that "marriages with the English are not encouraged by them". Perhaps the most telling insight he offers is of the role Kavel had in these communities. He "possesses a considerable degree of authority amongst them, and is treated by them with the greatest respect." He is depicted as having a moral authority over these Lutheran communities, so that when they have any conflicts, the people refer to his authority rather than to seek arbitration elsewhere. Individual offenders are often admonished from the pulpit. Kavel is also acknowledged in the wider community as an influential leader. Mention is made of his contribution to promotional materials distributed in Germany by agents of the colony in an attempt to recruit more migrants from there.[30]

Kavel's standing with the wider community was one of high esteem. For instance, in 1845 when a number of German families emigrated to New Zealand only to find that the land promised them did not materialise, they contacted Kavel in South Australia and he raised a subscription to pay for their passage to Adelaide as well as making the shipping arrangements. The newspaper report notes that it did not have "the slightest doubt that Mr. Kavel's proposal will be cordially approved by the settlers, and that his plans will be promptly seconded in the way he suggests".[31]

Although Kavel always enjoyed considerable standing among both the Lutherans and society generally, within a decade of landing in South Australia he was no longer the only spokesman for the Lutherans. According to the census of 1846 they were a growing group with almost as many Lutherans in the colony as Catholics, each comprising seven percent of the population. Besides being their pastor he was often their mediator and interpreter as well. However, in 1846, Kavel and Daniel Fritzsche, who had arrived in South Australia with his own congregation of Old Lutherans in 1841, were engaged in a major conflict which resulted in them splitting their followers into two separate churches or synods. Then, after the 1848 Revolutions in Europe, a number of fleeing intellectuals and liberals found their way to the colony. In Kavel's own town of Tanunda in the Barossa Valley a rival Lutheran congregation was set up under the pastoral care of the liberal Dr Muecke which had no connection at all with Kavel's Old Lutherans.[32] Here and in other places, Lutheran schools and churches were established which no longer came under the care or pastoral leadership of August Kavel.

The Old Lutherans who came to South Australia under the leadership of August Kavel were a minority breakaway church from mainstream Prussian Lutheranism. This tendency to factionalism continued as a characteristic feature of the Lutherans in the new colony. It would prove to be a significant problem for Lutheran schools. It meant that there was no one voice for the schools when dealing with governments. It also meant that any attempts to confront big issues like curriculum, staffing or teacher recruitment and training were jeopardised because of the failure to present a united effort. Kavel must bear much of the responsibility for the origins of these divisions. One of his first priorities as leader of the Old Lutherans was to preserve purity of doctrine and fellowship. However, he began to find it difficult to differentiate between what was pure Lutheran doctrine and what were his own ideas and beliefs. His first problems occurred in his interactions with Clamor Schürmann and Christian Teichelmann, two Lutheran missionaries who had actually preceded Kavel as migrants to the new colony. They were trained and commissioned by the Dresden Mission Society in Saxony to work among the Australian Aboriginal people. In fact the school Teichelmann opened for Aboriginal children in 1839 was one of the first three Lutheran schools established in Australia, all in that year. Two other Lutheran missionaries, Samuel Klose and Eduard Meyer, from the same training institution, joined them in 1840. All four of these men were loyal Lutherans who had made a stand against liberalism and unionism in Germany. In fact their presence in the colony was a direct result of advice Kavel had given Angas about where he might find suitable missionaries to work among the Aboriginal people. Kavel also appeared at government functions in support of their missionary efforts. However, Kavel kept these men at a distance, although he did call upon Teichelmann to officiate at his wedding. Shortly after Fritzsche arrived in 1841, Teichelmann and Schürmann complained to him that Kavel refused to acknowledge them as Lutherans. The main reason was that they questioned a constitution that Kavel had drawn up for the new Australian Lutheran church. Kavel's attitude to his fellow pastors, and his proprietary feelings about his church, ensured there would be trouble.[33]

Kavel had great dreams for his Australian church. It was not only going to be a new beginning for him and his congregation, but for the whole Lutheran church worldwide. One of the first challenges for him and his people was to work out some system of church governance. They were fleeing from a system where the church was administered through the state, and so at their first synod meeting at Glen Osmond in May 1839, Kavel presented his own constitution to the assembly of delegates. It provided for a self governing church where all (male) confirmed members had a vote, the pastor was called by the congregation, and elders, who had sufficient knowledge of the Confessions, were elected to run the congregation alongside the pastor, as well as keep an eye on his conduct. It also included an article on teachers who had to qualify for their role in the congregation by passing an oral examination in the presence of the elders. The part of the constitution that Schürmann, Teichelmann and even Fritzsche took exception to, was that to be an Australian Lutheran a follower had to accept this constitution in addition to the Scriptures and the Confessions which were the usual requirements.[34]

This was a background issue to a serious split in the church. The catalyst for schism was the controversy over the doctrine of chiliasm, the teaching that Christ would return and reign over the earth for a thousand years at the time of his second coming, which was a literal interpretation of a passage in the New Testament. This matter had become relevant as some of the latest German immigrants arriving in the colony espoused this teaching.

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Fritzsche condemned it and preached against it, but Kavel was open to accepting it. The matter came to a head at the synod held at Bethany in the Barossa Valley in August 1846. This issue, as well as another agenda item where Kavel produced a list of *Protestations* that challenged the Lutheran Confessions on several matters, resulted in a very tense situation in the church. Fritzsche had invited the Dresden missionaries to attend, and Kavel took immediate exception to this. In the ensuing debate on constitutional matters, Kavel and his followers walked out. In the days and months that followed there were attempts at reconciliation but these were unsuccessful. Fritzsche, a year later, published a lengthy reply to Kavel's *Protestations* and so the lines of the schism were set. There was never a reconciliation of their two groups of followers in either Fritzsche's or Kavel's lifetimes. For the church's schools it meant a weakened and divided system as well as the emergence of two different traditions of Lutheran schooling.[35]

In the end, it was not the interference of the government in the affairs of the Lutherans that weakened the unity and stability of the church Kavel founded. Rather it was Kavel himself who alienated many of his people. In the early days, as a contemporary described him, he was like a shepherd to his people "not only administering to their spiritual wants, but also acting as overlooker to a great extent to their temporal affairs." However, as time passed, his inability to work on equal terms with other pastors, as well as his squabbles with his own followers, left him as the leader of only a remnant of his former flock. In 1843 his efforts to relocate all his followers to Langmeil in the Barossa Valley were largely unsuccessful. Many of his Klemzig congregation moved there with him, but the large majority of those at Hahndorf refused. There were threats of church discipline to force them, and most of them joined Fritzsche's congregation in the same town.[36] There was a certain amount of arrogance too in his theological stance where he not only challenged the Lutheran Confessions themselves, but also attempted to create a new form of church governance which he hoped would become a model for the organisation of Lutheranism world-wide. It was he, finally, who staged the walkout at the Bethany Synod in 1846 which split the church for most of the next 120 years.

Kavel died leaving behind a church in disarray. His last Wednesday evening service was poorly attended. He suffered a stroke, from which he never recovered, the next day. He died on 12 February 1860. Although his church was fragmented and his influence as a Lutheran leader diminished, Kavel's standing in the community, as well as his historical role in founding the Australian Lutheran church, ensured that his passing was marked with due attention. About 1 500 people attended his funeral, and he was buried in the church cemetery at Langmeil in the Barossa. Kavel left no descendants of his own. After less than two years of marriage, his first wife Anne died giving birth to a stillborn son. Later at Langmeil, aged fifty-three, he married again, this time within the faith, to a young woman called Beate Irrgang who was his housekeeper. The union produced no children. None of his brothers married, so the Kavel name did not continue in the Lutheran Church he founded, although his sister Maria Fiedler had three children.[37] In 1938, to mark the centenary of the Lutheran Church in Australia, an ugly memorial was erected on his grave. The inscription on it is in German, and simply commemorates him as the founder of Australian Lutheranism. It would have been appropriate for him to be similarly acknowledged as the founder of the Lutheran school system in this country as well.

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Kavel's Grave.

Legacy

In December 1861 a lengthy article celebrating the achievements and lifestyle of the German colonists in South Australia appeared in the *South Australian Advertiser.* Published a year after Kavel's death it can be read as a tribute to his influence on the communities he helped establish in South Australia. It estimates the German population of the colony as between 9 000 and 10 000 people, spread over a dozen close-knit communities in Adelaide, the Adelaide Hills and the Barossa Valley. It mentions Kavel as the original pastor and leader of the first Lutherans and notes their achievements over the previous two decades. It captures the two aspects of their lives so strongly generated by Kavel's leadership. First they are depicted as model citizens, successful farmers and contributors to the wine industry, "just the right kind of people for a young colony, as their steady industry and easy temperament enable them to bear up under hardship and difficulties." The article celebrates the fact that there has been a "recent demonstration in honour of the Governor", as well as "expressions of loyalty to the Queen". The other aspect of their community revolves around their religious life. They now have fifteen or sixteen pastors to lead them, and "in all the principal German townships there is some place set apart for public worship", the number of such places amounts to about thirty. As well as the churches it is noted that "education is by no means neglected amongst the Germans", and goes on to mention their good schools.[38] Kavel would have approved. His people had the balance right, embracing their new country and its freedom and opportunities and supporting its government while at the same time keeping quite separate and independent in their Christian worship and schooling. The only thing missing was a united church under his constitution.

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Patriarchal Places in South Australia.

August Kavel:
- pastor in Klemzig, Hahndorf and Langmeil
- died in Tanunda
- buried in Tanunda

Wilhelm Boehm:
- schooling in Hahndorf
- tertiary in Lobethal and Bethany
- teacher in Hahndorf

Rudolph Ey:
- teacher in Klemzig
- teacher in Blumberg
- teacher in Hahndorf
- teacher in Carlsruhe
- pastor in Carlsruhe
- pastor in Lobethal
- died in Lobethal
- buried in Lobethal

Carl Krichauff:
- teacher in Siegersdorf and Stockwell
- teacher in Adelaide
- teacher in Point Pass
- teacher in Nuriootpa
- teacher in Springton
- retired in Evandale
- died in Evandale
- buried in Adelaide

Georg Leidig:
- pastor and teacher in Point Pass
- retired in Tanunda
- died in Tanunda
- buried in Tanunda

Daniel Fritzsche:
- pastor in Hahndorf and Lobethal
- died in Lobethal
- buried in Lobethal

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Kavel's significance to Lutheran education in Australia is considerable. He played a foundational role in ensuring the pattern of a church and a school in each of the settlements he and his people established. Kavel was also aware that if his church was to continue as a distinctive entity in Australia, there was a need to inculcate the next generation with its teachings. This tradition of its schools being the nurseries of the church, the foundation on which it built its future, was to be a strong element in its preservation for the coming generations. Kavel also foresaw the need for his church to recruit and train its own pastors and teachers. Through the schools and their persistence in the German language, Kavel established a way of uniting his communities around a distinctive culture permeated by Christian beliefs, but also isolated from the rest of society. Kavel also set the early position of his church on the issue of state aid. Under his leadership such aid was firmly rejected by the church, a position it officially retained for years. This was very much the way Kavel wanted it. His people would prosper as committed and functioning citizens of this new country, but they would also be a segregated group, divided from the rest of society by their Lutheran beliefs and values which were preached from their pulpits and nurtured in their educational establishments. The members of his church would be loyal citizens to a government that kept well out of the church's affairs including the running of its schools. It was this independence from the state which was a major factor in ensuring that Lutheran schools survived the challenge of state schools towards the end of the nineteenth century.

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2 W. Walker, *A History of the Christian Church,* Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark, 1963, pp. 488 ff.

3 W. Iwan, *Um des Glaubens willen nach Australien*, Breslau, Germany: Verlag des Lutheranische Buchvereins, 1931, pp. 15. ff. A 1995 English translation by D. A. Schubert, Openbook Publishers, Adelaide is the reference. Also see D. A. Schubert, "Ten Days' Tribulation", *Lutheran Church of Australia Yearbook, 1988 – 89*, pp. 41 ff.

4 An English translation of this pamphlet appears in *Journal of Friends of Lutheran Archives*, No. 4, October 1994, Adelaide: Open Book, pp. 61 ff. translated by Werner Hebart.

5 A. G. Price, *The Foundation and Settlement of South Australia 1829 – 1845*, Adelaide: F. W. Preece, 1924, pp. 9 ff., 32 ff.

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7 D. A. Schubert, *Kavel's People*, Adelaide: Lutheran Publishing House, 1985, p. 63.

8 Kavel letter to Angas, December 24, 1838. LA.

9 *The Southern Australian*, 1 May 1839.

10 D. A. Schubert, *Kavel's People*, pp. 99, 130; Price, pp. 154 – 156.

11 *South Australian Register*, January 30, 1878.

12 D. Whitelock, *The Adelaide Hills*, Brisbane: UQ Press, 1977, pp. 54 (Angas quote), 257; Brauer, pp. 72 ff.; F. J. H. Blaess, "The Apostolic Church Constitution", *Australasian Theological Review,* March 1965, pp. 24, 25.

13 A. Brauer, *The Australian Lutheran Almanac, 1934,* p. 55.

14 *Southern Australian,* 7 May 1840.
15 C. Schurmann (ed.), *I'd Rather Dig Potatoes*, Adelaide: Lutheran Publishing House, 1989, pp. 89, 102 ff.
16 Kavel letter to Angas, 9 April 1842, LA.
17 J. E. Zweck, "The Origins of Lutheran Schools in Australia", *Lutheran Theological Journal,* Vol 22, No 3, December 1988, p. 135; J. E. Zweck, *Church and State Relations as they Affected the Lutheran Church and its Schools in South Australia, 1838 – 1900*, unpublished Master of Education thesis, University of Melbourne, 1971, pp. 16 – 20; D. A. Schubert, *Kavel's People,* p. 68; *Kirchen und Missionsblatt (KMB)* I, 5, May 1862, pp. 39 – 40, LA.
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19 Zweck, Thesis, pp. 33, 37 ff.
20 F. J. H. Blaess, *The Pioneer Australian Lutheran Church 1839 – 1846*, p. 40, LA.
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Chapter 3

Daniel Fritzsche
Nurseries of the Church

"Train a child in the way he should go, and when he is old he will not turn from it." Proverbs 22: 6.

There has always been a symbiotic relationship between the Lutheran Church of Australia and its schools. From the earliest days, there was a belief that the church ought to provide its own education agencies, and that in turn these would ensure the future of the church. Daniel Fritzsche, who arrived in Australia in October 1841, was a committed adherent in this cause. Not only was he a strong advocate for Lutheran congregational schools, but he was the pioneer leader of the Lutheran tertiary institutions which provided their teachers. An examination of his life shows his influence on his church's thinking about education as well as depicts his personal contribution to its provision. Fritzsche came to Australia as the pastor and leader of the second wave of Old Lutheran migrations from Germany to the free colony of South Australia. He and his congregation had come on the invitation of Pastor August Kavel who had made the same voyage almost three years previously.

Daniel Fritzsche's Lobethal College.

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Dr J. C. Scheibel.

German Background

There was little in his formative years to suggest that he would one day become a Lutheran church and school patriarch. Gotthard Daniel Fritzsche was born on 20 July 1797 in the village of Liebenwerda in the German duchy of Saxony. His father was the town musician whose special talents were inherited by Daniel. He was the only son, but had two sisters called Caroline and Charlotte who are said to have adored their brother. He was reared in a refined and cultured, if poor, household, but his parents were not particularly religious. He attended primary school in his home town, and was then sent to the Kreuz School in Dresden in 1809 for his secondary education. He matriculated in 1819. By that time he was old enough for military service, but he only lasted in the army for a few months before he was discharged because of ill health. He suffered a hernia problem with added complications, and became so sick that he almost died. When he recovered, he underwent a spiritual conversion, vowing to serve God for the rest of the life that had been restored to him. Shortly afterwards, he enrolled in the Lutheran University of Breslau to study theology. Here one of his most influential lecturers was Dr J. C. Scheibel who was to become the leader of Germany's Old Lutherans during the period of persecution. Many of his fellow academics and students at the university regarded Scheibel as somewhat of an extremist and fanatic, but Fritzsche, along with some of his more conservative friends, was drawn to him. He developed a strong adherence to Scheibel's distinctive views on theology as well as his commitment to the Lutheran Confessions. In 1823 he graduated as a student who had shown exceptional ability and piety.[1]

Like Kavel before him, Fritzsche spent some time working as a teacher before he became a pastor. He followed this work for nearly seven years in various situations. One of his postings was in the town of Pinne in the duchy of Posen where he taught children in a mission school set up for families of Jewish extraction. He developed very positive relations with von Rappard, the sponsor of the school and a local landowner of some means who sometimes called on Fritzsche's services to preach at his manor. He was so impressive in this role that when he passed his final examinations to become a pastor in 1830, von Rappard was instrumental in his being offered a parish in Pinne. On his graduation he was appointed as a teacher in the new Union Church but did not take up ordination as a pastor. While he remained a member for another five years, under the influence of his old university teacher Scheibel he became disturbed in his conscience about the new service order which had been made compulsory in an attempt to unite the separate strands of Calvinism and Lutheranism. In July 1835 he therefore resigned from the Union Church, much to the disappointment of some of his sponsors in Pinne as well as members of his own family. He had grown to see the Union Church as "a persecuting church", and was prepared to leave it in order to "share temporal dishonour and persecution with [his] Lutheran brethren in the faith." The next month he had his certificate to preach formally removed from him and was warned that he would face a fine or imprisonment if he officiated at a religious service.[2]

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His congregation accepted his resignation, and one week later he became a pastor in the newly formed, but illegal, Evangelical Lutheran Church when he was ordained at Posen by Pastor Wermelskirch. For the next five years he was to serve as a pastor to an underground church. He travelled from one clandestine congregation to the next, hiding in homes, cellars and haylofts, carrying out his ministry to the Old Lutherans. In his absence he was fined and given jail sentences on a number of occasions, but never served time or paid any money, successfully avoiding capture. Over a period of time, most of his fellow pastors were imprisoned, which in turn increased Fritzsche's workload and exposure. In the end he was the only Lutheran pastor who remained free, but it required a great deal of subterfuge on his part. One of his main forms of disguise was the linen smock and fur cap with ear flaps of a Polish peasant. During one period his friend Ferdinand Mueller drove a cart through the countryside for four weeks with Fritzsche as a disguised passenger or hidden under a load of straw. There is also the story of how a policeman once asked him if he had seen Fritzsche, and when he replied that he was indeed that man himself, the policeman would not believe him, given his appearance. In the area of Posen he sometimes sheltered at the Strempel family home, one of whose members was to become a student of his in Australia.[3] These years had their effects on Fritzsche's mind and person. They wore him out physically, but obviously they developed a resolute and determined streak in his character as well as a sense of commitment to and compassion for the people he served. Out of these years too grew his wariness and suspicion of the state authorities which he was to carry over into his Australian experience. More than Kavel, who had emigrated earlier, he was less inclined to assert himself in a role as public leader of his people as he was to take on a pastoral role of service and care for them.

There was a debate among the Old Lutherans, in areas under the requirement to join the Union Church, as to what their duty should be. Some, like August Kavel, whose instinct was always to segregate himself from those with whom he disagreed, had not hesitated to emigrate to other countries. Others, like Fritzsche, less concerned with their own authority but more intent on doing their duty, considered emigration to be an abdication of their responsibility to stay and witness to their beliefs through the persecution. Although Fritzsche's instinct was to remain, he did not condemn those who sought "freedom in worship and education" elsewhere. He wrote: "It is always better . . . that one remains and preaches God's word with hands bound."[4] By the beginning of 1840, however, his underground ministry was taking its toll on Fritzsche who never had a strong constitution. When he became ill, he was sent by his people to the free city of Hamburg to recuperate.

Migration and Marriage

Fritzsche spent the first half of 1840 getting over his afflictions, and making enquiries about some means of migration. In June, after a visit to England where he met George Fife Angas of the South Australia Company, Fritzsche received a letter from August Kavel, asking him to bring a group of followers to the new colony where they could enjoy "freedom of religion and conscience with regard to our Lutheran Confessions". Kavel also mentioned that he needed help to train missionaries and schoolmasters.[5] Fritzsche let his congregation decide: if they insisted on going, he would accompany them; if they decided to stay, so would he. In the end, they decided in the affirmative. They too would emigrate to South Australia in order to find freedom of religion.[6]

Despite some donations Fritzsche had received in England, there was difficulty in finding enough finances for his congregation to make the journey, even after they sold their property. They finally acquired enough funds from two women: Mrs Richardson, a member of the Society of Friends in London, and the rest from Mrs Nehrlich with whom Fritzsche stayed in Hamburg. A wealthy widow sympathetic to the Lutheran cause, she was very impressed with Fritzsche for whom she claimed she would be willing to sacrifice her life. Her daughter Dorothea was also attracted to him, and they became engaged in May 1841. When Fritzsche agreed to emigrate, Dorothea and her mother decided to travel with him, a trip opposed by the younger daughter Liszinska. Fritzsche's people set sail from Hamburg in July 1841 on board the *Skjold* under Captain Claussen, its passenger list numbering 270. It was a dreadful voyage with fifty of those on board dying on the way, Fritzsche having to conduct an average of three funerals a week. On arrival in Adelaide, Lutherans from Klemzig and Hahndorf took them into their own villages and homes.[7]

Daniel Fritzsche and Dorothea Nehrlich were married in January 1842, a few months after their arrival in South Australia. Pastor Kavel performed the ceremony which took place in a hut in Hahndorf where Fritzsche had taken up temporary residence. Dorothea, like her husband, was an accomplished musician and brought a magnificent piano to the colony with her. Her father had been director of music at the Hamburg Conservatorium. Mrs Watts, an English woman who visited Kavel during the first weeks after the couple's arrival, was much taken with Dorothea's musical ability. She remarked on the grand piano in the rudimentary setting of their accommodation, and how Dorothea was called from washing clothes in the river to demonstrate its quality which she did with some reluctance because of her working dress. After playing "a brilliant fantasia in excellent style" Dorothea excused herself, whereupon her fiancé took her place, singing to his own accompaniment. This genteel woman would have had a difficult time in the rough conditions of the new colony. For instance, potatoes baked in their jackets were the main fare at their wedding reception. However, she was very highly regarded for her kindness and hard work. Captain Claussen remarked on the care and comfort she dispensed to those bereaved during the voyage.[8]

In the new colony a decision had to be made as to where Fritzsche and his people would live. There was not enough room for them in the three villages established by Kavel's people. Finally, after much investigation and discussion, most of them settled in either Lobethal in the Adelaide Hills, or in Bethany on the fringe of modern Tanunda in the Barossa Valley. Some also remained in Hahndorf. Fritzsche's people were the first settlers in the Barossa Valley, taking up land there in the early part of 1842. The original survey of the land had been encouraged by Johannes Menge, a German mineralogist serving the South Australia Company, and Kavel had been trying, unsuccessfully, to get all his people to settle there for some time. Fritzsche's people, who called their village Bethanien (Bethany), took advantage of the situation and bought some of the surveyed land for themselves. Originally supported with supplies from the Lutherans in Klemzig, within eighteen months, besides building their homes, they had put nearly 500 acres of land under cultivation. By 1844 the German community in South Australia consisted of 1 500 people. Most of them were Lutherans living in five main communities under the guidance and service of Kavel and Fritzsche.[9]

The villages established by Fritzsche's people took on the same pattern as those of previous German centres. A township was established around a church and a school, and the people developed land near the village for agriculture. There were good economic reasons for this. Even though 300 000 acres of land had been sold in South Australia by 1841, most of it was in the hands of speculators, with only 2 500 acres under cultivation. The Germans were prominent among those who were able and willing to supply the colony with fresh food. They used this income, along with money they earned by taking on other work like shearing contracts, to pay off their land. While Kavel eventually joined his people in Langmeil in the Barossa, Fritzsche and his family, despite fervent requests from his congregation in Bethany to join them, chose to stay in the south. Both pastors had agreed that Kavel would eventually serve all the Barossa settlers while Fritzsche would take care of those around Adelaide. So Fritzsche settled in Lobethal, literally the "valley of praise" from the second book of Chronicles in the Bible. His mother-in-law, Mrs Nehrlich, had lent the money to purchase land for those who settled here, and Friedrich Krumnow, who was a British citizen and so could purchase land from the Crown, bought it in his own name to sell to his countrymen later. Besides his wife Dorothea, or Dorette as her family called her, Fritzsche took in her mother and others to live with him. On 4 May 1842, they and eighteen other families arrived to build another German village. Fritzsche and his wife at first lived in a two room cottage, but soon had to erect a larger home. For a start, both worship and schooling took place in settlers' homes, but by 1845 they had built the church, and the school building opened in 1850.[10]

Bethany Village.

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Fritzsche and Schools

Under Fritzsche's leadership, his people were quick to establish schools. One of their first jobs, besides erecting a building for their children's schooling, was to provide a teacher. Ferdinand Mueller, who assisted Fritzsche in his underground ministry back in Germany, was appointed as the Lutheran teacher in Lobethal in 1842, a position he retained for forty-two years. His first school was a room in a house where he taught nine children drawn from the original families in the settlement. In Bethany in the Barossa, the first teacher was called Roehr, but his place was soon taken by August Hensel, a young shoemaker who had lost his wife on the voyage to Australia, and then Friedrich Topp who assumed that position in 1843. In the same year a visitor to Bethany called Daniel Brock met Topp and mentioned that he was the only person in the village who could understand English, and that he had thirty students. Topp, who had arrived in the colony in October 1842, remained in that role for forty-three years. He taught until he was nearly eighty years old, and was noted for his diligence and strength. Often he had seventy to ninety children in his care, and besides teaching all of them, he made home visits, served as the congregation's verger and organist and kept the church minutes in a neat hand. For these services, from 1857, he received £30 (pounds) a year for his teaching, £20 (pounds) for his church work, £4 (pounds) wood money, £2 (pounds) and ten shillings for church cleaning and forty bushels of wheat towards his sustenance. When he died in August 1892 at eighty-three years of age, a special memorial was placed over his grave by his former students. Like the pastors they shared congregational leadership with, these teachers, all males, became patriarchal figures in their communities as well.[11]

Fritzsche himself, even more than Kavel, was convinced of the foundational role that education filled in the life of the church. As a teacher himself, he understood how schools should operate, as well as their importance for the future of the church. Quoting Luther, he described them as "the nurseries of the church . . . in which the heavenly Gardener trains the little plants for his heavenly paradise." He also contended that "the estrangement of the young from the church is usually . . . caused by the remissness in the religious instruction of the young at home and in school." During his early years as a pastor in Lobethal, Fritzsche would personally examine each student in the congregational school, sometimes twice a year, even when numbers approached two hundred. At the end of the year their examinations would be followed by their receiving a gift from the congregation and a serve of honey cake before they broke for the long summer of holidays and harvest. They were graded on ability, diligence, conduct and attendance. In his sermons he often pointed out to his people that the religious education of the young was the most precious gift that parents could give children: "Bring up your children in the nurture and admonition of the Lord, and make all arrangements for giving them a thorough religious training – for that is the most valuable legacy you can leave them." [12]

Fritzsche also believed that, besides their religious education, there was a need for schools to produce good citizens for the state as well. In a communication to education authorities in South Australia he made the point that teaching the Christian faith in schools also had an important by-product. It "is the very cornerstone of good government,

because it produces good citizens." Fritzsche strongly believed, however, that a secular education on its own was severely limited. It was the religious element in schooling which was "to inculcate the truths and principles and ethics . . . as the true incentive to right conduct and the true remedy for evil." Education, as a first priority, was concerned with the nurture of the spirit, and its aim "to secure the eternal happiness of the soul, over and above the temporal well-being of the body." Students were not only to be trained "as useful human beings for this present life", but were also to be "guided surely towards their heavenly calling in Jesus Christ."[13] One can see in these words the influence of Luther's doctrine of the two kingdoms. Christian schools, according to Fritzsche, had a responsibility to nurture the young in both the secular and spiritual domains. In this he was more inclined than Kavel, who wanted to protect his church from outside influences, to strike a balance between an education for the temporal and eternal needs of the young. He was even open to his people using the local English school in Lobethal for a part of their children's schooling. However, Fritzsche still persisted with his own congregational school which was focussed on Lutheran teaching as well as the German language and culture.

Higher Education

If Lutheran schools were to serve their proper purposes adequately, they had to have good teachers. One of the major contributions Fritzsche made to Lutheran schooling in Australia was in the area of higher education. This had been a major reason why Kavel had urged him to come to South Australia in the first place. There were no buildings or funds available but a start had to be made somewhere. Most importantly there had to be students. Kavel and Fritzsche looked for suitable recruits among their various congregations. There was an immediate response from five young lads. Two untrained teachers who were serving in schools at the time also asked to do studies. Fritzsche began teaching these students, aged between thirteen and fifteen years old, at some time in 1842. Also enrolled were the two teachers, Ferdinand Mueller and August Hensel, who had been associates of Fritzsche back in Germany.[14] There was never any thought of enrolling girls as students of higher education, especially since only males could study to be pastors. Even Lutheran teachers of this era were exclusively male.

In Australian education generally, schooling in the first sixty years after European settlement was usually conducted by untrained monitors and tutors. There was not such an emphasis on the quality of the teacher or their relations with students. It was only after 1840 that schools as we know them began to appear. Gradually, there emerged the model which involved a knowledgeable teacher who was put in charge of a classroom and was expected to set a good example and be of good morals as well as pass on appropriate knowledge and skills to students. As the century progressed this role was extended to include notions of the teacher being properly trained and the provision of specialist classrooms. It was only at the end of the century when institutions for teacher training came to be regarded as a necessity. To become a teacher in a South Australian state school in the nineteenth century you were recruited from the general educated public, or you had a teaching certificate from England or another Australian state, or you had done some provisional teaching or pupil teaching.[15]

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Even when the idea that teachers should have formal pre-service training, apart from an apprenticeship in a school, became accepted, it was slow to take hold. The *Education Act of 1851* had set aside funds for a training establishment for teachers but one did not appear until 1876. In 1868 the Central Board introduced the pupil-teacher scheme whereby the best scholars were chosen for an apprenticeship lasting for three to four years. This was followed by two years at training college after which candidates took on the position of teacher assistants. This was revised in 1899 when the scheme called for two years spent as a pupil-teacher, followed by two years of practical teaching, followed by two years of university studies. For most of the nineteenth century teachers in Australian schools were mainly immigrants with a middle-class background. Catholic schools were run by imported orders of brothers and nuns and in the private schools a respectable English background was regarded as ideal. Australian born teachers only emerge as the majority of the teaching force after the Great War.[16] This would have pertained in Lutheran schools as well.

The first attempts of the Lutherans in training teachers for their schools in the early 1840s, therefore, was truly a pioneering venture and flowed from their Prussian experience rather than the examples found in their adopted country. The college Fritzsche established was organised along unique lines. Fritzsche was the only permanent teacher, a duty he exercised in conjunction with his many other church responsibilities. The students lived in Lobethal which was Fritzsche's home base. Students stayed in the parsonage where they also ate at Fritzsche's table. Students declined nouns and conjugated verbs while they ate their meals. In 1845 a small hut was built for the younger ones. It was big enough for a table and a bed, where they slept and studied. The two adult teachers, Mueller and Hensel, had a hut of their own which they built for themselves. After Dorothea Fritzsche began to suffer ill health, they were rotated among the members of the congregation. Lessons were held in the gaps between other commitments. Often this was on the road, or sitting under a tree. The students accompanied Fritzsche on his regular rounds to his congregations and he taught them as he travelled. The routine trip between the Adelaide Hills and the Barossa Valley took three days including visits along the way, was usually done on foot, and included two nights sleeping under the stars. The students would stay there with him, or return almost immediately to Lobethal to pursue their studies on their own while Fritzsche spent the time with his congregation at Bethany. Obviously, the added responsibility for these students on top of his congregational commitments would have been considerable. At the 1846 Bethany Synod it was noted that "Pastor Fritzsche should have another assistant in his work of training students." At one stage, after the split with Kavel and the disputation that followed, classes at the college were suspended for over one year. In January 1844, Fritzsche took his charges for two weeks to the beach where he alternated sea baths taken for his health with their lessons. At other times he farmed them out to other people to teach, like Pastor Meyer, one of the Dresden missionaries who had taken over Fritzsche's congregation at Bethany in the Barossa, or Johannes Menge, the well-known German geologist and theologian, who instructed them in Hebrew.[17]

Despite the rudimentary conditions, Fritzsche set a tradition of high standards of education for the new church. He expected a lot of his students, and their lives were both physically and mentally demanding. One student recalls that on their peripatetic

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Lobethal College Graduates Oster, Hensel and Strempel.

rounds with Fritzsche, they could only converse with him in Latin or Greek unless it was Sunday or a holiday, at which time they were allowed to revert to their native German. Course content was encapsulated in formulas for the students to memorise, like the "three kinds of life and death" and the "five stages of sin of Adam and Eve".[18] It was difficult work for these young lads, and of the original intake, only one, Christian Auricht, completed his studies to become a pastor. The others dropped out, either because they could not cope intellectually with the study, or their health was not strong enough. One of them later commented: "I would rather work twelve hours at grubbing tree saplings and cutting and sawing wood than spend six hours a day at learning Pastor Fritzsche's vocables."[19] The first four enrolments in 1843 were Carl Heinze and Carl Leopold from Lobethal, and August Henschke and Carl Hoffmann from Bethany, and Auricht from Langmeil. Of the original mature teacher students, Mueller graduated from Fritzsche's program after four years. Hensel proved very adept at his studies and went on to complete requirements to become a pastor, first under Fritzsche and then under Pastor Kavel. Hensel was a close associate of Fritzsche who had been involved in Fritzsche's underground ministry back in Prussia and had accompanied him to Australia. When the split took place between Kavel and Fritzsche in 1846, Auricht, who had started out in life as a goatherd and weaver of straw hats in Langmeil, and whose family belonged to Kavel's congregation, returned to join Kavel there, and became the only graduate of this period to serve in that faction of the church. He was ordained a pastor in 1858, and served in that capacity in his home congregation for the next fifty years. Hensel returned to Fritzsche after the schism, and was among the first to graduate as a pastor under him.[20]

Despite disappointments with the initial students, Fritzsche persisted in the standards he set at Lobethal College, and was soon joined by a more sterling breed. In 1847, two new students enrolled, Philipp Oster and Adolph Strempel, both in their mid-teens. They had received some secondary education in Germany before their families migrated to Australia. Oster's father had been a pastor, a missionary among the Jews in the Prussian city of Metz, who had died on the voyage to Australia aboard the *Gellert* in 1847, and Fritzsche had taken care of his family at Lobethal, providing them with a house. Strempel, a school friend of Philipp, emigrated with the Oster family. Both lads had already done some studies under Pastor Oster. In 1855, Hensel, Oster and Strempel were ordained as pastors in Fritzsche's church, and took up ministries

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in congregations: Strempel at Hahndorf, Hensel at Blumberg in the Adelaide Hills, and Oster at Hoffnungsthal in the Barossa Valley.[21] Wilhelm Boehm enrolled at the Lobethal College in 1849 as a teacher student. He graduated in 1854, and went on to teach at Hahndorf, three months short of his eighteenth birthday. These few, but significant graduates, were the most important products of Lobethal College. In total there were ten students who attended classes with Fritzsche at some time or other over the thirteen years of its existence.[22] Failing health and other responsibilities prevented Fritzsche from taking on any further students after 1855. Indeed, he was already seeking to shed his teaching responsibilities for these reasons as early as 1852.[23]

Lobethal College students received a thorough education. They were given a general grounding in a wide range of disciplines, taking subjects like philosophy, history, astronomy, geology, botany, classical and modern languages, literature and music. Fritzsche was broadly educated, besides being a capable musician, having been tutored by his father from an early age. He was fond of the religious music of Handel, Haydn and Bach. He even composed music himself, including several Psalm motets and arias. He was a versatile teacher who encouraged his students to specialise, Oster in poetry and Strempel in music. In their younger years he was not afraid to use the stick with some frequency. After his students had graduated from this broader period of education they went on to study theology for the last three years of their training. For those who were to become pastors, there were thirteen subjects: exegesis, hermeneutics, homiletics, dogmatics, church history, patristics, catechetics, ethics, symbolics, pastoral theology and liturgics as well as Jewish and Christian archaeology.[24]

A list of the books they studied gives a good indication of some of the main features of their education. It provided a foundation along classical lines on which was built a solid theological education, especially for the pastors. There was some English, but most of the text books used by the students were German publications. Some of them would have been from Fritzsche's own library, others would have been sent from Germany. Still others had come to Australia with the Oster family, the father of the family being a theologian and dying at sea, and his son inheriting his books. They included Broeder's *Lateinische Grammatik* (Latin Grammar), Kohlrausch's *Deutsche Geschichte* (German History), Latin-German Dictionaries, Guericke's *Symbolik* (Symbolics), De Wette's *Biblische Dogmatik* (Biblical Dogmatics), Reichenbach's *Hauptstuecke der Christlichen Lehre* (Chief Parts of Christian Teaching), Detzer's *Symbolische Buecher* (Symbolical Books), and Bengel's *Harmonie der vier Evangelisten* (Harmony of the Four Gospels). Some of the books were in Latin, including the *Institutio Interpretis Novi Testamenti* by Ernesti and *Consensus Repetitus* by Henke. A few were in English, among them Knorr's *English Grammar and Language* and Goldsmith's *History of England* and *Voyages of Columbus*. These are indicative of the range and balance of text books used.[25] Examinations were conducted with the help of fellow pastors. Fritzsche especially sought their help in choosing topics and questions, probably to save himself some time as well as ensuring a more objective assessment. When his students reached the stage of studying theology, Fritzsche went to great pains to ensure that the standards set in his college were above question. He also employed the services of Meyer who, when president of their faction of the church, was required to spend a week at Lobethal each year helping Fritzsche to put the students through a thorough range of examinations.[26]

Boehm, the teacher who had been recruited as a bright young student from Fritzsche's Hahndorf congregation, did the general education course with Fritzsche before going on to the care of other teachers. After his time at Lobethal, Fritzsche sent him to study under Pastor Meyer. Meyer taught him English, and Teacher Topp from the Bethany school supervised his practical teacher training. Later Boehm studied philosophy under the liberal Dr Muecke at Tanunda. The quality of the education these men received at Lobethal College is evidenced in their later lives. Each of the three pastors proved to be successful in their work, and each served for a period as president of the church. Boehm became one of the colony's leading educators. All of them confessed a great admiration for Fritzsche and the education they had received from him. They perceived him as a man of vast knowledge, many gifts and great integrity. One indication of the respect his students held for Fritzsche was that both Mueller and Hensel sat with him through his last illness, and Oster and Strempel officiated at his funeral, the latter delivering the eulogy.[27]

Fritzsche's pioneer attempts at providing secondary and tertiary studies for the young Australian Lutheran Church were to be the foundation of a tradition the church never lost. Continuing to modern times, although somewhat intermittent in provision, there has always been a strong Lutheran emphasis on the maintaining of institutions for the training of pastors and teachers for the congregations and schools of the church. Fritzsche was the patriarchal pioneer of that tradition.

Schism and Division

Both Kavel and Fritzsche were the founders and the esteemed patriarchs of their own particular factions of Australian Lutheranism. Their influences on their people gave their churches and schools similar but subtly different flavours. This separation into two different strands of Australian Lutheranism was enduring and significant for churches and schools. The disintegration of Fritzsche's relationship with Kavel was the beginning of a schism that lasted 120 years. Although originally committed to working together, and though they shared a number of loyalties and beliefs, the two were men of marked contrasts. Wilhelm Iwan, writing a series of articles on Australian Lutherans for the church in Germany in 1931, claimed that Fritzsche was a necessary and healthy contrast to Kavel who was inclined to religious extremism.[28] Even though some observers might regard both men as occupying very similar narrow and conservative positions, this comment does supply an insight into one of the main differences between the two. Even before Fritzsche came to Australia, he had expressed some concerns to his fellow Lutherans in Germany about Kavel's isolationist attitudes: "I am not at all happy that Pastor Kavel distances himself from communion with our General Synod."[29] Once in Australia, Fritzsche's first inclination was to work in concert with the Dresden missionaries who had been sent to work among the Aboriginal people. Kavel, on the other hand, tended to alienate anyone who would not acknowledge and accept his unique views on his church constitution or marginally important doctrines like chiliasm. Another aspect of Kavel's contentiousness with his fellow Lutheran pastors was the issue of relations with the Old Lutherans in Germany. Kavel insisted on severing all ties with them because their constitution was different from his. Fritzsche and the Dresden missionaries could not accept this.[30]

The schism that resulted between Kavel and Fritzsche and their followers in 1846 became a major problem for the church and its schools for more than a century. It distracted their energies and divided their efforts.

Over the matter of chiliasm, the teaching that Christ would return to establish an earthly kingdom that would last for a thousand years, Fritzsche was well aware that Kavel was an adherent to this doctrine. Fritzsche's protégé, August Hensel, who spent some time as a student under Kavel reported that in a sermon about the end times, Kavel had claimed that the South Australian Lutherans who had remained loyal to God could fully expect to be taken one day to Egypt in vessels made of bulrushes. Some of his congregation wanted to know where they were going to get the bulrushes, to which Kavel answered that God would provide them when the time came! Fritzsche regarded such ideas as simplistic, and saw them as unnecessary diversions from the central message of the church, but he refrained for a long time from making a thorough refutation. Of much greater concern to him was Kavel's *Protestations*, his challenge to the Lutheran Confessions, especially where Kavel considered the Confessions were at odds with his own constitution. When Kavel put the matter of his *Protestations* on the agenda for the 1846 synod, Fritzsche was exceedingly concerned, because they challenged one of the most fundamental definitions of what it meant to be Lutheran. To answer them, after the split with Kavel, he wrote a booklet of 144 pages entitled *Beleuchtungen der Protestationen (Illumination of the Protestations)* and published it at his own expense.[31]

Although Fritzsche and Kavel agreed on the rejection of government aid to their schools, they reacted differently to various issues that arose in South Australia in the area of church-state relations. The first was the difference in the attitudes they took towards the Dresden missionaries, Schürmann, Teichelmann, Klose and Meyer. Kavel refused to acknowledge them as Lutherans because much of their missionary work was supported financially by the colonial government. Fritzsche, for his part, showed a greater acceptance of them. He was cautious in his reaction to their acceptance of state aid but did not see it as a cause for disowning them as Kavel did. The *Marriage Act of 1842* also drew different reactions from the two men. By 1850, Lutheran marriages performed under the auspices of this legislation actually constituted thirty-one percent of all those in the colony.[32] However, there had been different reactions to it when it first appeared. Kavel was happy to meet with its requirement for him to get a licence from the state to perform marriages among his people, and he did so immediately. Fritzsche was far more reluctant because he wanted to use the Lutheran form of the marriage vow rather than one stipulated by the state. It was not until 1845 that he relented and was registered.[33] The fact that Fritzsche was the reluctant one to accept outside authority on this occasion seems to be out of character for both men. It was probably more acceptable to Kavel because it did not threaten his position with his own people and he was more familiar with English and was on closer terms with the authorities. His major differences were with those of his own people who disagreed with him and challenged his authority. For Fritzsche it was a matter of principle, and he did not change his position until the church in convention approved the issue. Besides he had all those extra years of state persecution in Germany to make him wary.

On the other hand, Fritzsche shared with Kavel similar attitudes to relationships between church and state and the issue of government aid to churches and their schools.

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This is not surprising given their common experiences of Prussian persecution. Even though Luther himself had stipulated that church and state had different functions which should not be confused, which differences he outlined in his doctrine of the two kingdoms, what had eventuated in the German principalities since the Reformation was the emergence of a state church. This had been the result of the wars in which the princes of Europe's Protestant states had to defend their church with military force. Luther himself only survived because of princely protection. This culminated in the problems the Old Lutherans experienced when the Prussian ruler decided to impose a common liturgy on the Reformed and Lutheran strands of Protestantism in his own domain. As a result, Kavel and Fritzsche both developed a strong belief that such state interference was wrong. However, they still held notions of the importance of Christian governments. As already mentioned, Fritzsche believed that one of the purposes of Christian schools was to produce an able and law-abiding citizenry for a Christian state. He also believed that it was "the duty of the state to protect the church".[34] He supported the concept of religious toleration that the Legislative Council in South Australia introduced in 1842 which stipulated that there be no laws impeding any form of worship. At no time, however, did Fritzsche ever entertain the idea of accepting state aid for the advancement of the church or its schools. Like Kavel, he refused to take advantage of the ordinance of 1847 introduced by Governor Robe which made it possible for the state to support all religions.[35]

Fritzsche and State Aid

Kavel's faction of the church was smaller and became more isolated. That partly explains why, while Kavel's synod consistently refused and opposed state aid to churches and their schools during the 1850s, it was a more contentious issue for the Fritzsche faction. They had more schools and a broader church membership. While their synod remained officially opposed to state aid, sometimes different practices were tolerated. For instance, in 1849 Klose accepted state aid for his congregation in Adelaide. Although, on joining Fritzsche in 1846, the Dresden missionaries had renounced in principle the acceptance of government money for churches and schools, circumstances in his congregation forced Klose to seek financial help from the government. Despite consisting largely of impoverished itinerants, they decided to build their own church. Not having enough money to pay for it, Klose applied for a government grant and received £150 (pounds). When he was successful in that, he proceeded to apply for a subsidy to his salary, and was given a stipend worth £100 (pounds) a year. Naturally this would have raised some questions among his fellow Lutherans, but in the minutes of the next synod held in 1851, there is no record of any discussion on the issue. Some other independent Lutheran congregations also applied for state aid with varying success.[36]

When state aid to churches and schools was abolished after the 1851 elections, it became possible under the *Education Act of 1852* for schools to apply for a licence, and thereby gain a government grant. In 1855 some elements among Fritzsche's Hahndorf Lutherans expressed an interest in applying for this. Wilhelm Boehm, the young graduate from Lobethal College, who had been appointed teacher at the congregational school, sought to obtain a licence and instigated a conflict in his congregation over the issue. He finally resigned to start his own school with the help

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of government money. In the same year a group of breakaway Lutherans in Lobethal, who had suffered a rift with Fritzsche over the matter of dancing, applied for a grant to establish a school. They were eventually successful. There was even some interest in a grant by the other group of Lobethal Lutherans who had stayed loyal to Fritzsche but in the end no action was taken because they would have had to give up religious instruction as part of the curriculum as was required to be granted a licence. There was further pressure on the Fritzsche synod to change its position on state aid from Schürmann, another former Dresden missionary, who had taken a position as pastor to the Hochkirch congregation in western Victoria in 1853. He himself taught in the school there for the first three years and he wanted to seek financial help from the Victorian government to employ a teacher. His congregation, many of whom had migrated from South Australia, opposed it according to church policy. Schürmann, however, persisted with the idea. At the Blumberg synodical convention held in 1856, the Fritzsche synod reacted by passing a resolution "that no form of state aid is ever to be accepted by us or our descendants". By this time they had at least ten congregational schools in their synod. And by the time Fritzsche died in 1863, the Lutheran schools which still refused to apply for government money numbered eighteen in South Australia and two in Victoria.[37]

Until his death in 1863, Fritzsche remained an opponent of state aid to Lutheran schools. But, as we have seen, there were strong voices of dissent to this position which were gathering in the church. Even close associates like his former pupil Hensel expressed the need for a revision of the church's policy. Fritzsche put the matter on the agenda for the 1860 synod. It proved to be a major issue at the convention. The pastors, who had met beforehand, supported the traditional line. They argued that there were two main reasons for not accepting state aid to Lutheran schools; it would either mean the neglect of religious instruction or, if that practice in the schools was maintained regardless of the legislation, would lead Lutheran schools to a deliberate infringement of the law of the land. The resolution to continue the policy of rejecting state aid was passed. There were, however, some changes to the traditional stance of rejecting state aid completely. The first was that this time it was rejected under the existing legislation, which indicated that the policy might be reconsidered if the legislation changed. The second was that the argument against state aid now focussed on the question of whether religious instruction was permitted in a grant school or not. The old fear of government interference in the schools, and Fritzsche's principle that government money should not be used to support religious teaching, were not advanced. In fact the synod passed a resolution to petition the government to change the legislation so that religious instruction could be given in grant schools. Another resolution paved the way for some members of the church to send their children to grant schools under special conditions.[38]

Latter Days at Lobethal

After 1841 Fritzsche had to serve three congregations: Lobethal and Hahndorf in the Adelaide Hills, and Bethany in the Barossa Valley. The two areas were about fifty kilometres apart by the most direct route, a journey which involved visits along the way as well as some time spent in lessons which could take him up to three days.

Lobethal Parsonage and College.

Although based at Lobethal, Fritzsche would alternate his presence between both places about every fortnight. Kavel operated in a similar manner between his congregations in Klemzig and Hahndorf on the one hand, and Langmeil, where he based himself after 1846, on the other. Between October 1841 and September 1844 no further shiploads of German Old Lutherans arrived in the colony, and there was a period of consolidation in the Lutheran communities. Glen Osmond and Klemzig were gradually vacated with more and more of the Lutherans relocating to the Barossa. There was a renewal of immigration from Germany in the latter half of the forties, for although the religious persecution of the Old Lutherans had discontinued by this time, many of them were attracted by the glowing reports of prosperity and opportunity from the German community in the colony. New German villages in the Barossa were established at Light's Pass (1846), Hoffnungsthal (1847), Rosenthal (1849) and Ebenezer (1852).[39] According to the pattern set in the earlier Lutheran villages, in each of these settlements a church and a school were established, with the congregations joining either Kavel's or Fritzsche's faction of the church.

While Kavel's support from other pastors was restricted to his student Auricht who only graduated in 1858, the number of Fritzsche's fellow pastors grew, including the four Dresden missionaries, Schürmann, Teichelmann, Klose and Meyer. As government support for their mission work among the Aboriginal people declined, they had taken up positions as pastors in the Lutheran community. In fact, in 1848, after Fritzsche, dogged by work demands including his duties to his students, declined the position of president in his church, Meyer became its official leader, a position he filled until his sudden death in 1861.[40] He had arrived as a young married man aged twenty-seven in 1840 to take up mission work among the Aboriginal people at Encounter Bay. He worked there for eight years, and then in 1848, when the mission could no longer be continued because of lack of funds, he became the pastor at Bethany.[41]

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His election to the leadership of the church attests to the fact that, in contrast to Kavel, Fritzsche was more self-effacing and less interested in power and control. It would also have been the result of Fritzsche needing time to focus on his responsibilities as the main teacher at Lobethal College. Other pastors were added to this synod as well. In 1855, the three graduates of Lobethal College, Oster, Hensel and Strempel, were also assigned to parishes. So as the 1850s drew to a close, Fritzsche, free of wider synodical leadership and his teaching commitments at Lobethal College, and bolstered by the support of fellow pastors, concentrated his efforts in Lobethal.

Lobethal took on the same features as the other German villages set up since 1839 but with its own unique characteristics. A newspaper report of the time praises the people for their "bee-like industry" as well as their exemplary behaviour and commitment to their church. Fritzsche was the local patriarchal figure. Most matters requiring decision making, it was noticed, were left to the pastor. However, even the casual observer could see that all was not right in this idyllic setting. It mentions that a new pastor had arrived on the scene and was attracting large gatherings of people who met at an old store in the town and were already planning to build a new church. The local confusion caused by the availability of both a German and English school is also mentioned. The background to this is revealing of the nature of life in Lobethal and gives an insight into the community's attitude to education.[42]

Fritzsche entertained very pietistic attitudes to "worldly pleasures" like dancing, gambling and drinking in public houses. Dancing, in particular, was strictly forbidden for members of those early Lutheran congregations. In 1853 there was a wedding in the town of Lobethal which involved members of the congregation. There was some dancing, and according to Lutheran practice, Fritzsche took the matter up with the people involved, declaring that "the Holy Ghost had through God's Word weaned the Lutheran Church from the dance and other worldly amusements".[43] He did not want to see the practice revived. He demanded of those who had indulged a confession and acknowledgement that it was a sin before the congregation. Some complied. Others refused to do so. The latter were publicly excommunicated.

The dissident Lutherans who had rejected Fritzsche as their pastor had taken up with a Pastor Fiedler, who was not aligned with either Fritzsche's or Kavel's synods, and they wasted no time in building their own place of worship. The foundation stone was laid on 27 December 1858 on land donated by John Weinert who had been one of those disciplined by Fritzsche for the sin of dancing. A document was placed in the stone which explained the reason for the erection of the church, namely "a difference of views taken by its supporters as to the discipline of the Old and Established Church and Society in Lobethal, now and long since under the pastorate of G. D. Fritzsche."[44] The new congregation called itself St. Paul's. The occasion was attended by the local Member of Parliament, Mr William Milne. One of the results was that this group also established a rival school which applied for and received a government grant, and operated side by side with the congregational school.

So there emerged a second Lutheran congregation in Lobethal whose members sent their children to a state school. It was the kind of arrangement that Fritzsche could accept, if somewhat reluctantly. Over a period of time, a compromise was reached.

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The vast majority of children in the village were Lutherans of German descent and by the end of the 1850s were attending both the Lutheran and the state school, a part of each week in either one. This way they received a bi-lingual education. Although this English school, as it was called, had been established by a breakaway group in Lobethal, Fritzsche and his followers were tolerant of it. In fact Fritzsche worked with the local trustees to ensure it had a teacher. The Lutheran school also altered its opening hours to fit in with the English school so that their children could attend both. When the annual examination of the English school was held at the end of the year, it was conducted by the chairman of the council in charge of the school or a neighbouring clergyman, but Fritzsche and members of his congregation attended as well. As in other Lutheran schools, the one at Lobethal also conducted its annual public examination. This was held around the same time as that of the English school and Fritzsche himself presided over this one. These examinations were significant public events which were quite thorough and might last the whole day.[45] Fritzsche's toleration of this situation showed he was more flexible as well as indicating that he was less concerned with his own control over his congregation and willing to co-operate with the wider community if it helped his people.

Where Kavel's reaction was to maintain control, Fritzsche's natural response was to consult conscience. He was driven by a keen sense of morality and duty. Some of the big decisions in his life seem to have been made not through will but according to conscience. His decision to become a pastor in the first place was based on a religious conviction, and ran against family tradition. Also, his resignation from the Union Church was made contrary to the advice of influential friends and family members. He had no desire to emigrate to Australia, preferring to stay in Germany and pursue the cause there, but he felt obliged to join his congregation who made the decision to leave. He was reluctant to confront Kavel, and only made a split with him when he could no longer conscientiously support Kavel's position. Anna Ey, whose family were cared for by Fritzsche in Lobethal after her father, Pastor Oster, had died at sea, has some interesting insights into Fritzsche's character which she observed at first hand. In her memoirs she paints a picture of early Lobethal as a place of continual disputes centred on the church. People were always reporting on one another to the pastor. At the time of the major dispute between Fritzsche and some members of his congregation over the matter of dancing, one afternoon a teenaged Anna followed Fritzsche to the church and eavesdropped as he kneeled in prayer. She heard him fervently interceding for his people, and asking for forgiveness for his own failings. Over time, the visiting Pastor Fiedler seems to have lost his influence and Fritzsche to have gained in his standing with the local people. Anna Ey also describes his last hours on his deathbed where Fritzsche invited those with whom he had differences to come and see him. When they did so he urged them to admit their wrongdoings, as well as asking them to forgive him where he had offended. Among those who came were some of the people like John Weinert who had opposed him.[46] On the other hand, Lobethal Lutherans while submissive to the pastor's authority, could also be defiant when they thought he was doing the wrong thing. In 1876 Pastor Krause was actually forcibly ejected from the pulpit of the Lobethal church because several members of his congregation took objection to some of his doctrinal assertions.[47]

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Final Days

Of all the early patriarchal leaders, Fritzsche is the only one of whom there is no existing photograph. This suggests a fairly humble attitude, especially when you consider that Kavel's portrait was sometimes hung at the altar in the churches loyal to him. Apparently Fritzsche was always going to get a portrait made, but never got round to it. Anna Ey describes him as a big man who received them warmly when her fatherless family arrived at Lobethal and he took them under his own roof. Those whom he taught remember him as having clear-cut and handsome features, though very wrinkled, with a broad, long head, high forehead and kind blue eyes. The congregation paid him a modest stipend, but never passed him the money because he was inclined to give it away. Instead, the treasurer of the congregation would pay his bills for him. Fritzsche kept a small vineyard and made wine with the help of his students. The story is told of how he sometimes employed a disabled person to keep the birds off his vines, even footing the doctor's bill when he ate too many grapes and became ill. Where Kavel gradually isolated himself from other Lutheran leaders, Fritzsche enjoyed a wider range of acquaintanceships with men like the Dresden missionaries, Carl Linger a leading Adelaide musician and Johannes Menge the mineralogist.[48]

For most of his life in Australia Fritzsche lived on his own. His marriage to Dorothea Nehrlich in January 1842 was short-lived. In December 1843, as the result of a very difficult labour, she gave birth to a still-born child, and she herself nearly died. She made a recovery, but after a few months fell ill again. The doctors diagnosed breast cancer. In January 1845 she was admitted to hospital, but died at the age of thirty-seven. Fritzsche, who chose to preach at her funeral, was left a childless widower like his fellow pastor, Kavel. Dorette's sister Liszinska came to Australia and took her mother back to Germany. Fritzsche never remarried. He did however adopt an Aboriginal boy who had been abandoned on the banks of the Onkaparinga River. He called the boy Moses Waldmann, but the child did not survive infancy. He moved back into the original two-room cottage he and his wife had occupied after their marriage where he kept Dorette's piano in his study and hung her straw hat, trimmed with dark red ribbon, on the wall. He also composed an aria in her memory which began: "Not just for this world below . ." He nailed some of the windows and doors of his small house shut for greater privacy, and it was often in need of cleaning and tidying, and in the winter filled with smoke from the ill-functioning fireplace.[49]

Fritzsche was continually plagued by bad health. Towards the end of his life he suffered a stroke, and walked with a distinct limp as a result. There is a story that he was so unwell one evening that two old women from his congregation had to help him home. This was regarded as improper by some of his parishioners and Fritzsche did public penance from the altar to make recompense. He also had gallstone problems, and according to Anna Ey, it was after such an attack that he died on 26 October 1863 aged sixty-six. His obituary in the German newspaper, however, states that his death was the result of complications resulting from a haemorrhoid problem. His last act of ministry was a wedding on 13 October, and the next day he fell ill and suffered for over a week before succumbing. Dr Loessel, who had already been called to replace him, preached at his large funeral, and he was buried next to Dorette in the Lobethal church cemetery. At the time of his

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death he was hailed as a "preacher in the parish, teacher of the young, confessor of the troubled and the tempted, the comforter of the sick and dying, and spiritual adviser of his colleagues".[50] Beneath these pious declamations there was a strong element of truth.

Fritzsche's significance in the history of Lutheran schooling is considerable. As one of the founding fathers of Australian Lutheranism, his pronounced emphasis on the importance of schooling in the church in order to provide committed citizens for society and faithful members of the church was of great influence. That this schooling should be unhampered by state interference, including state aid, was a basic tenet of belief espoused by him which governed the practice of his church during his lifetime and beyond. His most important contribution to the history of Australian Lutheran schooling, however, was his emphasis on the importance of Lutheran schools for the life of the church. He closely supervised those in his own congregations, insisted on their establishment in the church generally and personally dedicated himself to provide them with suitably trained teachers. The Lutheran church has, during the more than a century and a half of its history, made a number of attempts at higher education for the same purpose, but Fritzsche's was the first and set the tradition, standard and purpose.

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1 Much of Fritzsche's biographical data in this chapter section is taken from A. Brauer, "An In Memoriam Page from the Life of the Fathers", *The Australian Lutheran Almanac, 1941*; "A Brief Biography of the Lutheran Pastor Gotthardt Daniel Fritzsche", *Kirchen und Missionszeitung (KMZ)*, June 1897 Lutheran Archives (LA); A. Brauer, "Another Page from the Life of the Fathers", *The Australian Lutheran Almanac 1929.*

2 A. Brauer, *Under the Southern Cross*, Adelaide: Lutheran Publishing House, 1985, p. 53.

3 H. F. W. Proeve, *A Dwelling Place at Bethany*, Adelaide: Openbook, 1996, pp. 6, 7; Brauer, *Under the Southern Cross,* pp. 53 – 55.

4 Fritzsche letter to his congregation, 9 March 1841, LA.

5 Kavel letter to Fritzsche, 26 March 1840, LA.

6 Fritzsche letter to Breslau Lutherans, 9 March 1841, LA.

7 Brauer, *Under the Southern Cross,* pp. 65 ff.

8 Brauer, *The Australian Lutheran Almanac, 1941*, p. 71; Brauer, *Under The Southern Cross*, pp. 65 ff.

9 Proeve, pp. 16 – 19.

10 T. Hebart, *The United Evangelical Lutheran Church of Australia*, Adelaide: Lutheran Book Depot, 1938, p. 47; J. W. Bull, *Early Experiences of Life in South Australia*, Adelaide: E. S. Wigg and Son, 1884, p. 91; J. M. R. Ey, *The Beginning of the Lutheran Church in Australia,* pp. 49, 50; Proeve, p. 31.

11 H. F. W. Proeve, "Like A Mighty Army" in R. S. Munchenberg et al. (eds.), *The Barossa A Vision Realised*, Adelaide: Lutheran Publishing House, 1992, p. 27; Proeve, *A Dwelling Place at Bethany*, pp 22, 34; Ey, p. 50.

12 Brauer, *Under The Southern Cross*, pp. 194, 195, 197 where he quotes Luther and Fritzsche. Proeve, *A Dwelling Place at Bethany*, p. 33; Schools File LA.

13 Fritzsche quoted in Brauer, *Under the Southern Cross,* p. 196.

14 Brauer, *Under The Southern Cross*, p.188.

15 B. Smith, "William Wilkins' Saddlebags: State Education and Local Control", in M. Theobald & R. J. W. Selleck (eds.), *Family, School and State in Australian History*, Sydney: Allen and Unwin, 1990, p. 70; A. Mackinnon, *One Foot on the Ladder*, Brisbane: University of Queensland Press, 1984, p. 127.

16 Mackinnon, pp. 130 – 135; G. Sherington, "Australian Immigration, Ethnicity and Education", in *History of Education Review,* Vol. 20, No. 1, 1991, p. 62.

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18 J. C. Auricht, *Lebenslauf*, 1855, p. 2.
19 Brauer, *Under The Southern Cross*, p. 188.
20 Strempel, p. 3; Auricht, *Lebenslauf*, p. 1; Hebart, p. 316.
21 Strempel, p. 1; Brauer, *Under The Southern Cross*, pp. 191 ff.
22 *Guide Book,* Lobethal Archives and Historical Museum, p. 7.
23 Fritzsche letter to Meyer, 10 June 1852, LA.
24 *A Brief Biography*, *Kirchen und Missionszeitung (KMZ)*, June 1897, p. 1; Auricht, *Lebenslauf*, p. 2.
25 These books are on display in the Lobethal Museum.
26 See Fritzsche letters to Meyer, 1 March 1852, 1 August 1853, LA.
27 "Obituary of the Late Pastor Fritzsche", from the *Suedaustralische Zeitung,* 6 November 1863, p. 3.
28 W. Iwan, *Because of their Beliefs*, H. Schubert: Adelaide, 1995, p. 26.
29 Fritzsche letter to Breslau Lutherans, 13 January 1840, LA.
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31 Brauer, *Under the Southern Cross*, pp. 118, 126 ff.
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33 E. Leske, *For Faith and Freedom,* Adelaide: Open Book, 1996, p. 53; J. E. Zweck, *Church and State Relations As They Affected The Lutheran Church And Its Schools In South Australia, 1838 – 1900*, unpublished Master of Education Thesis, University of Melbourne, 1971, pp. 51 ff.
34 A. Brauer, "An Additional Page from the Life of the Fathers", in *Australian Lutheran Almanac*, 1938, p. 71.
35 Zweck, p. 61.
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37 R. Butler, *A College In The Wattles*, Adelaide: Lutheran Publishing House, 1989, p. 21; C. Meyer, *Nurseries of the Church*, Melbourne: Monash University Publications Committee, 1996, pp. 46 ff.; Zweck, pp. 93, 116, 356.
38 Zweck, p. 108.
39 Proeve, "Like A Mighty Army", pp. 26, 31, 43.
40 Fritzsche letter to Meyer, 26 May 1847, LA.
41 Meyer's headstone in Bethany Cemetery.
42 *The South Australian Advertiser*, Tuesday 26 October 1858, p. 2.
43 Ey, pp. 51, 52.
44 *The South Australian Advertiser*, 30 December 1858, p. 2.
45 *The South Australian Advertiser*, 3 December 1858, p. 2, 20 December 1859, p. 2, 8 December 1860, p. 3, 30 March 1861, p. 2.
46 A. V. Ey, *Early Lutheran Congregations in South Australia,* Adelaide: Lutheran Publishing House, 1986, pp. 56, 63.
47 *The Western Australian Times*, 2 June 1876, p. 2.
48 A. V. Ey, pp. 17, 32, 47, 48; Brauer, *The Australian Lutheran Almanac, 1941*, p. 85; Brauer, *The Australian Lutheran Almanac, 1929*, p. 75.
49 Dorothea Fritzsche's gravestone at Lobethal; Brauer, *The Australian Lutheran Almanac, 1941*, p. 75; A. V. Ey, p. 20.
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Chapter 4

Wilhelm Boehm
Moving to the Mainstream

"Do not think that I have come to bring peace to the world." Matthew 10: 34.

Wilhelm Boehm.

From their beginnings in South Australia, Lutheran schools were established in segregated communities and viewed as essential agencies of the church. For their first eighty years German language and culture predominated. These features ensured their separation from the mainstream of Australian society. The question of whether their students needed schooling to prepare them for life and work in an English speaking country continually asserted itself. Wilhelm Boehm was an early Lutheran educator who spent more than thirty years of his life trying to bring the church to an understanding of this challenge. Amongst the more staid and pious company of his fellow Old Lutherans, he stands out as a much freer spirit. He was a fiery and ambitious little dandy of a man who was unafraid to pursue his own visions and goals, although often furiously opposed by conservative forces in his church. At times he severed his connections with his Lutheran roots, but at others he contributed his many talents to help the church in which he was grounded. He was educated in the first Australian Lutheran schools, he was one of the earliest to be trained as a home-grown teacher for these schools, and for a number of years he taught in Lutheran schools. On other occasions he worked in co-operation with Lutherans to educate their children as well as to provide higher education for their future leaders. Perhaps his most significant contribution to the development of Lutheran schooling was his success in broadening the understanding in the church of what constituted a worthwhile education. He was a force for liberalism, a champion of the arts and sciences and a pioneer in pushing Lutheran education out

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into the mainstream. The story of Wilhelm Boehm's educational endeavours involves an understanding of how Lutheran schools made the transition from just sustaining cultural and religious norms in local villages to providing an education for life in the wider world as well.

Family Background

There was nothing in his family background to make him different to the people of his community. Traugott Wilhelm Boehm was born in Muschten in the province of Brandenburg in Germany on 18 October 1836. He was the second youngest child of Johann Georg Boehm and his wife Johanne Karoline (nee Koenig). He had an older brother Ernst, and four older sisters, Luise, Eleonore, Karoline and Dorothea as well as a younger brother Gottlieb. His first name, "Traugott" (trust in God), points to the religious piety of his family. They were among Kavel's people, the Old Lutheran families from the areas of Silesia, Brandenburg and Posen who came to Australia in four ships in the late 1830s. The Boehm family were passengers on the *Zebra* which carried people almost exclusively from Brandenburg, and arrived in South Australia on 28 December 1838, a little more than a month after Kavel and the first Lutheran migrants. The captain of this ship was Dirk Hahn who struck up a close relationship with his passengers. He noted their sincere religiosity, their quarrelsomeness with one another, their respect for authority as well as their honesty and integrity. He observed that "they revered their Pastor Kavel next to God". They respected Hahn too and sought his advice on where to settle in the new colony, and later named their village in the Adelaide Hills after him. The passenger list of the *Zebra* records the children of Georg and Karoline Boehm as being aged between one and fifteen years. The one year old was Wilhelm. His father was listed as a journeyman carpenter, which meant that he was qualified to work as such but had not yet attained his masters qualification. On arrival these people occupied the huts at Port Adelaide recently vacated by the first two shiploads of Kavel's people who had gone to settle in Klemzig. They stayed there until arrangements could be made for them to take up land in Hahndorf.[1]

Hahndorf was the first settlement in the Adelaide Hills. Although referred to as the "enchanted hills" by William Light, their first European settlers were called "Tiersmen", mainly shady characters at odds with the law, making a living out of cattle duffing and bushranging. Even after the Old Lutherans settled in the area and established the township, there was no road built between Hahndorf and Adelaide for some time. The village women carried out goods like butter and vegetables on their backs once a week, across the countryside, along rough trails, for sale in Adelaide. On the other hand the new village thrived by means of the hard work and frugality of its German settlers. Already in 1841 the inhabitants boasted 500 head of cattle as well as work oxen and horses and an abundance of pigs, geese and fowls. The Boehm family settled in the main street of Hahndorf where Georg was involved in building the church on the other side of the road from his own house. At the same intersection, homes were built for Pastor Kavel, for when he stayed locally, and for the schoolteacher, Kavel's brother Friedrich.[2]

At times in his life Wilhelm Boehm was a controversial figure, and in this way he mirrored the divided community where he was raised. To outsiders, this picturesque German village consisted of settlers with "patient and enduring habits". Scarcely a day passed without

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the people repairing to the local Lutheran church for morning or evening services. This may have been part of the picture, but the Hahndorf that Wilhelm grew up in was a contentious community. A series of religious divisions and conflicts split the people into different groups. First, in 1841 Daniel Fritzsche and his followers arrived in the town, and while eighteen families from his congregation moved on to found Lobethal, and later some also relocated to Bethany in the Barossa, a section of them remained in Hahndorf. From this time there were two Lutheran congregations in the town, one ministered to by Kavel, and the other by Fritzsche. Then, when Kavel was keen to resettle all his people in the Barossa Valley, some of his communities in Hahndorf and Klemzig were reluctant to make the move. This led to a rift between Kavel and sections of his Hahndorf congregation. Further attrition of members leaving to join Fritzsche's flock occurred after the Bethany Synod of 1846 when the theological dispute between Kavel and Fritzsche split the church. Many members of Kavel's congregation in Hahndorf did not agree with his *Protestations* against clauses in the Lutheran Confessions. Finally, in July 1851 forty-three families from Kavel's Hahndorf congregation seceded and joined Fritzsche's. The Boehms were one of the earlier families to go, with Wilhelm listed as receiving confirmation instruction from Fritzsche as early as 1849.[3]

Education

If Boehm was a contentious personality, part of it stemmed from the fact that he was also an independent thinker with a more liberal bent than his fellow Lutherans. The key to this can be found in his education. It began in a conventional way at the congregational school in Hahndorf. Friedrich Kavel, who had been its founding teacher in 1840, had moved on, and the new teacher was Ferdinand Welke, a twenty-two year old locksmith who had arrived in the colony in January 1839. The appointment of teachers who had no pedagogical background was not uncommon among the early Lutherans, and underlined the shortage of trained candidates. Welke's qualifications were restricted to the fact that he was literate in German and had an Old Lutheran background. In 1845, the year Boehm turned nine, Welke decided to try his hand at farming, and Boehm and his fellow students were exposed to a vastly different personality. Their new teacher, Johannes Menge, was a well educated man of broad experience and knowledge. His two main interests were mineralogy and theology, and he had extensive qualifications and experience in both areas. He had been appointed as a geologist with the South Australia Company and had arrived in the colony in January 1837. He soon left that employment to explore the interior for minerals and agricultural land. He was chiefly responsible for the choice of the first selections which the Lutherans took up in the Barossa, and he had close associations with Kavel. In his late fifties when he taught at Hahndorf, he had the interests and knowledge to make a huge impact on his students, especially the brighter ones like young Wilhelm Boehm. Wilhelm's later knowledge of and passion for science must have been stimulated, at least partly, by his exposure to this interesting man. This special experience did not last long. After another year Menge moved on and the more predictable Gottlob Seelander took his place. Seelander had emigrated on the same ship as Fritzsche to join his family who had arrived with Kavel. He was a carpenter, and at first he settled at Bethany in the Barossa before Fritzsche recruited him to teach at Hahndorf.[4]

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The next special ingredient in Boehm's education was contributed by Fritzsche himself, who, although quite conservative, provided the lad with a greater breadth and depth of understanding. In Lutheran congregations the pastor was responsible for teaching the confirmation class. Fritzsche did this for his Hahndorf congregation, and that was where he first noticed Boehm. Instead of Fritzsche travelling to Hahndorf twice a week for these lessons, the students walked through twelve kilometres of bushland from Hahndorf to Lobethal instead. Anna Ey, who lived in Lobethal at the time, mentions Wilhelm Boehm in her memoirs as a "bright lad" who lived with the pastor or the teacher in order to take his confirmation lessons. He sang in the choir and was top of his class at school.[5] His confirmation classes lasted through 1849 and 1850, at the end of which time he joined the students at Lobethal College where Fritzsche was training pastors and teachers for the church. He proved very adept at his studies and covered all Fritzsche required of him by the middle of 1852.

Teacher Topp.

The next phase of Boehm's education was probably the most liberalising. On Fritzsche's suggestion, Boehm moved to Bethany in the Barossa to study under the former Dresden missionary, Pastor Eduard Meyer, who had better English after ten years dealing with colonial governments. Fritzsche also explained to Meyer that ill-health and lack of time prevented him from working with Boehm much further, and that he looked to Meyer and Teacher Topp to complete Boehm's preparation for teaching.[6] At Bethany Boehm lived with the Meyer family. Meyer's wife Friedericke was a remarkable woman who before her marriage had worked as a lady-in-waiting in the position of guardian of the queen's wardrobe to the Prussian royal family. She was a versatile woman who had also established strong friendships with the Aboriginal community at Encounter Bay during her husband's missionary stint there. She would have been a broadening influence on young Wilhelm, and her stories of life in Europe would have given him a feel for a wider and grander world beyond his experience. Also at Bethany was the redoubtable Teacher Topp who was able to tutor Wilhelm in classroom practice. He was a conservative, strong-minded man who was one of those most outspoken in church affairs. As someone trained as a teacher in Germany, he was one of the more competent educators in the Australian Lutheran schools of the time. He had migrated to the colony in 1842.[7]

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Dr Carl Muecke.

The second broadening influence that Boehm experienced at Bethany was a period of tutelage under the liberal intellectual, Dr Carl Muecke, who lived nearby in Tanunda. This village, between the Old Lutheran settlements of Langmeil and Bethany, had sprung up along the main road that ran to the north. It was more cosmopolitan, and its German population had business, academic and artistic backgrounds. Some had fled the German states after the failed 1848 revolutions in Europe. One of these was Muecke who possessed a doctorate from Bonn University, and had interests in politics and education. He had emigrated to Australia in 1849 on the same ship as people like botanists Otto and Richard Schomburgk, musician Carl Linger and printer Rudolf Reimer who were just a few of a growing population of educated, liberal Germans appearing in the colony at the time.[8] Their attitude to the Old Lutherans was quite dismissive. Muecke himself described his neighbours as "misguided and misled by self-seeking, stubbornly zealotical parsons . . . over whom all tremendous progress and . . . culture has passed." Although not trained in theology himself, Muecke assumed the role of minister to a free Lutheran congregation in Tanunda in 1851. Kavel's protégé Auricht later claimed that Muecke had not been called to this position but had set himself up as a pastor. This church was established because "the inhabitants of Tanunda and surrounds for a long time felt the urgent need to see a clergyman in their midst who preached the Word of God to them." This of course was an obvious slight on the Old Lutheran congregations in the vicinity. Muecke served as a Lutheran pastor in Tanunda for eighteen years until he resigned to practise journalism.[9] His influence on the young Wilhelm Boehm, whom he tutored in philosophy, would have been considerable. He introduced Boehm to contemporary ideas and a broader knowledge of life, as well as a different kind of society, one of culture and theories and articulate debate. In his later educational career, Boehm was to make good use of the insights and contacts that he made in these Tanunda days. The real puzzle in all of this was, of course, why Fritzsche had entrusted Boehm to Muecke as a student in the first place. Maybe, despite their theological differences, Fritzsche harboured some trust and respect for Muecke who was a fellow Saxon. Maybe Boehm himself, in his thirst for knowledge, was the driving force. It was not an expected choice.

Fritzsche certainly had a lot of confidence in Boehm. In 1852 he recommended him to Pastor Meyer at Bethany as a "highly talented student . . . conscientious and also God-loving." This confidence was further evidenced when in early 1854 Gottlob Seelander

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decided to resign from the Lutheran school in Hahndorf to take up a similar position at Lyndoch in the Barossa. Although Boehm was only seventeen, and had not yet finished his studies, Fritzsche put him in charge of the Hahndorf school. He sat for his final examinations in July, and Fritzsche pronounced that he had passed with credit. Part of the examination was an oral one in front of the Hahndorf congregation. He was tested in Bible knowledge, Christian dogmatics, ethics, catechisation, German grammar, essay writing and choral singing. He had earlier passed geography and arithmetic in Bethany.[10] By his eighteenth birthday in October Boehm was firmly ensconced as Hahndorf's Lutheran teacher, the local lad who had returned to his home town to take up a major position of responsibility. He came equipped with a thorough Old Lutheran grounding which had been tempered by broader, more liberal influences.

Making a Stand

Despite the fact that he was still a teenager, Boehm was not overwhelmed by his new position. In fact Hahndorf Lutherans had to come to terms with generational change in 1855. Besides Boehm at the school, Fritzsche's Lutheran congregation in Hahndorf had installed a new pastor. He was Adolph Strempel who had been a fellow student of Boehm's at Lobethal College. As Kavel still maintained occasional usage of the pastor's house on his visits to his remnant congregation in the town, the new, single, twenty-three year old pastor moved into the teacher's house with the nineteen year old Boehm. The two were to have a long association. They soon began to make an impact. In the second half of the 1850s, the Lutheran community in Hahndorf was disturbed by two major conflicts. The first was the court case in which Strempel led his congregation in a successful attempt to win control of the main church properties in Hahndorf from Kavel and his adherents.[11] The second controversy revolved around Boehm and the Lutheran school. Boehm, from the outset, had major concerns with the content and conditions of Lutheran schooling in Hahndorf. One was financial, and focussed on the school's dependence on a niggardly congregation to pay the teacher and provide resources. His other concern was with the narrow curriculum and the predominance of the German language.

The *1851 Education Act* in South Australia had set up a Central Board of Education to supervise and regulate the schools in the colony. Its most influential members were Edward Wickes who was the secretary, and William Wyatt who was its chief agent and inspector of schools. Wickes and Wyatt, acting for the Board, dominated South Australian education for the next two decades. Schools were established by local initiatives and supervised by their own councils so the success of a particular school depended a great deal on the enthusiasm and support at the local level. The Board provided some government money to erect buildings and to pay teachers. The schools still had to charge fees to cover the full costs of schooling. In order to attract funding, schools had to be licensed. The first requirement was an enrolment of at least twenty students. The licences were awarded annually and each one was attached to the principal, not the school or any of its teachers. The basic standard adopted under the Board was that schools had to teach a fixed curriculum, had to be conducted by a trained teacher and had to be housed in a building designed for the purpose of schooling. The same *Act* abolished financial support for denominational schools. Those which could not survive without government aid had to meet the same criteria as any other school and be willing

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to forego religious instruction as part of their regular curriculum. They too were subject to the Board whose job was to oversee the development of all schools, and to administer any grant money that was allocated to them.[12]

Boehm had seen how state aid had bolstered Muecke's congregational school in Tanunda. Also, at about the same time that Boehm took up his position at Hahndorf, an English teacher, Mrs Hutchinson, had opened a school in the town which was successful in attracting a government grant. This was evidence that the Board was keen to support a school under their auspices in the area. Although it only lasted a year, it also demonstrated that an alternative to the Lutheran school was possible with the help of grant money and that there was some interest in an English language education in the village which, by now, had attracted a broader population. During 1855, at an election meeting, Boehm raised the possibility of the Lutheran school gaining government financial support. Soon after, a letter was written to the Board of Education through a Hahndorf solicitor to see if it would be permissible for Lutheran teachings to be part of the curriculum of a grant school.[13] It was obvious that there was a growing nucleus of support in the village for such an enterprise. Boehm, if not directly involved in these stirrings, would have been at least sympathetic to them.

Clearly, Boehm could see, there was support emerging in Hahndorf for schooling in English which also provided an education for life in general. This was a broader vision of education than that traditionally espoused by the Lutheran congregation which was more focussed on the German language and the teachings of the church. On the other hand, there was also strong resistance among some Lutherans to such change. They echoed the thinking of the Lutheran Synod in 1841 where the Elsner Spelling Book and Reader was criticised because it contained too many "useless words". There was a demand for a replacement which would include a list of Biblical names, the books of the Bible and the seasons and festivals of the church year.[14] Boehm decided to confront such thinking in the public arena. In early 1857 he wrote to the Board of Education indicating that he was going to resign from the Lutheran school, and become the teacher in a public school set up by several Hahndorf residents. His letter complained of a lack of money, and the narrow mindedness of the congregation which would not allow him to use any other books in the school besides the Bible and the Lutheran catechism. When the letter was published in the Adelaide press, along with critical editorial comment which reflected poorly on the quality of the Hahndorf Lutheran school, Boehm had to back down. He wrote to the paper that his assertions about the omission of secular studies were incorrect. He did teach all the useful arts and sciences in the school, but it was in the face of opposition from a great many parents. In a subsequent letter to the *Observer,* he emphasised that his problems in running the school were not because of the Lutheran congregation, but rather because of certain parties within it. A similar correspondence was carried out in another of the colony's papers, the *Register.* Boehm lamented to it in a letter early in April that "I have incurred upon me the disaffection of the congregation. . . . I have made up my mind to resign my present office, for who would like such an unhappy position in which I am?"[15] These letters reflected much about Boehm, including his emotional fluctuations, ranging between audacious self-confidence and wounded self-pity, as well as his tendency towards promoting his own interests. But there was also a significant element of reformism in his stand.

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This public airing of the problems at the Lutheran school in Hahndorf in the colony's press brought the differences of opinion at the local level to a head. Boehm's supporters now issued an ultimatum to the congregation that unless they agreed to the Lutheran school coming under the Education Board in order to receive a grant, they would set up a rival school of their own. The congregation's reaction was to guarantee Boehm a salary of £75 (pounds) a year, but insist that he comply with the church's policy against state aid, refrain from writing offensive newspaper articles and resign from the Hahndorf Institute. This latter group was a community organisation which provided a local reading room and worked for the advancement of the arts and sciences. Boehm was a high profile member. He refused to agree to the congregation's conditions, and in July 1857 resigned his position as teacher at the Hahndorf Lutheran school.[16]

His Own School

Whether it was a result of self interest, or a desire for quality schooling, Boehm had become convinced that he needed to be free of congregational control and be able to access government money if he wanted to preside over an effective school. The problem of having to abandon religious instruction as part of the curriculum seemed less of a concern. In the light of later events, Boehm probably considered there were other options for its provision. There was probably a mixture of motivations that drove him towards starting his own school. There is some evidence to suggest that Boehm had started thinking about such an initiative much earlier. In fact, he had been working as a teacher for less than twelve months when in May 1855 he purchased a parcel of land in the main street of Hahndorf for £175 (pounds). The allotment adjoined the Lutheran school on one side, and Boehm's father's property on the other. On resigning from the congregational school, he did not wait for his backers to open an alternative, but immediately did so himself, rather provocatively, in a building next door to the congregational school. He had a designated room built on to the Boehm family residence. He obviously had his father's backing, the elder Boehm organising the milling of the timber for the extension on his own land. By October 1857, Boehm's school had attracted enough enrolments for him to qualify for a government licence and the school for a grant. In the same month the school was inspected by the Board of Education which found the state of the classroom satisfactory, if small, and discipline good. Within a year enrolments had grown to 70.[17]

For the next three years Hahndorf Lutherans were embroiled in a continuing conflict over this matter. Pastor Strempel was torn between his friendship with Boehm and his desire for educational reform on the one hand, and his duty to his congregation on the other. He openly supported Boehm's desire to improve the school, but naturally did not want to see his congregation torn apart over the issue. The leaders of the Meyer-Fritzsche synod were ambivalent. Their position of rejecting state aid was wavering. In July, just before Boehm's resignation, they decided to withhold judgement on the matter until they saw what direction government policy would take. If the authorities were open to denominational religious instruction as part of the curriculum, the church might be willing to change its position. When no such change in policy eventuated, the church's leaders agreed to a resolution forbidding congregational members from deserting a church school for one funded by a grant. This only exacerbated matters

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because it did not stop a section of the Hahndorf Lutheran community from sending their children to Boehm's school, which continued to increase its enrolments.[18]

There were various attempts by Strempel to reconcile the two factions in his congregation, but by the middle of 1859 he was pressured to call a special congregational meeting where those who sent their children to Boehm's school were barred from receiving Holy Communion. There was an immediate effect on Boehm's school. He wrote to the Board of Education to inform them that his school had suffered a recent "considerable decrease" in enrolments due to the local Lutheran congregation reviving an old policy of forbidding its members from sending their children to any school not under their direct supervision. The Board indicated that they were astonished at this example of "ecclesiastical despotism" and offered words of support. Some Lutherans at Lobethal came out in favour of Boehm as well. The Board's continuing confidence in Boehm was evident when, at the end of the year, it gave the school a glowing report after an inspection. The students performed well and it was noted that "Mr Boehm has been most assiduous in imparting instruction both in English and in German." Boehm hung on and things gradually improved. By March 1860 he was again in contact with the Board, reporting an increase in the numbers attending his school and requesting an increase in his stipend.[19]

It took less than twelve months for Boehm's school to recover. Crucial to this turnaround was the fact that two prominent congregational leaders, Eduard Reimann and Eduard Schroeder, joined Boehm's cause. They were influenced by the better education, including instruction in English, that was available in his school.[20] Besides these disaffected members of Strempel's congregation, there was a wider clientele who would have also welcomed the alternative schooling which Boehm offered. These included Kavel's remnant people who would have been open to looking elsewhere for a suitable school. In addition there were the families of the free Lutheran congregation which had been established in Hahndorf in 1857. It comprised an influx of new German inhabitants who found Old Lutheran ways unacceptable. They were also a potential clientele. Also, some members of the general community would have been pleased to use Boehm's school because Hahndorf, like those two other major German communities, Lobethal and Tanunda, now had a state funded, English speaking school. At the end of 1860 the Board of Education noted that a new building had recently been erected at the school and that enrolments had grown again to 63 students.[21]

Boehm was very astute at promoting his school. It was imperative that he continue to receive government funding, so he maintained constant contact with the Board of Education, informing them of every development in the fortunes of his school. They, of course, were keen to support him to ensure that an English speaking school survived in this German cultural environment. As early as 1857 a letter appeared in the Adelaide press referring to Boehm's school, asserting: "We are happy to know that the English language is being increasingly studied by the German population." Boehm was also assiduous in cultivating the local Onkaparinga District Council. Each year from December 1857 onwards they were invited to the annual speech day activities. A report in the press in December 1859 described such an occasion when the Chairman of the Council, Mr Carl Lauterbach, attended. It described "the great readiness on the part of the pupils in answering the questions" as well as positively

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commenting on Boehm's talents as a teacher.[22] Boehm also had the ability to present himself to the public in impressive and dramatic ways. As already seen, this was usually through letters to the press, or by verbal contributions at public meetings. Photos of the period show him as a dapper man who dressed impeccably, sometimes sporting an extended waxed moustache, pointed at the ends.[23] He was also a leading member of the Hahndorf Institute which had been set up by educated citizens of the village to provide a wide range of reading materials. It also sponsored regular speakers on scientific subjects, including Boehm himself on occasion. Boehm served as secretary of the Institute for many years, before resigning over a dispute with other members. By the end of the 1850s Boehm had made a major impact on the educational environment of Hahndorf through a school which aimed at providing a broad quality education for Hahndorf families. It was quite a remarkable feat for someone aged in his early twenties. However, there were still some Lutherans who persisted with their own school, operated along much narrower lines. The presence of these two schools, side by side, raised some intriguing questions about the future directions of Lutheran schooling in Hahndorf.

Another Try

By the early 1860s, three influential young Lutheran leaders had emerged in Hahndorf. First there was Wilhelm Boehm, who turned twenty-five in 1861. Already in his seventh year of service as a teacher, he was the owner of his own school, and a contentious local character with a high public profile. In August 1858 he had married Maria, the daughter of a prosperous local farmer, Gottfried Dolling. Second, there was Adolph Strempel, who turned twenty-nine in 1861, and had succeeded Fritzsche as the pastor in Hahndorf six years previously. His family had been supporters of Fritzsche's underground ministry back in Germany, and in 1847, as a teenager, he had migrated with his older siblings to join the Old Lutheran community in South Australia. His wife Mary was the daughter of the synod president, Pastor Meyer from Bethany in the Barossa Valley. Boehm would have been well acquainted with her from his time as a student of Meyer's when he lived in that household. Strempel and Boehm knew each other particularly well, having been fellow students as well as sharing a house in their bachelor days. Strempel shared Boehm's love of music too, and was also a good scholar. He had survived the stresses of his early ministry, the legal battle to wrest the church properties in Hahndorf from the Kavel faction, the challenge of building St Michael's church, as well as the church discipline of the Boehm faction in the school controversy. The third young leader was Rudolph Ey who turned twenty-four in 1861. Since 1857 he had been Boehm's replacement at the congregational school in Hahndorf. Trained as a teacher in Germany, he had only been in the colony for two years when he took up the position. A conservative, serious man with little English, he would have been more of an outsider. However, in 1861, he married Anna Oster, a sister to Philipp, formerly a fellow student with Strempel and Boehm at Lobethal College, and now a pastor at Hoffnungsthal in the Barossa. The Oster family had also migrated on the *Gellert*, and after their father died on the journey, his widow and children had been cared for by Fritzsche at Lobethal. Anna Ey and Maria Boehm had emigrated on the same ship, and Anna and Wilhelm Boehm had gone to school together at Lobethal.[24]

These three couples formed the new generation of Lutheran leadership in strife prone Hahndorf. They lived and worked within strolling distance of each other, knew each other intimately, were sometimes allies, and at other times were at enmity. Boehm's school shared a boundary with that of the congregation and Ey's house on one side, and the Strempels' manse and St. Michael's church were virtually next door on the other. The mercurial Boehm was the unpredictable element in all these relationships. On the surface, having been disciplined by Strempel's church, and with his school in direct competition with Ey's, it could have been expected for him to be in a state of constant tension with these two men. It obviously would have been the case at times, but somehow Boehm managed, not only to form a working truce with Strempel and Ey, but also to get them to consider a new idea he was entertaining. He wanted them to join forces with him. Anna Ey in her memoirs of this period says: "We often associated with our neighbours, Teacher Boehm and his wife. After some time Boehm got the idea that his state school and our church school should amalgamate, and he worked hard to convince my husband and everyone interested to agree to this." Whatever motivated Boehm in this, he was remarkably successful in his campaign. The families became so friendly that Maria Boehm was asked to be one of the sponsors at the baptism of the Ey's first child in November 1861, and Ey finally agreed to Boehm's proposal to join the two schools. Boehm was also successful in talking Strempel and the Hahndorf congregation into the plan, a somewhat marvellous feat considering the events of a couple years previously.[25] Boehm approached the Board of Education with his idea in July 1861 and they also were happy to comply. The amalgamation meant that the congregational school would now also be in receipt of grant money, which, in turn, made it illegal for denominational teachings to be included as part of the regular instruction. As some of the Lutheran schools started to accept such funds, they usually coped with this by teaching the religious element of the curriculum outside of regular school hours. By the end of 1861 the newly united school could demonstrate to an inspection by the Board of Education that it had an enrolment of 150 students. As it continued to grow, it soon became one of the largest in the colony. It seemed only fitting that when the Duke of Edinburgh visited Hahndorf in 1867, that his procession halted in front of the school and its impressive array of students where he was grandly entertained with German singing.[26]

At the time of the amalgamation, it seemed as if Boehm had achieved a rather remarkable feat. In a roundabout way he had managed to take over the Lutheran school in Hahndorf according to his own conditions. As a grant school, it was now economically viable and its curriculum had to meet certain standards set by the Board of Education who would support him in any wrangles with the congregation. Although Boehm had accomplished the prerequisites for a successful venture it did not take long before the marriage of the two schools proved to be a stormy one. By the end of 1861, Rudolph Ey was so conscience stricken over accepting government funding and restricting Christian instruction that he resigned. Strempel and Boehm tried to change his mind without success. Even the Hahndorf congregation disagreed with Ey, finding the new teacher "too narrow-minded and conscientious".[27] Yet, the congregation decided within the next year to break ties with Boehm's school anyway, and to continue without a state grant, only to renew the association again at the end of 1864.

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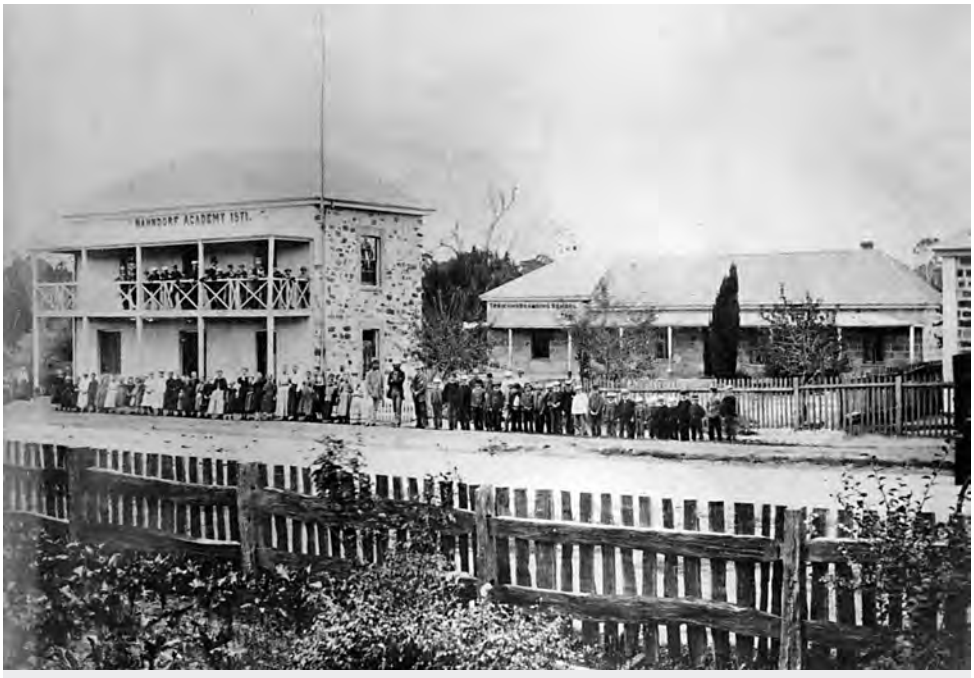
The relationship was again in jeopardy in September 1869 when students from the joint schools were involved in a celebration of the centenary of the birth of the German scientist, Alexander von Humboldt, said to be the most famous man in Europe after Napoleon. His scientific writings were well known. Two of his major works, *Aspects of Nature* and *Cosmos* had been translated into English in the 1840s. He was an exponent of a broad range of scientific disciplines including meteorology, geology and physics as well as having developed an expertise in volcanoes, a special interest shared by Boehm.[28] Conservative elements both in the congregation and the wider church thought it was idolatrous to honour this man, especially when some of the speakers at the celebrations made statements which were seen as contradictory to the church's teachings. A group of pastors, including Boehm's old school fellows Strempel and Hensel, put out a statement that criticised Boehm for his reluctance to disassociate himself from these speeches, but Boehm refused to make any apology. He was strongly admonished by pastors and teachers in the church's newspaper. These included his former mentor, Friedrich Topp.[29] This controversy did not immediately destroy the marriage between the two schools, but it did illustrate the tensions involved when a narrow church is involved in an attempt to provide a broad education. Despite such problems, however, there was no doubt that the combined schools were providing a sound education. There was great confidence both in Boehm, and the congregational teacher, Robert Strenz, who had been appointed in 1862 as Ey's replacement. In 1869, on the death of his father, Boehm acquired more land and erected a major stone building to supplement the facilities of his cottage school. Enrolments in 1870 stood at 209 students. The damage had been done, however, in the Humboldt affair. In 1871, when Strenz committed suicide over personal financial problems, the congregation, moved to a sombre mood by the tragedy, decided once again to sever its ties with Boehm and his school. Significantly, however, the congregational school continued to receive and accept a government grant.[30]

Higher Education

After 1871 Boehm's school moved into higher education, and gradually assumed a place as one of the larger independent schools in South Australia. Boehm added a second storey to his premises and, as its reputation spread into surrounding districts, it began to take boarders. With the increasing focus on higher education, girls were gradually eliminated. This was partly because it was not a strong priority for people to educate their daughters at this level, but also because boarding facilities at the college were only available for boys. The college adopted a Latin motto, *Dimidium facti qui bene coepit habet* which translated as: *Well Begun Is Half Done*, and made the subtle transition from being Boehm's school to the Hahndorf Academy in the minds of the public. Further additions were made in 1872. After the school started taking in boarders, it attracted a wider clientele than just Hahndorf's German Lutherans. There were influential Anglicans from Adelaide like the Tomkinson and O'Halloran families who sent their sons to Boehm's Academy. Adelaide doctors Gething and Toll did too. Hahndorf Academy students began to feature in the university matriculation examinations. In 1879, for instance, they produced two of the four students who were given a First Class pass.[31] The contacts Boehm had made with the free German community in Tanunda were fruitful:



The Hahndorf Academy after 1871.

his old tutor Muecke had his three grandsons at the college. Gotthold Reimann, who founded the Adelaide College of Music which was later incorporated into the University of Adelaide, had his first music lessons from Wilhelm Boehm. Teachers at the school were also drawn from a wider background. In the late 1870s, for instance, Sam McPherson, who had experience teaching in private schools in Adelaide and Melbourne, taught Commerce and English at Hahndorf College. William Smart, John Mitchell and James Tait who were also from an Anglican background taught at the school as well. By 1881, it was one of five colleges, including Prince Alfred and St. Peter's, which formed a Private Schools Association where members met at each other's establishments "for mutual study and improvement".[32] The Hahndorf Academy had developed a long way from its narrow German, Old Lutheran roots. In this way it was to be a precursor of some of the Lutheran colleges which made similar transitions in the twentieth century.

Even though the college maintained a strong public profile and a good reputation during the 1870s and 1880s, its existence was continually jeopardised by financial problems. Although Boehm had kept in close contact with the Board of Education, relations began to deteriorate, and in 1871 his grant money was lowered. In 1874, because the school did not meet the technical requirement of the Board to employ a sewing mistress, the grant was lost altogether.[33] In 1875 a new *Education Act* in South Australia set up a government department to oversee education in the state. The old Board of Education was replaced with a Council of Education. Its president was J. A. Hartley, the head of Prince Alfred College with which the Hahndorf Academy was now in competition. He was to occupy this position, from which he dominated education

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in South Australia, for the next twenty years. Especially recruited from England to become headmaster of Prince Alfred, by 1876 Hartley had moved on to become an employee of the government with the job of establishing a system of state schools in South Australia. By 1878 the Council of Education was disbanded and Hartley filled the role of Director of Education in South Australia, directly responsible to the minister. According to the *Education Act of 1875*, attendance at school was compulsory for children aged seven to thirteen, even though parents still had to pay fees. It was not until the *Free Education Act of 1891* that schools in South Australia became free as well as compulsory. Armed with this commission of universal schooling, Hartley pursued his work of creating a state school system in a strongly autocratic fashion. He argued that since the Hahndorf congregational school received a grant, the increasingly secondary Academy should not qualify.[34]

Despite the severed ties with the congregational school, after 1871 Boehm continued his involvement with the Lutheran Church. As early as 1864 he had been a member of a Lutheran board set up to establish a permanent training institution for pastors and teachers in the tradition of Lobethal College. Since the early 1860s, the Lutheran Church had splintered into three major groups. The Fritzsche-Meyer synod assumed the name of the Evangelical Lutheran Synod of Australia (ELSA), Kavel's church had divided into the Tanunda-Light's Pass Synod (TLPS), and the Langmeil-Light's Pass Synod (LLPS). Although they never properly reunited, by the mid-1870s the three synods were trying to co-operate to provide a common teacher training institution. By this time the number of Lutheran schools had grown significantly. In 1874, for instance the TLPS had eight schools and the LLPS operated six. In 1875 the number of ELSA schools stood at twenty-four. With no real program of training in place over the previous twenty years, all the synods were feeling the pressure to find suitable teachers. By the mid-1870s they had agreed to buy Boehm's Academy for the purpose, and given his financial problems, he was prepared to sell.[35]

In 1877 Boehm sold his Academy to the Lutheran Church for £700 (pounds), well below its true value, and went farming with his son. The next year, disillusioned with agriculture, he returned as an employee of the school which now had the financial backing of the church and had began a new lease of life. The church had appointed August Strempel to be the director of teacher training. Boehm was given the role of directing the general education program. While Boehm and other teachers provided general educational subjects, Strempel supplied the theology. Practical teaching experience was provided at the Hahndorf congregational school next door.[36] The church was supposed to fund the teacher program, but its support was never adequate to cover the costs. Church newspapers publicised the number of teachers who were training to serve in its schools and emphasised the successes in the public examinations set by the university. It appealed to its members claiming that "if each one would only contribute a small amount each year, the work could be advanced with ease."[37]

Once the church took over in 1877, and there was an emphasis on training students in theology, girls disappeared altogether. In the eighties its curriculum included subjects like English, German, Latin, Greek, arithmetic, algebra, geometry, geography, history, physics, natural history, book-keeping, drawing, singing, music, gymnastics and drill. Each week day school commenced at 9.00 am, although it was an hour earlier for

Strempel's teacher students. In addition to the day boys, accommodation was provided for up to forty boarders and for five staff to look after them. Maria Boehm served as their matron until the church took over the college, and the work of maintaining services was shared between hired help and the boarders themselves. The boys contributed by chopping wood, grooming horses and milking the cows. Facilities improved in the eighties when a water tank was built into the school's tower so that boarders could enjoy cold showers in the summer and warm baths in the winter. There were no urinals in the school and boarders would traipse over to the nearby creek bank before retiring in the evening. The boys wore slippers inside the classrooms to save cleaning needs.[38]

There were narrow-minded Lutherans who questioned the range of secular subjects and the need for any university examinations at all, maintaining that future teachers only needed to be proficient in theological subjects. In answer, the church leadership argued that secular qualifications would protect the schools from any inference by government that Lutheran teachers were not properly educated. There were also criticisms that non-Lutheran teachers worked at the Hahndorf college. They might corrupt the theological purity of the teachers. Boehm, for a change, found his reputation defended in the church's newspaper: "What infinite trouble the Head Teacher, Mr W. Boehm, has already had in trying to find suitable teachers." The article argued that if the college was to have real standing in the community it had to teach in English, and it was difficult to find Lutherans who could teach secular subjects competently in that language. Besides, it went on: "The supervision and instruction of the students in dogmatics is the sole responsibility of the Director of the Institution", which referred to Strempel. This positive support, at least from the church's leaders, indicated that Boehm had been instrumental in broadening the educational thinking of the Lutheran church.[39]

In this period Hahndorf College graduated twenty-one Lutheran teachers for the church's schools. Although there was probably some self interest behind his efforts, there is evidence to suggest that Boehm went out of his way to help the Lutherans during these years. For instance, a church paper at the end of 1878 mentioned that "Teacher Boehm has given up his salary since September this year and is prepared to be satisfied with the surplus from the boarding school." Despite the fluctuations in their relationship over a long period, Boehm and Strempel worked together for five years to ensure that the teacher students were adequately equipped for service in Lutheran schools. An 1880 report explains that while Strempel was the "director of the Teachers Seminary" and "Teacher Boehm in charge of the Boarding School, most decisions are made by both together." Another report in 1879 explains how Boehm had addressed the recent synod of the church full of "praises for the achievements of the current director", namely Strempel.[40] Although it did not graduate any pastors, there were hopes that the program might be extended to accommodate candidates for the parish ministry at some future date.

However, through poor financial management, as well as the lack of church support, the college again got into difficulties. In fact the whole enterprise might have collapsed much sooner had not Boehm continued to prop it up with his own efforts and reputation. A report to the church in 1879, for instance, explained that the church owed Boehm £110 (pounds) and advertised a subscription to cover this, to which Boehm immediately donated fifteen guineas himself! At the same time Boehm requested funds

from the church to extend facilities to cope with enrolments, but the church asked him to wait, even though he volunteered to help raise the money personally. Boehm, ever the centre of controversy, found himself again the victim of a variety of attacks from within the church. One, which seemed to have originated in the Bethany congregation in the Barossa, suggested that he was lining his own pockets with contributions for the training of teachers. In an impassioned letter to the president of the church Boehm protested: "While I am fighting a difficult battle for survival and am never free from worry and care, exert all my physical and intellectual powers in the service of the school and devote the remainder of my pecuniary means for its benefit, others take pains to represent me before the Synod as a salary-seeking servant of Mammon." At the end of the letter he tendered his resignation, secretly, "since my successor has not yet been chosen."[41] It was not taken up.

Gradually, over the period between 1877 and 1883, the program of teacher training at the Hahndorf College lost the support of the church. Despite the supply of teacher graduates, suspicion of Boehm was rife in some quarters, and the size and secular nature of the general educational course continued to worry conservative elements. In 1883, frustrated by the church's red tape and its inability to come to terms with the college's financial situation, Boehm decided to purchase the academy back from the church. In a special deal he agreed to continue the training of Lutheran teachers with the help of Strempel, and such students were to be enrolled at reduced rates. He extended the buildings further, including the erection of a gymnasium. Enrolments were healthy, but the financial liabilities of the school proved to be overwhelming. Boehm sold out to non-Lutheran interests and moved to Victoria in 1886.[42] It not only marked the end of his school, but this effectively meant the end of the Lutheran teacher training program as well.

Later Days

In his own way, Boehm was always a family man. He married Anna Maria Dolling when he was only twenty-one, and the support of her family who were prosperous farming folk was evidenced by the fact that they were excommunicated from Strempel's Hahndorf congregation in the same year as the Boehms. The families were tied more closely by the marriage of Wilhelm's brother Ernst to Maria's sister Martha. He always had the strong support of his own family, his parents and his older siblings, whose material backing he could call upon in his business dealings, as well as the support and encouragement they afforded him in the various public controversies in which he was involved. Various members of the Boehm-Dolling relationship attended school at his Academy, and several female members of the family were employed there in looking after boarders. Two of Maria's brother's children, Fritz and Hulda, were taken in by Wilhelm and Maria when their mother died, and Hulda became an employee of the school when she reached adulthood. Wilhelm Boehm and his wife were quite a contrast physically. She was a strong, stout woman, while he was always small and slim, and the difference between them was sometimes parodied by his enemies. She was placid, he was volatile. She dressed without frills, he was somewhat of a dandy. She was retiring, he loved the limelight. His nickname was "Chibby", a reference it seems to his small size. They had two children, Alfred born in 1859, and Clara born in 1863.

Alfred became a farmer like his Boehm and Dolling uncles. Clara, who was more intellectually and creatively gifted, taught arts and crafts and helped with her father's music business.[43]

Chibby Boehm.

It was no surprise then that after his Hahndorf schooling days were finished, at the age of fifty-one, Boehm with his wife and daughter moved to Victoria to join his son who already had a farm there. His older brother had also moved on to the land in the Mallee. In 1887 Boehm opened an English and German school at Murtoa in the Wimmera. Western Victoria was a major area of German settlement, mainly comprised of Lutherans who had moved from South Australia. Hardly had this school been set up when there were reports in synodical papers proposing it as a suitable training institution for church teachers. By the next year, the church papers were suggesting that Boehm's school was "progressing better than expected, and he will open a boarding school in the new year. It is suggested that this could be the nucleus of a new seminary." Despite these optimistic forecasts, the school did not prosper, so the following year Boehm established a private tutoring service in Warracknabeal.[44] In 1890, when a Lutheran college for the training of pastors and teachers was actually established in Murtoa, he became the music master in its inaugural year, but was never a major force in the new institution. In 1891 he took on private music students in Warracknabeal as well as running the agency for Allan's pianos. He was active in community affairs and sometimes gave public lectures on subjects like astronomy. Loss of hearing finally caused him to give up music teaching and he retired to his son's farm in Yaapeet near Rainbow where he lived to the age of eighty-two. Maria predeceased her husband in 1908, and their son Alfred died of tetanus in 1915. Wilhelm spent the last two years of his life on the farm with his daughter-in-law and his grandchildren, before he too died in 1917, and was buried in the Warracknabeal cemetery.[45] His grave in the Anglican section was an indication of his later aloofness from the Lutheran Church. On the memorial stone erected by former students is the claim that he "contributed largely to the educational, musical and social life of the state".

Boehm's Hahndorf Academy, which maintained a precarious existence for nearly thirty years as part of the Lutheran schooling scene, was the pioneer for that system on a number of fronts. It had a major role in helping Lutherans come to terms with the issue of state aid. It also faced the challenge of providing quality schooling, not only for the needs of the church, but also in a secular sense as well. Boehm understood the importance of establishing English as the main language of his academy, even though it originally catered for a German community which had a major commitment to preserving its own language. This was one of the initiatives he took in order to establish his school in the wider community so that, at its height, it could compete with

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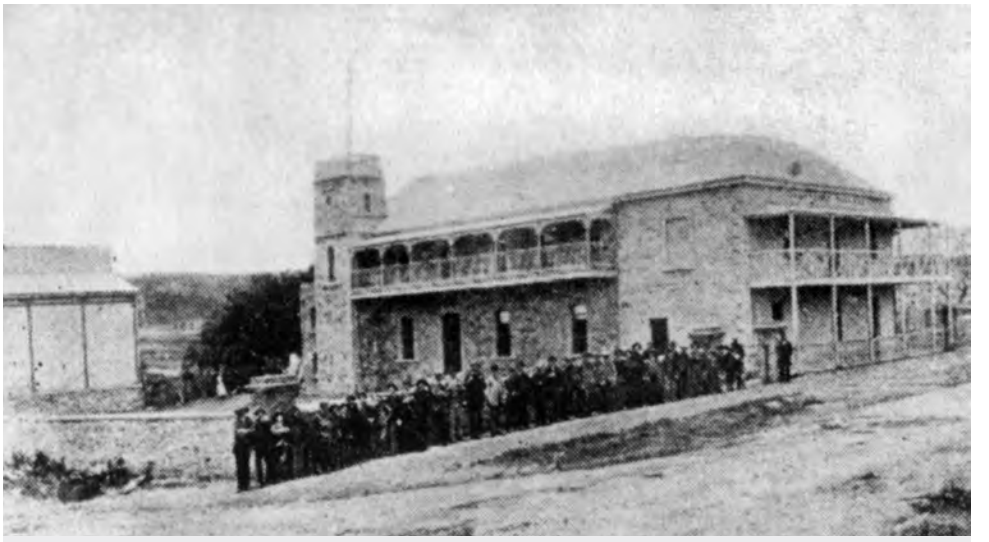
any in the state, especially in the last twenty years when it embraced higher education and accepted boarders from further afield. Boehm's Academy was noted for the quality of its program. He himself was an excellent teacher, full of energy and enthusiasm, as well as possessing the patience with children which he seldom displayed with adults. He was prone to overdramatise the failings in contemporary Lutheran practice, but he also forced Lutheran communities to take educational content and standards seriously, and insisted that the arts and sciences take their place in Lutheran schools alongside the Bible and the catechism. There were periods of his time in Hahndorf when Boehm was at odds with the Lutheran church, but he never fully severed his ties with it. From serving on its committees, to providing music for his congregation's worship, he maintained his attachment and made a significant contribution to its education program. In the end, however, Boehm's school was not only lost to him but to the Lutherans as well. The experience indicated that when a school tries to find an equal balance between the work of the church and the needs of society, it is difficult to maintain a workable equilibrium.

In Hahndorf, Boehm's Academy is still one of the more prominent buildings in the main street where it has been restored as a museum and art gallery. It stands as his monument, its comparative size and grandeur reflecting his ambitious dreams and considerable accomplishments. Whether he acted out of idealism or self-interest was not always clear. His work in improving the standards and scope of the education offered in Lutheran schools, the introduction of English as the major language of Lutheran education, his contribution towards Lutheran teacher training, his attitude to government funding, all played their part in helping Lutheran schools emerge from their cultural ghettoes to provide a balanced education for life in a wider society.



The Hahndorf Academy including gymnasium at rear.

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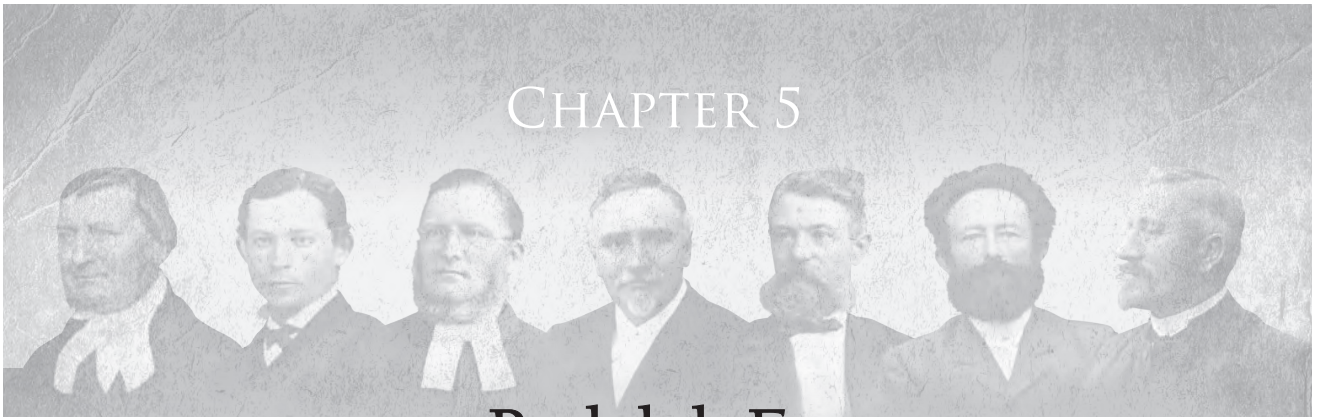
Chapter 5



Rudolph Ey
Divisions and Distinctions

"I will make a distinction between my people and your people". Exodus 8: 23.

Rudolph Ey.

Lutherans in Australia have always had a strong sense of their own distinctiveness. It is a legacy of the confessional commitment which earned persecution for their forefathers in Germany. Their desire to be distinctive motivated them to keep their own language, and to develop their own schools, and to defend those schools against state interference. There was always a concern, of course, that their communities, gathered around their churches and schools, might become ghettos isolated from the rest of society. Their schools, especially, in their drive to pass on the faith of the fathers, were in danger of neglecting the education of the young for work and citizenship in their adopted country. Some of their leaders, like Wilhelm Boehm, forced them to come to terms with these challenges. However, as Lutherans and their schools began to integrate with the wider community, in the eyes of others, a different threat emerged. It was feared the schools might lose their distinctiveness and fail to pass on those particular beliefs and teachings that made them Lutheran. Indeed, the schools might become indistinguishable from all the others and be lost to the church altogether. Enter Rudolph Ey. He insisted that its own schools, genuinely based on and espousing Lutheran teachings, were essential for the survival of the church. He was also an outspoken opponent of Lutheran schools accepting any kind of government help, or being subjected to government supervision or interference. His deep-seated, restrictive views on theological and educational issues contributed to the stance of the Lutheran church on such matters. Ey was a conscientious, conservative, driven personality who was always making distinctions between what was pure and true and what was not. His story is a revealing study of how this mindset, which he typified, impacted on the Lutheran church and its schools in Australia.

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Family and Work

Destined to labour distinctions in Australia, there was little that was special in his European background which might have marked Rudolph Ey out for his future role as a leader in the Australian Lutheran church. Johannes Martin Rudolph Ey was born on 29 March 1837 in Zellerfeld in the Harz district of the kingdom of Hanover, to Louis and Christiane Ey (nee Friedrich). They lived in the town of Clausthal where Louis was a government clerk. Rudolph's parents were not very religious; his wife later wrote that he "grew up in a worldly environment." However, the turning point for Rudolph's spiritual life occurred during his confirmation lessons where he was led to become more serious about his faith by a particularly devout pastor. At the time his family decided to emigrate he was preparing to become a teacher. After eight years of secondary schooling in his native country of Hanover, he had been recommended to enter a teacher training institution. From his early years he had also considered that he might one day study for the ordained ministry of the Lutheran church.[1]

When Rudolph was seventeen years old, he, his parents, and his younger brother Wilhelm, migrated to Australia. By this time, of course, the Lutherans arriving in South Australia from the German states were no longer the victims of religious persecution. That ceased in Prussia and its territories in the 1840s with the death of the king who had instigated it. However, for most of the decade that followed, formerly persecuted Lutherans continued to leave Prussian territories because of a climate of lingering distrust of the government. But by the mid-fifties when the Eys decided to emigrate this was no longer the main incentive for leaving the German states. Perhaps, for the Eys, it was a matter of following relatives. Two Ey families from the same region of Hanover had migrated in 1847 and were already in South Australia. Ferdinand Ey, Louis' uncle, was employed in a supervisory role in the mines at Burra. Another relative, Hermann Ey, lived in Adelaide. Louis and his family arrived in Adelaide on 1 January 1855, on a boat called the *Johann Caesar* under Captain Moeller. They moved in with Hermann and his family until they could find their own work and lodgings. Louis and his sons looked for suitable employment as clerks or shop assistants, and finding none, resorted to a job cracking rocks with a gang building a road between Adelaide and Blumberg in the Adelaide Hills. Wilhelm found that he was able to manage the rigours of this work, but the more sensitive Rudolph developed such serious blisters that he was relegated to brewing tea for the other men. Louis also found the work arduous after a career in the public service. In their first week they only earned £1 (pound) between them, and that was spent on tools. They soon tired of road work, and Louis and Wilhelm decided to pursue other opportunities on the Victorian gold fields at Bendigo. Rudolph chose to stay in Adelaide with his mother. He was soon offered a job in a Lutheran school on the basis of his acceptance for training as a teacher in Europe. His appointment was to Klemzig, the original Old Lutheran settlement on the Torrens River near Adelaide. Desperate for a teacher, they were willing to employ him, even though he had not received any official qualification to teach in the church.[2]

Rudolph Ey experienced an unsettled introduction to teaching in Australian Lutheran schools. He taught at Klemzig for the rest of 1855 and into the next year. It did not work out very well because of ructions in the congregation. Friedrich Borgelt, who had succeeded Kavel as pastor, had arrived in the colony in 1848 from the German kingdom of Hanover. He developed psychological problems, and caused turmoil in

his congregation when he claimed that the world was square! The contention that followed split the congregation, and neither faction had enough numbers to make the school viable. The next year Ey and his mother decided to join the two other men of the family on the Victorian goldfields where Rudolph hoped to find a teaching job. They had sold their furniture and were just about to sail when Rudolph was approached by another congregation. Teacher Hammer, at a new Lutheran school at Mt Torrens in the Adelaide Hills, was found dead in his bed one morning. Ey was eventually invited to take his place in the school. The modest salary of £30 (pounds) a year as well as a pound of butter and a portion of wheat each week would have seemed quite attractive to an unemployed man supporting his mother. He worked in this smaller school until July 1857 when a position in the congregational school at Hahndorf became vacant on the resignation of Wilhelm Boehm who had started his own school. In April of that year, Ey passed the examinations set by Fritzsche in both secular and religious subjects and qualified as a Lutheran teacher. He accepted the offer of a job at Hahndorf, believing it would improve his standard of teaching. It also offered a better salary.[3]

With his qualifying as a Lutheran teacher and subsequent appointment to the Hahndorf school, Ey was becoming even more closely linked with the Old Lutherans in South Australia. He was still only twenty years old and sharing accommodation with his mother Christiane. She lived with Ey for many years, especially after January 1860 and the sudden death of her husband Louis. He and his son Wilhelm had returned to South Australia after their Bendigo mine, a gold reef purportedly in sight, had been flooded and destroyed. Meanwhile, Rudolph, always devoted to his mother, was about to come under the influence of another strong woman with an even closer connecting point to the Old Lutherans. After a little over a year of teaching in Hahndorf, Ey met his future wife. She was Anna Oster, a younger sister of Pastor Philipp Oster of Hoffnungsthal. Their father had been a Lutheran pastor who had died in 1847 on board the *Gellert* which was carrying a group of Old Lutherans to South Australia. Anna, her sister Pauline and her brother Philipp, along with their mother, settled in Lobethal on the invitation of Daniel Fritzsche who provided them with a house there. In October 1858, according to Anna who was nineteen at the time, she and her mother met Ey in Hahndorf one Sunday on their way to a family visit at Gawler. They attended an evening service at Hahndorf in the hope that they would find someone to provide them with accommodation for the night. Pastor Strempel was absent visiting his in-laws at Bethany, and a lay service was conducted by Teacher Ey. The situation that ensued was indicative of the life they were to share, two serious people devoted to one another, their lives touched by illness and suffering, but not without the occasional suggestion of tragi-comic farce. Rudolph invited Anna and her mother to stay with his parents while he slept at the manse of the absent pastor, suffering during the evening not only a toothache but a certain amount of discomfort because the only bed cover he could find was a surplice. Although Anna later admitted an attraction, Rudolph had romantic interests elsewhere and was unhappily engaged for a period to a young lady in Adelaide who later married his cousin. It was nearly two years later, in August 1860, that he proposed by letter to Anna. She accepted him and they were engaged for six months. Her memory of the engagement was that they seldom saw each other and he suffered a severe attack of influenza. They were married on 6 February 1861, with Pastor Fritzsche delivering a long sermon to honour the occasion. Their marriage was to last for thirty-two years and produced thirteen children, six of whom died in childhood.[4]

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Teacher Ey

The newly married couple received a warm welcome from the people of Hahndorf, including a rousing greeting from the school children who waved little flags made from red handkerchiefs tied to sticks. Anna's mother warned her that the same crowds who called "Hosanna" could also yell "Crucify", about which Anna grimly noted "we had to experience that too". Rudolph Ey's time in Hahndorf did end unhappily. The Lutheran community, which comprised much of the town, proved to be fractious and difficult. Ey stepped into the middle of it when he took over the congregational school next door to a new one which was owned and operated by Wilhelm Boehm and patronised by Lutherans disaffected with the congregational school. For a while however, it seemed as if the problems between the school factions could be overcome. Anna Ey and Wilhelm Boehm had been classmates at confirmation lessons in Lobethal, and Boehm's wife Maria and her family had travelled to Australia on the same boat as Anna. Even though the two men taught at schools in competition with one another, they were near neighbours with close associations through marriage, and they struck up a friendship. When the Eys had their first child in November 1861, Maria Boehm was one of the sponsors at the baptism. Boehm began a campaign to convince Ey, as well as Pastor Strempel and the Hahndorf congregation, that the two schools should unite. Boehm probably had his eye on gaining a government grant for the combined schools, as well as the elimination of the competition between them. Whatever his motivation, he was successful, and everyone agreed to their amalgamation. The only opposition was from Ey's mother who warned her son against it.[5]

Perhaps his mother's premonition was self-fulfilling, because Ey soon became quite uncomfortable with the decision. He was beginning to form some solid views about Lutheran schools and the Hahndorf situation he found himself in initiated within him some disquiet. His wife records how he went through a period of depression, so much so, that her mother-in-law blamed her for being an inadequate wife. Rudolph finally confessed the real reasons for his despondency. His main problem was an ethical one. Since the amalgamation, both schools were in receipt of a government grant, which meant that the congregational school was at odds with the church's official policy. But more telling for the conscientious Rudolph was that he was not permitted to conduct religious instruction during the school day. Boehm, and even Strempel, were content to provide religious lessons out of school hours in order to comply with the conditions of the government grant. Ey, however, considered it a denial of his calling as a Lutheran teacher to have to remain silent about Christian teachings at any moment during the normal teaching day. At the same time his conscience would not allow him to ignore the law and provide Lutheran instruction during the day anyway despite it, as was the practice in some other places. Ey was torn. He either broke the law of the land, or denied his calling as a Christian teacher. The fact that this situation had been caused by a need to qualify for government money made him feel like a Judas. He told his wife that he had to escape the situation or his conscience would kill him. Strempel urged him to continue, the congregation would not agree to a separation of the schools or a renunciation of the grant, and even his mother urged him to carry on now that he had made his original decision. His reply was: "I cannot act against my conscience." The congregation, which had opposed his predecessor Boehm because

of his liberal views, now found their new teacher Ey to be "too narrow-minded and conscientious." Ey believed he had no alternative but to resign. He agreed to stay on until a new teacher was found to replace him. This happened soon after with the appointment of Robert Strenz, who had migrated to Australia from Germany some five years earlier. He acceded to the position in early 1862.[6]

During the 1860s the official stand of the Meyer-Fritzsche faction, the Evangelical Lutheran Synod of Australia (ELSA) as it was now called, was against the acceptance of state aid to Lutheran congregational schools, but in individual cases like Hahndorf, this practice was sometimes accepted by a wavering church leadership. In 1862 an article in the church newspaper, possibly by Ey, argued strongly against the acceptance of government grants for Lutheran schools: "The erection of state schools (so-called grant schools) within Lutheran congregations, or the mixing together of parish schools with state schools, can be viewed only by a true member of the church of the Lord with regret, because these can only lead to the damage of the church." He claimed that church and school ought to be inseparable entities, and that the division of the two by outside influences was detrimental to the church. Even though the school had a role to play in developing the citizens of the future, parents' first concern should be for their children to be prepared for their heavenly kingdom. As evidence of the division in the church on the matter however, the next month there was a reply from a teacher in a grant school, defending their existence. He argued that non-grant schools were often narrow in their curriculum and neglected the teaching of English and the proper preparation for a life of citizenship in the world and were often staffed by unsuitable teachers. Rudolph Ey from these days became an implacable opponent of state aid. He always maintained his conscientious commitment to two principles: church schools should not accept state aid and at the same time flaunt one of the major conditions for its provision, namely the inclusion of denominational elements in the curriculum; and a congregational school should at all times be free to teach and confess the Christian faith according to the Lutheran Confessions.[7]

This Hahndorf episode was a crucial experience for Ey. It was this personal confrontation with the issue of state aid, and the consequent implication of government interference in the way the school was run, that fixed his views on such matters for the rest of his life. He became an ardent advocate for the rejection of such money, and he campaigned tellingly in the church to convince others. The Hahndorf episode was crucial for Ey in another way as well. Having toyed with the idea of becoming a pastor since his youth, he now decided that was what he really wanted to do. On his last day of school in Hahndorf, Boehm asked Ey about his future plans. Ey's pious but genuine answer to Boehm was that he was returning to Germany to study to become a pastor at the Lutheran seminary in Hermannsburg. Boehm's revealing reply was: "Man, are you mad?" Both Ey's wife and mother were horrified by these intentions too and finally prevailed upon him to reconsider on the basis of his mother's failing health and his responsibilities towards his wife and infant son. In the end they convinced him to apply for another teaching position. He was successful in gaining a job in the Lutheran school at Blumberg in the Adelaide Hills, replacing a teacher called van der Niere who had been chased from the town because "he had thrashed the children so mercilessly". The Eys moved to Blumberg in August 1862 and joined Pastor August Hensel who had

been elected earlier the same year as President of the ELSA. Ey was to serve the school for almost four years, during which time both his mother and Pastor Fritzsche died, and his second and third sons were born.[8]

Ey was much more at ease in a congregation which operated its school without a government grant and where he could teach his beliefs in an unconstrained environment. It was around this time that Ey wrote a series of articles for the church newspaper. The first appeared in April 1865. It summed up his thoughts on the state of the church and its schools twenty-five years after they had been established on Australian soil. The article contained his main educational ideas which he had developed over a number of years. Central to them was the concern that after a quarter of a century in Australia, the Lutheran Church had lost its early commitment and zeal. Hard work and dedication had yielded prosperity, and people had lost their dependence and focus on God. The most obvious symptom of this was their neglect of Christian schooling. In order to attract government funding, many Lutherans were allowing the state to dictate their philosophy and ethos. This was happening despite the fact that Christian education had been commanded in the Bible, and had been a major emphasis in the writings of Martin Luther as well as the Lutheran pioneers who had established the first schools in order to preserve the faith for which they had been persecuted. Without Christian education, weak and helpless humans could not find their real purpose in life. True education was the process of leading people "through care, discipline and instruction" to find their destiny as God's creatures. Secular education misled people into thinking that their purpose in life was in seeking human goals and the ideals of virtue, autonomy, beauty and truth, in the wrong ways. God had established the family, the state and the church to provide the young with a suitable education in accord with his purposes.[9]

Ey argued that parents had the primary responsibility of bringing up their children as Christians. However, because parents lacked the ability or knowledge to provide a proper Christian grounding for their offspring it was up to the state and the church to help. The trouble was that the state lacked an understanding of what comprised a genuine education because it was not committed to Christian values and bringing people to God. That left the church with the responsibility, and it could not shirk such a necessity. It had to provide genuine Christian schools, where God's word was taught and confessed in the total life of the school, not just restricted to designated times before and after school each day so that a government grant might be attracted. The state did have a right and duty to be an educational provider, but Christians could only go to government schools if the word of God was utilised as a guide for their educational efforts. The basic means for providing this education was the Bible, as well as Luther's catechism which the state did not utilise. Even church schools, where the Bible and catechism were not allowed for most of the day, were no longer educating children adequately. Religious teaching should be the centrepiece of education, the "crown of all instruction", the central subject determining the standpoint for studying all the other parts of the curriculum. Instruction in other subjects should not be overvalued, but was still necessary, especially subjects like history and geography which helped an understanding of the Bible. Also, instruction in German, the mother tongue, was essential to understand the Bible, and the gift of tongues at Pentecost justified the teaching of foreign languages.[10]

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There were those like Robert Strenz who succeeded Ey at the Hahndorf school who argued that it was fine for Lutherans to accept government grants and restrict their religious teaching to before or after school. In fact the South Australian Board of Education was often happy to tolerate denominational instruction in normal school time, as long as there were no complaints from parents. Ey, on the other hand, was prepared to admit that the state had the right to educate, and in a place like South Australia where there were a variety of Christian denominations, it might even be necessary for it to provide state schools, yet he believed that it was not possible for Lutherans to send their children to state schools which were not capable of providing a genuine Christian education. He also considered that if a Lutheran school was in receipt of a government grant and its teacher taught religion out of hours, this was second best for the church. The daily Bible reading required by the state was not enough; Lutheran teachers should be able to explain it and witness to their faith whenever they wanted. To see religious education as a mere appendage done before or after school, and not in its proper place at the centre of the curriculum, and to see Lutheran catechisms and hymn books banned from the classrooms, was an anathema. Therefore the only clear path for Lutherans in South Australia was to provide their own denominational schools where they did not accept any help or interference from the government, and where their religious beliefs permeated all teaching. In order that these schools might be properly staffed, he was also a keen advocate of Lutheran higher education for the training of teachers. These articles established Ey as a leading spokesman for educational policy in the church.[11]

Pastor Ey

Meanwhile, Fritzsche had encouraged Ey not to give up his thoughts of becoming a pastor, and this calling became a strong priority for him during his Blumberg years. Finally, a realistic plan for his training for the ministry was decided upon. He would leave his job as a teacher at Blumberg, and move to a Lutheran settlement north of the Barossa Valley at Carlsruhe. A small Lutheran school was being established in this congregation which, since 1861, had been under the care of Pastor Appelt, a former Dresden missionary to India. Since there were only a few pupils, the idea was that Ey would teach for half the day, and study theology for the other half. It is interesting to note that the two pastors from Hahndorf and Blumberg, Strempel and Hensel, who had the experience of working with Ey in their congregational schools, both advised against his studying for the ministry.

Pastor Ey.

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Whether this was because they needed him to continue as a teacher, or they had reservations about his ability as a pastor, is not clear. In March 1867, after Ey had passed the first round of examinations to be a pastor, he and his family moved to Rosenthal for a year while he completed his studies and they lived in a cottage next to the manse. Ey was permitted to preach to the congregation there at the same time as he worked as a student and was tutored by his brother-in-lay Pastor Philipp Oster. After twelve months he passed his final examinations and in July 1868 he was ordained as the Lutheran pastor at Carlsruhe where he and his family had moved into the new manse four months earlier.[12]

Rudolph Ey served the Carlsruhe congregation as its pastor from July 1868 until June 1876. It was not long before there were problems in his congregation. Some of them were to do with concerns about dancing. Most of the unrest, however, centred on the congregational school. The teacher there was Hugo Becker, and the matter of contention between the teacher and the pastor was the state funding issue which had been a problem for Ey at Hahndorf. Becker wanted to apply for a government grant to make the school financially viable, although Ey believed he wanted to draw wages from both the church and the state. Whatever his motivation, Becker was quite happy to ignore the stipulation for grant schools that the catechism was not to be taught as part of the curriculum. In fact, during the period when the school was paid a grant, he was actually reported for breaking this law. His reaction was to convince the congregation to suspend catechism lessons for a period until it all blew over, and then to restart them. Ey, in the light of his Hahndorf experience and his own solid convictions, was appalled by all this, and took a strong position against it. He and Becker never had an open confrontation over the matter, in fact Becker maintained friendly relations with him in public while quietly working to ensure the school continued to receive state aid. The congregation leaned in both directions. When Ey was absent on visits to neighbouring congregations, they would make decisions against his wishes, only to change them again when confronted by Ey on his return. In the last year of Ey's ministry at Carlsruhe, Becker finally left the school.[13]

Becker was replaced by Rudolph Miethke, a far more liberal person theologically who obviously did not subscribe to the confessional Old Lutheran line. He supported Darwinist evolutionary theories and denied the existence of hell and a personal devil. He was also openly hostile to Ey, on one occasion calling him a "miserable, conceited, dishonourable, brainless frog" in a letter he wrote. Miethke suspended the teaching of the catechism during the school day in order to qualify for government assistance for the school. Ey insisted that the catechism be reinstated. The practice of holding meetings behind the pastor's back began to recur and after a particularly fiery congregational discussion in June 1875, Ey resigned. The church council of the ELSA was requested to intervene, and after some persuasion Ey was recalled by the congregation and reinstated in September. Because the church council of the ELSA had also supported Ey's stand against state aid, the local church membership never openly defied him. But in early 1876, after he returned from a journey of some days, Ey discovered another congregational meeting had been held in his absence and had resolved to ask the church council to free the congregation of his services. He found this out when browsing through the congregational minute book. He noticed a page had been glued down,

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and on investigation discovered the record of the clandestine meeting. Ey resigned again. Miethke had also had enough and left to take over a state school at Manoora. He was replaced by Teacher Rothe, and shortly after by Teacher Huebner who, together with the congregation, finally decided to discontinue their reliance on government assistance. This latter fact suggests that the main problem between Ey and his congregation was the manner of his handling of them, rather than the issue of state aid. Ey's pietistic, conscientious manner alienated people more than his convictions did.[14]

The situation in Carlsruhe was not unique. As we have already seen in Lutheran communities in Hahndorf and Lobethal, there were fluctuating attitudes towards state aid. Although officially against this funding, some Lutheran schools under an uncertain church leadership began to accept grants. It is not completely clear what the exact figures were, but of the twenty Lutheran schools in the ELSA, five were probably receiving government grants by 1867, and of the twenty-two schools in 1870, ten were most likely in receipt of government aid. Kavel's old synod was now divided into the Langmeil-Light's Pass Synod (LLPS) and the Tanunda-Light's Pass Synod (TLPS). The LLPS had six schools in 1874, none of which, in accord with their strong Kavel tradition, were grant schools. The LLPS had seven schools in 1873, and was open to accepting grants, but was largely unsuccessful in qualifying for them because its schools did not have enough students or there were grant schools already established in their areas. The independent Lutherans who had supported government aid from the beginning had four schools in receipt of such grants in 1874.[15]

Within Australian Lutheranism there have usually been three basic positions on the place of Christian schools in the work and life of the church. Some, like Wilhelm Boehm, have seen schools as belonging to the secular world, and when the church got involved in their provision it simply added an extra dimension of religious study to them. There have also been those who have argued that Christian schools have a dual role and both should be treated as of equal importance, to nurture young Christians in their faith, while at the same time equipping them for citizenship in the world. Fritzsche's later pronouncements and actions seemed to fit with this approach. The third position considered the church had a major role in providing education, and that students were not being truly educated unless the whole process was permeated by Christian values and teachings. Particularly in a school of the church, God's word should be a central, dominating influence in the curriculum and ethos. Ey was strongly committed to this last idea. As the most vocal Lutheran proponent of this point of view in the 1860s, he was influential in ensuring that Lutheran schools maintained a strong Christian orientation and were not gradually subsumed by the state. It was the case that when state aid to independent schools was abolished in South Australia after 1875, where some of the independent Lutheran schools went over to become state schools, those belonging to the Old Lutheran synods remained in the church's fold. This was a crucial moment in the history of Lutheran schooling. The fact that so many Lutheran schools survived it was due to the influence of people like Ey and the position the church took on the issue of state aid was a result of their advocacy.[16]

Despite the problems he had experienced at Carsruhe, the church council of the ELSA elected to send Ey to another trouble spot, Pastor Daniel Fritzsche's old Lobethal congregation and his wife Anna's home church, where there had been court action over

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property between Pastor Krause and some of his congregation. Happily, this matter was soon settled, and in the years that followed Ey faced no serious divisions in his congregation, and suffered no traumas because of the state aid debate at the school. After 1875, when state aid to church schools was abolished altogether, the whole question became a moot one anyway. By this time Ey also seems to have developed some peacemaking qualities. The Lutheran school in Lobethal still maintained the services of its original teacher, Ferdinand Mueller, who had taught Ey's wife Anna when she went to school in Lobethal. As it happens with advancing years, Mueller, quite a competent teacher in his day, had lost a bit of his edge. He was also the town's homeopath and spent some of his time administering medicines besides teaching at the school. When, at the end of 1883, he was the subject of some criticism from a member of the congregation about the examinations conducted at the close of the school year, Mueller resigned. He had been the Lutheran teacher at Lobethal for forty-two years. Ey showed admirable sensitivity and intervened in a difficult situation where the old teacher had to be eased out with due respect. Mueller was replaced by Teacher Grote with whom Ey also worked quite harmoniously. In 1881 Ey was able to head off another court battle with Pastor Krause, and through some personal sacrifice, where he himself donated £30 (pounds) to make the peace, the matter of Krause and his claims on the congregation was resolved.[17]

Church Leader

Even before his Lobethal period, Ey was taking an increasing interest in the affairs of the wider church. Because of his background in teaching and his outspoken opinions on state aid, he was prone to get involved in educational issues. For instance, at the Dutton Synod in 1876, he, along with Pastor Strempel from Hahndorf, was appointed to a school committee which was charged with making arrangements for the training of teachers for church schools. The result was the purchase by the ELSA of Boehm's Hahndorf Academy for this purpose. One of the main ways in which Ey's theological and educational views were promulgated was through church newspapers. The major synods of Australian Lutheranism combined efforts for these publications until 1873. Then after one of their predictable disagreements, they decided to separate and publish rival papers. Kavel's old protégé, Christian Auricht, edited the *Kirchen und Missionszeitung* (*KMZ*) while Fritzsche's former student Strempel was one of the editors of *Der Lutherische Kirchenbote für Australien* (*LKB*). Ey himself was an editor of the *KMZ* between 1871 and 1873 during the period of its joint editorship. In fact it was his and Oster's disagreement with Auricht on editorial policy which led to the establishment of the *LKB*. Ey wrote letters, penned editorials and authored articles on various issues. For instance, in 1877 there was some debate in the church papers about changes to the catechism which was used to teach children in all Lutheran synods. In order to make the doctrine of the two natures of Christ, the divine and the human, more understandable, a portion of the catechism had been rewritten, and the revision attracted the criticism of Pastor Reusch from the LLPS. Ey was one of the pastors who responded with articles in the *LKB* defending the charges and elucidating the doctrine.[18]

Over a number of years, Ey also published a history of the Lutheran church in Australia in the *LKB*. In 1880 these articles were collected into a booklet. At the end of the book, he gave a summary of the size and nature of the Australian Lutheran church at that juncture. It provides some interesting statistics relating to congregations and schools.

By this time there were two major synods, the Immanuel Synod (IS) which had grown out of Kavel's faction of the church, and the Evangelical Lutheran Synod of Australia (ELSA) which was comprised of Fritzsche's continuing church. The IS consisted of ten pastors. On the other hand the ELSA had seventeen pastors serving 5 141 communicant (communing adults) members and seventy congregations which had been divided into seventeen parishes "of which twelve are in South Australia, four in Victoria and one in New South Wales". He went on to describe each of these parishes in detail, especially noting if each congregation had a church school or not, obviously happy that most of them had. In fact he went to the trouble of pointing out that at Salem in the Hahndorf parish, the congregation still allowed its school building to be used for a state school, "the only congregation in the Australian synod" to allow such a practice. He also noted that in the parish of Rosenthal, the Rowland Flat congregation "does not have a Church school and sends its children to the local state school". However, in closing, he was pleased to report that the ELSA operated thirty-five church schools in its seventeen parishes, and these were maintained by the various congregations "without any kind of support from state authorities." Ey was glad to report as well that by 1880 the church continued to maintain, despite the challenges of state schools and the removal of state aid, a substantial school system of its own.[19]

Early Lobethal.

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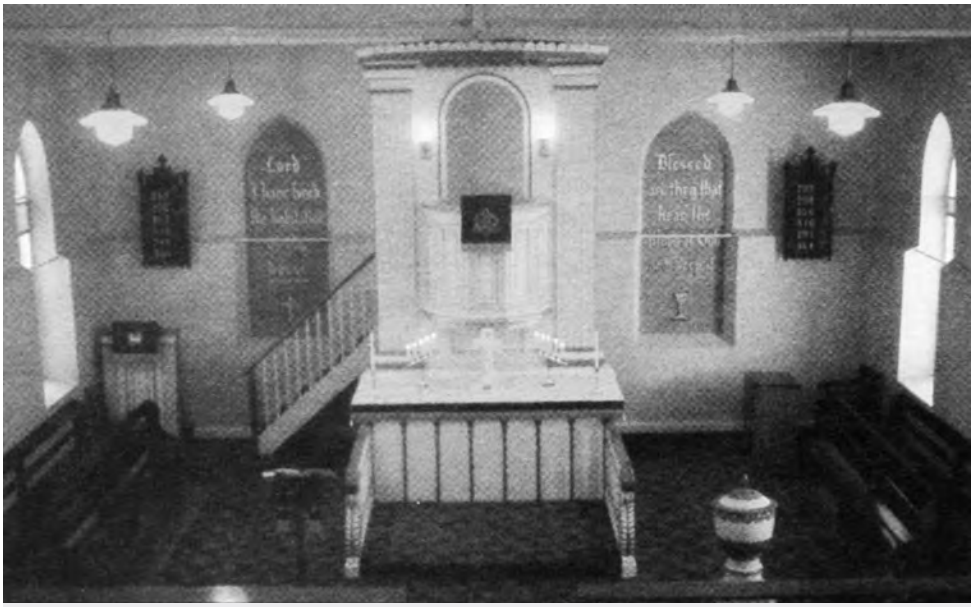
Ey had a right to be pleased. In 1880 it seemed as if his position on state aid and government involvement in Lutheran schools had won the day in his church. With the establishment of a large scale state school system in South Australia after 1875, it had been the time for Lutherans to decide their position on a number of basic issues. They could accept the gradual demise of their own schools and watch them being taken over or replaced by government ones, or they could make a stand. By 1880 government funding to sustain their schools, which had been a debating point for years, was no longer an issue, because it had been abolished. However, ever since the 1875 *Act*, looming over independent schools in South Australia was the threat of government inspection. Although part of the *Act*, it had never been enforced for political reasons. There was public debate over the issue, and for once the Lutherans managed to be united and got involved. In September 1880 delegates from the two major Lutheran synods in South Australia joined forces for a deputation to the minister. In the document they presented, they laid down their basic position. Representing a hundred congregations, they claimed "full liberty to retain the control of their schools entirely in their own hands". They went on to explain that they had been exercising such freedom for more than forty years and had been pioneers of schooling in the state. They dedicated themselves to providing a balanced education, "not only respecting our religious requirements, but also the demands of secular instruction". They believed that it was impossible to separate the church and its schools without endangering the church itself. They espoused the notion that parents, not the state, were responsible for the education of their children and so had the right to choose their teachers. They also denied the right of the state to inspect their schools. Finally, they committed themselves to training their own teachers and to ensure high standards within their schools.[20] It was a strong, united and balanced view which echoed much of what Ey had been campaigning for over many years and to which he would have given his full assent.



Lobethal church altar and pulpit used by Fritzsche and Ey.

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St. Michael's Church at Hahndorf where Rudolph and Anna Ey met.

One of the major issues arising at this time was the division looming in the ELSA over the influence of the Missourians, a Lutheran synod in the United States. Ey subscribed to various Missouri Synod publications and became a firm supporter of its doctrinal stands. He defended the Missouri Synod in his writings, as for instance in his articles in church newspapers when he upbraided the newly arrived Pastor Krause who came to South Australia in 1871 because "in a most unjust manner he held forth about the Missouri synod." His support of the Missourians brought Ey into conflict with his brother-in-law Philipp Oster at a synodical level, until Oster later changed his position on the matter. The issue was the doctrine of election where Ey publicly took the Missouri stand which his opponents saw as Calvinistic. It became the main theological issue of contention among Australian Lutherans of the era, and was a direct result of Missouri influence. After Ey's death, the Missouri passion for doctrinal purity was partly responsible for a split in the ELSA where those members of that church who were condemned by the American influence formed their own faction called the ELSA *auf alter Grundlage* (on the old basis). The Missouri Synod was also an enthusiastic exponent of Lutheran schooling and their increasing influence on Australian Lutheranism resulted in a strong support for maintaining its schools.[21]

If the Missouri Synod attracted Ey's approval, the German Hermannsburg influence on the rival Immanuel Synod excited his disapproval. Founded by Ludwig Harms, the Hermannsburg Mission Society had been sending graduates from its seminary to serve in the church in Australia since the 1860s. Less than a year before he died, Ey was the essayist at the ELSA's 1893 synod at Bethany, and his topic was about the correct doctrinal stance which the ELSA should take with respect to the German Hermannsburg Seminary.

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The essay was "accepted and professed by the assembly". The Hermannsburg Mission Society and its training institution in Germany came under the new leadership of Egmont Harms in 1885. One of his first initiatives was to enter into a funding agreement with the state church of Hanover in order to ensure its financial future. This brought the seminary into fellowship with a unionistic church. Ey, and others who were also under the American Missouri influence, strongly protested, and not long afterwards the ELSA severed connections with Hermannsburg, even refusing to ordain Heinrich Heidenreich who had returned to Australia after training to be a pastor there. The ELSA also cut ties with Hermannsburg Mission in central Australia because of its connections to the German seminary. Ey was one of the more fervent advocates of this separation, and his inclination to value the doctrinal purity of Australian Lutheranism above consensus with other Lutheran churches and co-operation with state authorities contributed to the long periods of schism in Australian Lutheranism which had an inhibiting effect on the development of the church and its schools.[22]

Final Days

While his public life was often characterised by an involvement in controversy and theological polemics, Ey found some respite with his family. He and his wife Anna enjoyed a strong relationship, rearing a large family and maintaining close ties with their extended kinship group. Rudolph's brother Wilhelm also turned to teaching after an early career in mining. He taught at the Hahndorf Lutheran school during the 1870s. He was far less suited to the academic life than his brother, and probably lacked his piety as well. However he did help with the church's teacher training program by providing them with practical tuition at his school, as well as providing them with evening writing lessons. In comparison to his younger brother, Rudolph had far less stomach for the life of adventure and physical exertion. Where Wilhelm chose to go to the gold fields with his father, Rudolph decided to stay in South Australia with his mother. His widowed mother lived with Rudolph and Anna for much of her old age, and the two women were as solicitous for him as they were at odds with one another. These two strong women were some of the most influential people in Rudolph's life. It was his mother's warnings about the dangers of his educational partnership with Boehm in Hahndorf which instigated his first conscientious stand against state aid. "Her son Rudolph," his wife later recounted of the relationship between Ey and his mother, "had always been her favourite" and she died in his arms. In the same way Ey himself was nursed through

Anna Ey.

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many an illness, including a recovery from a stroke late in life as well as his final days on his death bed, by his wife Anna.[23] Her book of their life together depicts a household where there was often suffering and illness interspersed with crises in Rudolph's public life. If he was not having pangs of conscience about accepting state aid or becoming a pastor, he was engaged in church politics or theological debates with other Lutherans. He left his teacher's job at Hahndorf and his pastor's position at Carlsruhe because of opposition forces ranged against him. There was little playfulness or humour reflected in his life or any of his writings, just a pious intensity. He took things very seriously.

Ey Memorial at Lobethal.

Rudolf and Anna had a large family of thirteen children. Some of them went on to serve in the church. Carl and Rudolph Junior both spent some time as boarders at the Hahndorf Academy. Carl, born in 1863, became a Lutheran teacher. Rudolph Junior, always a sickly lad, but perhaps the most gifted of their children, served first as a Lutheran teacher, and later trained to be a pastor before dying prematurely at the age of thirty-four. Of their thirteen children, five of them, Hugo (1867), Paul (1874), Ernst (1875), Sophia (1878) and Gotthardt (1883) died as babies or toddlers from childhood diseases. Dorothea, their youngest, lost her life as a twelve year old in 1898 when she was seriously burned in a household fire. Rudolph himself suffered much ill health towards the end of his life and died at the age of fifty-five in 1893 some weeks after the twenty-fifth anniversary of his ordination as a pastor. He had suffered a debilitating stroke in the middle of 1889 from which he had recovered, but from the end of 1892 he struggled with chest pains, breathlessness and, in his last days, dropsy. He was incapacitated for the last six months of his life. Anna lived until she was seventy-seven years old, before she too died and was buried next to her husband in the Lobethal cemetery.[24]

Rudolph Ey was a notable pioneer of Australian Lutheran schooling, mainly because of his staunch insistence on the distinctive nature of the schools. His understanding that all teaching in a Lutheran school should flow from and be integrated with the teachings of the Bible as defined in the Lutheran Confessions, and that this made Lutheran education more valid and effective for its students than any other way, is still a theme running through theories of Lutheran education up into the present era. It is a biased and even bigoted view, but has been at the heart of the conviction and commitment that helped Lutheran schooling survive and then flourish during

the twentieth century. Although Ey's stringent refusal to accept state aid for Lutheran schools did not survive into modern times, the rationale behind it, that nothing should be allowed to interfere with the distinctive Lutheran practices and ethos of the church's schools, is still alive today. He can be justly criticised for his limited vision of what constitutes a full education, as well as for his tendency towards division and schism which often debilitated the school system, but his commitment to the survival and integrity of a distinctive Lutheran system of schooling in Australia is not to be underestimated for its influence and importance. Although he had his opponents, Ey's views prevailed in most Lutheran schools in the nineteenth century. Many of those which had become dependent on government help simply became state schools when the money was withdrawn from the independent sector. The fact that many Lutheran schools avoided reliance on state aid meant they were able to survive the years when it became unavailable.

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1 A. V. Ey, *Early Lutheran Congregations in South Australia*, Adelaide: Lutheran Publishing House, 1986, p. 68. Anna was Rudolph's wife, and this volume is her memoir. Also see J. P. Weiss, *Short General and Statistical History of the Australian Lutheran Church*, 2003, p. 250, Lutheran Archives (LA); R. Butler, *A College In The Wattles*, Adelaide: Lutheran Publishing House, 1989, p. 490.
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Chapter 6

Theodor Langebecker
The Northern Contrast

"Can anything good come out of Nazareth?" John 1: 46.

Theodor Langebecker.

Lutheran schooling in Australia has always been a mixed pudding. Regional differences in religious orientation and social conditions account for a variety of educational emphases and experiences. After South Australia, the next most popular destination for German migrants to Australia was Queensland. There was quite a contrast between the German communities in these two states. Queensland Germans were less likely to be Lutheran, and the vast majority of those who were did not share an Old Lutheran heritage. They did not have a history of persecution for their religious beliefs and did not make it a custom to live in separate villages. Some of them did, albeit more sporadically and intermittently, establish Lutheran schools. These schools did not result from general church policy, nor did they survive the advent of state schools. Because of these and other differences, Queensland Lutherans, like the Jews from the northern province of Galilee in New Testament times, have always been the objects of some suspicion and occasional disdain from their fellow religionists in the south. The Queensland experience of Lutheran schooling in the era covered by this history was far more muted and did not generate a major Lutheran educator who stands out for special recognition. Instead, the experience of Theodor Langebecker and his school in Toowoomba will be examined in detail as a microcosm of what was happening in the wider Queensland context. This will provide the northern contrast in the history of Australian Lutheran schooling.

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Coming to Queensland

His background in Germany was solidly Lutheran. The son of a manse, Theodor Friedrich Heinrich Johann Langebecker was born in the Prussian town of Havelberg near Potsdam on 15 June 1845 where his father was a Lutheran pastor. He attended local schools, including the *Gymnasium* (high school) in Potsdam. Like his father, Theodor decided to work for the Lutheran church. He was attracted to overseas mission work, so he decided to go to Berlin where he studied at the Gossner Institute. Gossner was a convert to Lutheranism with a unique approach to preparing people for mission work. He operated an educational establishment for Lutheran lay missionaries. Its policy was to train people from various backgrounds and professions and send them in groups to overseas mission destinations to establish communities which would gradually assimilate and convert the native people. Finishing his studies at the age of twenty-one, Langebecker, along with a group of other graduates, was appointed to Queensland at the behest of Pastor Hausmann, himself a former Gossner missionary, who was working in the area south of Brisbane. Langebecker arrived on 18 September 1866, and worked with Hausmann for a few months before being ordained as a Lutheran pastor by Pastor Carl Schirmeister, and sent to take over the parish in Toowoomba which had been established in 1859.[1]

Langebecker came to work among the Lutherans in Queensland. Unlike in the south, the vast majority of Queensland Lutherans came to Australia for non-religious reasons. One exception was the first group of Gossner missionaries who came to the Moreton Bay district to minister to the Aboriginal people at about the same time Kavel and his people were arriving in South Australia. They were recruited by John Dunmore Lang who had secured land and a financial subsidy for the project. Two pastors, Schmidt and Eipper, and ten lay missionaries, including a mason, farmer, cabinet maker, blacksmith, weaver, tailor, shoemaker and gardener, arrived in March 1838 and set up a mission at what became known as the German Station in the current northern suburb of Nundah. These people tried to establish a settlement which would gradually absorb the local Aboriginal people into its community and faith. There were nineteen adults and eleven children in the group and their settlement boasted Queensland's first Lutheran school. It was set up to educate the children of the missionaries themselves, but Schmidt also gave lessons to the Aboriginal children when he could convince them to attend. The explorer Ludwig Leichhardt visited their mission and described them as pure and virtuous people and supported their efforts to protect the Indigenous people from white oppression. They also tried to convert the Aboriginals to Christianity by getting them interested in farming, a strategy which did not work very well with tribal nomads. The mission closed in 1848 without a single convert having been made. Some members of its lay staff remained to settle in the area and take up farming. Others went on to provide Christian ministries in a variety of places, including with other Protestant denominations.[2]

The major wave of German migrants to Queensland, many of whom were Lutheran, arrived later in the century. However, as early as 1835, the government of New South Wales had already assisted six German families to come to Australia to supply their skills in "the culture of the vine". Then in 1847 a proposal was put to the Governor

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of New South Wales, Fitzroy, for a scheme to attract German migrants to Australia to supply workers on farms and grazing properties. At this time 20 000 Germans a year were leaving their homeland to start a new life in other countries. They were ideal rural labourers for the new colony because they supplied agricultural expertise not represented among the settlers from Great Britain. Fitzroy announced the introduction of a bounty for those who brought European immigrants into the colony "for their own services". It was legislation like this which encouraged Germans and other non-British Europeans to migrate. Besides Lutherans, among these Queensland Germans there were also Baptists, Catholics and Apostolic Christians. There were also some German Jews. What they had in common was that they were looking for a better life and a chance of prosperity in a new land.[3]

After Queensland became a separate state in 1859 its government was far more successful than its southern counterparts in opening up the country to small selectors. The particular legislation which attracted so many Germans and others to Queensland was the *Crown Lands Alienation Act* of 1860. This permitted the government to divide up unoccupied crown land and auction it to new settlers at a price of no less than £1 (pound) an acre. Particularly attractive to migrants was the clause in the *Act* which provided land orders of £18 (pounds) with another order of £12 (pounds) two years later to any Europeans who came at their own expense and were naturalised. If someone assisted their passage, that sponsor received the land order instead. As early as 1854, Christian Heussler, a German from Hesse living in Brisbane, began to advertise in the *Moreton Bay Courier* for orders from Australians looking for farm labourers, domestic servants, vine dressers, shepherds and mechanics. By 1859 he had brought more than 500 Germans to the colony. In 1861 Heussler was appointed by the Queensland government to attract more German settlers. Most of those he recruited were Protestants from the eastern provinces of Prussia, Brandenburg, Posen and Pomerania, as well as from Hesse, Württemberg, Thuringia and Saxony. The Catholic south contributed far fewer to their numbers, exceptions being the states of Baden and Bavaria. They came for a variety of reasons: to evade military service in Prussia, or to escape the economic downturn in places like Silesia and Pomerania where the linen industry had declined. They came in considerable numbers too. In 1863, for instance, more than 2 000 Germans migrated to Queensland compared to fewer than 200 who arrived in Adelaide, Sydney and Melbourne combined that year. By 1865, however, there was a lull in the influx of German migrants after greedy shipowners and unprincipled recruiting agents exploited the scheme.[4]

Christian Heussler.

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There was only a short pause before the government resumed German immigration at the end of the decade. Most of them were labourers indentured to employers who had paid their passage which was remunerated over a period of time by deductions from their wages. These Germans settled in Brisbane, the Logan region to its south, and the Fassifern and Lockyer Valleys to the west. By the mid-nineteenth century they were making their way up to Toowoomba and then on to the Darling Downs. There were also German settlements further to the north in Maryborough, Rockhampton, Bundaberg and Mackay. By 1881 there were 12 000 people of German extraction living in the state of Queensland, and ten years later the figure had grown to 15 000. In 1901, one eighth of the population of the state of Queensland was German in origin. Eighty percent of them lived in rural areas. Although these immigrants were far more integrated with the general population than was the case in the south, there were concentrated pockets of them in various areas. For instance, by 1900 there were 400 German families living in the town of Toowoomba. On the eve of World War I, forty percent of the people of Boonah in the Fassifern Valley were of German origin.[5]

Pastor Carl Schirmeister.

Despite some sporadic work by the missionaries from the German Station, Lutherans in Queensland were not organised into their own congregations until the advent of Pastor Carl Schirmeister, who arrived in Australia in 1857. He continued the association of early Queensland Lutheranism with the Gossner mission movement which had begun at the German Station. After working in the South Seas as a missionary, he was on his way home to Europe for health reasons when he stopped in Sydney. His brother-in-law there urged him to stay, and he eventually decided to work among the Germans to the north. He began organising Lutheran congregations in various parts of Queensland, the first being St Andrew's congregation in North Brisbane, and, using this as his base, he wandered among the German people in other parts of the state. While Pastor Hausmann, another Gossner missionary, established the Nazareth congregation south of the river, Schirmeister travelled to Ipswich and Toowoomba where he started Lutheran congregations. He looked to the Gossner Mission Society for help in providing personnel to serve in these new churches. One of those they chose was Theodor Langebecker.[6]

Toowoomba Lutherans

Theodor Langebecker's first and only Australian parish was in Toowoomba. This settlement had begun in 1853 when forty-seven allotments of land in an area then known as the Drayton Swamp were offered for sale, and there was much demand for these properties which boasted fertile, volcanic soil and the availability of water. Four years later a newspaper report described a thriving township with inns, stores,

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mills and a brewery. For some years there was disagreement over the name of this settlement on top of the Great Dividing Range, but the matter was settled finally in 1860 when the Queensland government proclaimed the name of the municipality to be Toowoomba.[7]

The Germans were among the earliest settlers on the Darling Downs, the first ones arriving in 1854, mainly working on stations, where they were paid £30 (pounds) to £40 (pounds) a year. Edward Lord, a Drayton storekeeper, promoted the hire of these people and travelled to Germany to make arrangements for their migration. He was advertising the availability of shepherds, labourers and domestic servants already in 1851. They came in considerable numbers, first under his schemes, and then later through the efforts of similar programs run by Heussler. Typically, the newcomers would sign an agreement to work for £20 (pounds) a year plus food for at least two years, at the same time having £9 (pounds) a year reduced from their pay to cover their passage costs which had been advanced by station owners. After their period of commitment was over, they would be free to select land for themselves. Many of them chose farming blocks in the Middle Ridge area of Toowoomba where they established gardens and orchards.[8]

By 1863 many Toowoomba Germans had become naturalised British citizens who were very keen to exercise their franchise. When a man named Matthews objected to them having a vote, they held a public meeting in Toowoomba in order to organise their defence, which they did in an orderly fashion. One of their keen supporters at the meeting was Alderman Flori, a German born citizen who was already serving in local government. By 1868, 900 Germans were living in the Toowoomba Drayton area. And by 1870 Toowoomba had elected a Prussian Jew, Henry Spiro, to the position of mayor. Because they were a significant part of the population, there were often advertisements and notices in the local papers written in German, including the speeches of politicians keen to woo their vote. By 1878 there were two German newspapers being circulated in Toowoomba, one called the *Nord-Australische Zeitung* (North Australian Newspaper) and the other which was published in Toowoomba was called *Der Australier* (The Australian). Germans owned some of the best hotels, and were the most productive and progressive nurserymen and orchardists. A doctor named Friedrich Sachse, who had arrived before 1850, was largely responsible for the building of the first hospital in Toowoomba. The Germans were also great contributors to the cultural life of the settlement. Their German Band won the Queensland championship a number of times, and the German Glee Club provided popular concerts. These musical contributions, as well as the presence of a group of more sophisticated German citizens, along with the German language newspapers based in the area, contributed to Toowoomba's reputation as a centre of *Deutschtum*, with its national pride and belief in the unique qualities of German language and culture. This was a natural development in the environs of a city where business people rather than squatters gradually became the predominant influences on local life and created a municipality perched in the cooler climate at the top of the Great Dividing Range which developed a reputation for refinement and leisure.[9]

In January 1859 Pastor Carl Schirmeister made the first of a number of visits to Toowoomba. He held a worship service in a building owned by Edward Lord, the Toowoomba businessman and friend of the German community. Besides eliciting from them the cost of his journey, he also managed to persuade them to subscribe £100

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(pounds) towards the erection of a Lutheran church, and £80 (pounds) towards the salary of a pastor who might be found to serve them. Of course not all the Germans in the area were Lutheran, and for a time there was a movement to establish an ecumenical "German Universal Church" which even the Catholics were happy to support. Schirmeister, as a Lutheran, resisted these attempts and insisted it be an "Evangelical Lutheran church". He applied to the New South Wales government for a piece of land, about two acres in Phillip Street, for a Lutheran church and this was granted in May. By the middle of 1860 the congregation was well on the way to building a place of worship as well as accommodation for a pastor. In 1862 the trustees of the new church published a list of all those people in Toowoomba and district who had contributed money towards the cost. There were nearly 150 names, most of them German, but the list also included quite a number of others, including three aldermen, Boulton, Groom and Robinson, the mayor of nearby Drayton, William Hancock, as well as three local hotel keepers, Dare, McCarthy and Mole. Their support was perhaps motivated by political and commercial considerations, but Edward Lord, who also contributed, was a consistent supporter of their interests, and local squatters like De St. Jean and Bell were probably demonstrating their gratefulness for the services of German shepherds who had served them well as indentured workers. The point to be made in all this is that the Lutheran church which emerged in Toowoomba had wide support and was an integral part of mainstream society. Any school it established would not be aimed at nurturing narrow sectarianism.[10]

A Lutheran School for Toowoomba

In 1861 the new Lutheran congregation in Toowoomba was ready for a pastor. Schirmeister appealed to his Gossner contacts and Pastor Carl Anger arrived in May 1863. His stay was brief, marred by difficulties with the congregation. The next Gossner missionary to arrive was Pastor August Heyde, who stayed until 1866, and then moved to Sydney to start a congregation there. Stability arrived with the installation of Theodor Langebecker at St Paul's at Easter in 1867. For the next seven years he worked effectively as the Lutheran pastor in Toowoomba before he was forced to return to Germany because of ill-health. He suffered an eye malady which, after a "granular infection", refused to heal properly. His congregation in Toowoomba gave him £100 (pounds) against the surety of his library which he left behind. After eighteen months in Germany and a partial cure, he decided to go to the United States where a hot, dry climate would help cure his illness. He accepted a position in Sacramento, California as a parish pastor. He was away for nine years, and during that time he regained much of his health, and got married. In 1882, his replacement in Toowoomba, Wilhelm Burghardt, accepted a call to Highfields further to the north, and the parish invited Langebecker back. As his wife was finding the climate in California too hot, he decided to return to Toowoomba. He arrived in August 1883 and went on to serve St. Paul's as its pastor for the next twenty-six years.[11]

Theodor Langebecker first arrived in Toowoomba in 1867. Almost immediately he established a Lutheran school with which he was associated for the rest of his ministry there. There was a real need for one. During the 1850s the only national school provided by the New South Wales government in the area was at Drayton.

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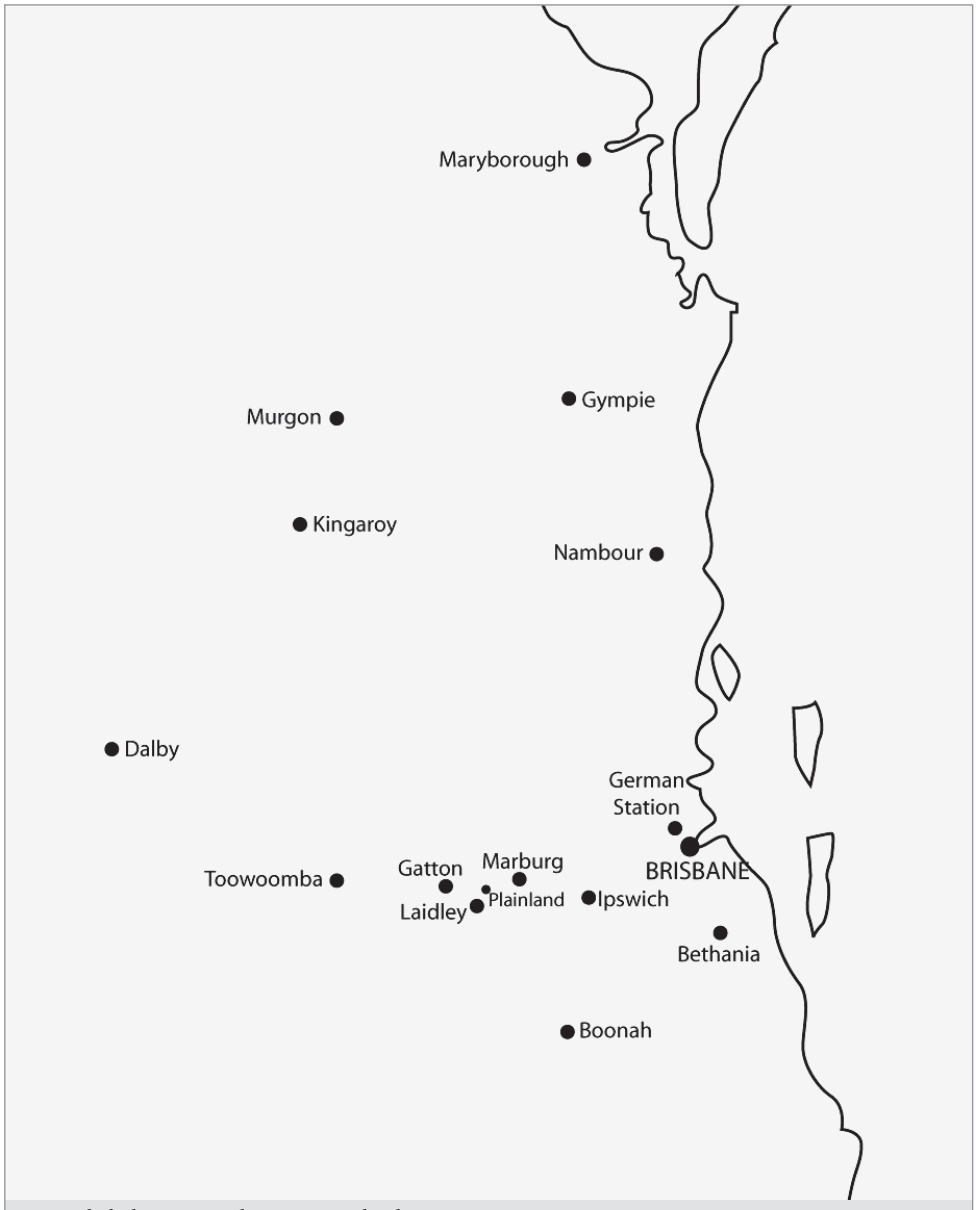

Patriarchal Places in South East Queensland.

Theodor Langebecker:
- pastor in Toowoomba
- pastor in Toowoomba
- died in Toowoomba
- buried in Toowoomba

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The people of nearby Toowoomba, who wanted schooling for their children, had to send their children there, or to one of the private schools in their own area. There was the school at St Luke's Anglican Church run by the Reverend Vincent Ransome, or Mrs Waraker's Perth Cottage for girls. After Queensland became a separate state, it did not have a lot of resources to devote to education, and where it did provide a school it was expected that the local community would subscribe most of the capital costs while the state supplied the running expenses. Many rural areas did not have proper schools or teachers until 1900. The first state school in Toowoomba only appeared in 1875.[12]

Queensland became a separate state in 1859. Any schools established before then were provided by churches and private individuals, or by the government. After 1848 all schools came under the supervision of the National and Denominational Boards of Education. In the year after achieving statehood, the Queensland government, by means of the *1860 Education Act*, created a system of state primary schools in Queensland which charged fees and were presided over by a Board of General Education whose inaugural general inspector was Randal Macdonnell. When Queensland became the first Australian state to abolish primary school fees in 1870 there was an explosion of state school enrolments by fifty percent in just the one year. Between 1870 and 1875 the number of state primary schools increased from 10 to 674, and attendance at them from 257 to 16 887. Then in 1875 education in Queensland became free, compulsory and secular. However, local people still had to contribute towards school buildings and teachers' residences. At the same time the government established the Department of Public Instruction as a ministerial department charged with the responsibility for schools. However, it was not until 1900 that compulsory schooling was generally enforced in Queensland. Even though there were a number of structures in place for the education of young Queenslanders after 1860, there was only a slow development of schools in a state with such a scattered population. The status of teachers was also low. There was no training institution for them, nor was there any system of certification. Wages were poor. Until 1866 teachers in state schools had to devote ten percent of their salaries to provide books and stationery for students. Teachers' wives had to provide ninety minutes of free service a week as well as manage the school when their husbands were absent at no extra remuneration.[13]

Although the Queensland government provided financial support for denominational schools until the *Education Act of 1875*, there is no evidence that Langebecker's school was in receipt of such monies. Nor does it seem that the advent of state schools after 1870 made any major impact on the enrolments at the Lutheran school. The school taught the children in both English and German, and by the end of the first year there were seventy students attending for five days a week. Those parents who could paid a small fee and the rest of the children attended free of charge. The rest of the expenses would have been met by the congregation. In the beginning Langebecker himself did all the teaching, and a pastoral assistant, Gottfried Hampe, was called in during the first four years to assist with the congregational work. In 1872 a new manse was built and this freed up the residence attached to the church for a teacher. Wilhelm Guhr, who had travelled to Australia with Langebecker as a Gossner lay missionary, then took over the teaching responsibilities while Langebecker returned full time to the role of parish pastor. Guhr carried the school through the period of Langebecker's absence overseas, and served as its main teacher for twenty years. Guhr studied theology as well

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as teaching in the school, and he was ordained as a Lutheran pastor by Schirmeister and Langebecker in 1887. He continued to teach at the school for another three years while also serving as an itinerant pastor in Toowoomba and on the Darling Downs.[14]

Langebecker's establishment of a Lutheran school was only one of his activities as an acknowledged leader of the German community in Toowoomba, and should be seen in that context. When the Franco-Prussian War broke out in 1870, for instance, Langebecker and the German-born Mayor of Toowoomba, Henry Spiro, combined forces and placed an advertisement in German in the local newspaper appealing for funds to assist widows and orphans back in the fatherland. They were successful in inspiring a benefit concert which later contributed £10 (pounds) towards the cause. When, in 1884, a German settler by the name of Ernest Tulle lost his life in an accident while digging a well, there was an appeal for his widow and four children. Heading the list of the names of about 200 contributors was that of Theodor Langebecker. The names included a wide range of people outside the German community, indicating his wider profile in Toowoomba generally. In 1908 there was a large service in Toowoomba to celebrate Langebecker's twenty-five continuous years of being a pastor there. During the service the school was mentioned a couple of times as one of his main achievements. In attendance were over 700 people, including an array of Lutheran pastors, the president of the Scandinavian Lutheran Synod, the mayor of Toowoomba as well as Dr Eugen Hirschfeld, the German consul in Queensland. The newspaper reported that Langebecker had "achieved an enviable reputation among our citizens on account of his solid worth." The prediction which was made in the newspapers at the beginning of his second stint as pastor in Toowoomba that he would "doubtless succeed in his labours" had proved true.[15]

Toowoomba Lutheran Procession with Flags.

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To understand the ethos of the school Langebecker and his congregation established in Toowoomba, one has to appreciate the strong element of German nationalism that pervaded their community. However this was balanced by their allegiance to the British monarch, Queen Victoria. There was always this two-pronged loyalty which was evident in their public life. For instance, at the celebrations marking Langebecker's twenty-five years of service, some sermons were preached in German, but an equal number in English. The Germans in Toowoomba embraced Victoria's husband, Prince Albert, as one of their own, not least of all because of his German ancestry. When their son Prince Alfred came to visit Queensland in 1868, 500 Germans signed a poem written in their own language and presented it to him. However, they were also loyal Australians. When Sir George Bowen, the governor of Queensland was scheduled to visit Toowoomba in 1867, they prepared a gift for his wife consisting of wine, vegetables, grapes, melons, figs and flowers. When floods prevented the visit, they conveyed this produce to her in Brisbane anyway. In the letter they sent with it they mentioned with appreciation the benefits they had experienced at the hands of a "wise and prudent government". At the same time, their enthusiasm for their native land was just as keen. In 1870 Langebecker and his community were responsible for an announcement in a local newspaper in support of Germany at the start of the Franco-Prussian War. It finished with the words: "GOTT SCHÜTZE DEUTSCHLAND!!" (God bless Germany!!).[16] At Langebecker's twenty-fifth anniversary celebrations, besides the illuminated Bible texts, watches and clocks he received on the occasion, there was a framed picture of Kaiser Wilhelm II, in naval attire, with his hand on the steering wheel of the good ship *Deutsche Reich*, a clear indication of Langebecker's orientation and loyalty to the German cause, and an insight into at least some of the values which motivated him in setting up a German language school.

All this provides a background against which we might view Langebecker's philosophy of Lutheran schooling which was no more obvious than in 1884 when he and the members of his congregation opened a new school extension. For the six years previously, the school had occupied the original church building, but it was in a state of such disrepair that the congregation decided to erect a new school hall as well as a teacher's residence for Teacher Guhr. At the dedication on 11 May 1884, after leading a procession along the adjoining streets together with the Lutheran pastor from Rosewood, the teachers of the school, its students and the church council, Langebecker addressed those present with some thoughts about the importance of the school. He conceded that there were alternative schools, including public ones, in the Toowoomba area which provided quite an effective education for the young. However, this Lutheran school, which taught both English and German, had decided advantages, one of the greatest being that it taught German. He believed that German immigration to Australia would continue and that there would be more and more people of that tongue who would be augmenting their already formidable numbers in Toowoomba. If local people were to do business with these migrants, they would need to be fluent in their language. Not to teach children German, therefore, was limiting their future business opportunities. After all, German was spoken world-wide almost as much as English. English might be the language of commerce, but German was the language of science. Besides it was a German tradition to be fluent in more than one language if one wanted to be an educated person. And this was not to mention the

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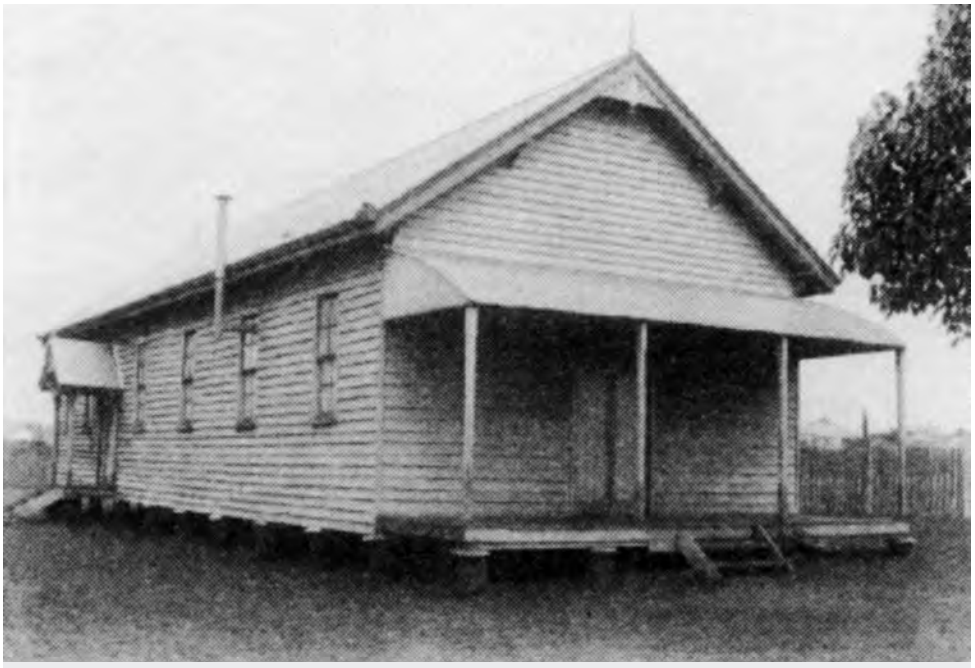

Lutheran School, Toowoomba.

great tradition of German literature that was opened up through a facility with the language. These were the most prominent elements of his argument for the value of the school. They indicate his allegiance to *Deutschtum*, and the belief that Germany possessed a superior culture, consisting of its science, art, literature and the inherent civilising qualities of its language. His appeal to these nationalistic cultural views would have been geared to a considerable element of sympathy for such beliefs in the local community. However, there was still a balanced linguistic experience provided in the school as English was taught as part of the curriculum too.[17]

In his address, almost as an afterthought, Langebecker mentioned the religious reasons for the establishment of the Lutheran school in Toowoomba. In this matter he was somewhat typical of Protestant churchmen in Queensland. While the Catholics fiercely opposed the state system, Protestants were generally more supportive.[18] Langebecker's arguments for a Lutheran school, therefore, did not include any condemnation or disparagement of the state and its schools. If the wisdom and beliefs of the older German-speaking population were to be passed down to succeeding generations, he indicated, there was a need for the young to understand German. It was also the language of the church and gave the young access to the church's teachings and equipped them for worship. He reflected on the previous seventeen years of the school's history, remarking on how it had played its role in turning young hearts to God. This seriousness of religious purpose was no doubt genuine. The main teacher was Wilhelm Guhr who, for a part of the time of his long service to the school, was an ordained pastor, and so would have brought his Christian insight into the classroom. When the new school was erected, there were two beautifully executed passages from Scripture which were placed as ornaments on the wall. In his opening remarks

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Langebecker made it clear that the school was a memorial to the fact that God had been an active help to his congregation during the past.[19] However, it is clear that Langebecker did not restrict his enthusiasm for a Lutheran school to its religious benefits, but that he saw education as a secular process in which the church might become involved for its own purposes, while at the same time the school might advance the commercial and cultural interests of the German community.

The role that his wife played in this venture is also instructive in understanding the Lutheran school and congregation. Emma Langebecker fulfilled the traditional role of *Frau Pastor* (pastor's wife) in the congregation in support of her husband. She had been born Emma Henriette Dorothea Weber in the Prussian city of Potsdam, the same part of Germany Langebecker originated from, and came from a family of one brother and four sisters. She was five years older than her husband and served with him in parishes in America and Australia. She was the daughter of a Royal Barracks inspector and early in her life had undertaken a serious commitment to the Christian faith. She attended the Academy for Girls in Potsdam, and then went on to study at the Royal Teachers Seminary. After graduation she took on a position as a governess in Pomerania and it was during this time she met Theodor Langebecker at the home of his brother-in-law who happened to be her pastor. They soon became engaged, but she did not accompany him to California. Once he accepted a position as pastor of a Lutheran congregation in Sacramento, Emma joined him in 1876 and they were married.[20] The marriage remained childless and she and her husband worked together in the parish in Sacramento and then later in Australia. Despite her own education and abilities, however, hers was always a modest, subsidiary role.

It was the same in the school in Toowoomba. Despite Emma's professional qualifications, she and other women involved in the school were portrayed as handy helpers. At the opening of the new school buildings in 1884 Mrs Guhr was in charge of the tasteful decorations, while Mrs Langebecker wrote several appropriate poems which were recited on the occasion by students. The school followed a patriarchal policy in its staffing. The role of principal was assumed by Langebecker himself, or later, by Wilhelm Guhr. However, when Guhr moved on and Langebecker was consumed, in subsequent years, by his role as president of the church, a young congregation member, Kate Mengel, actually performed the main teaching responsibilities, but was never acknowledged as having any role other than as an assistant. Emma Langebecker herself had been trained as a teacher and with no children of her own would have spent much time in the school giving instruction. In fact the day she fell into what was to be her final illness she had spent the day teaching in the congregational school.[21] She too was not officially acknowledged as one of the teachers. Of course, such discrimination against women was typical not only in the church but the wider society itself where "women existed outside the system of power".[22]

Although the future of the parish school seemed well assured when the new buildings were opened in 1884, it was only a few more years before it started to decline. The reasons for this gradual demise were typical of the Queensland situation. First there was the lack of suitable teaching staff. Wilhelm Guhr, who served the school as its main teacher for twenty years, was ordained as a pastor in 1887, and when in 1890 he took over a parish in Goombungee on the Darling Downs, the school was unable to replace him. There were no Lutheran teacher training programs in Queensland like those in the south,

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and finding suitable teachers for the schools proved almost impossible. When Guhr left the school, its financial support in the congregation was also flagging. On his departure the school ceased to function full time, even though a majority of the congregation had voted to keep it open. Langebecker reverted to the role of teacher, but opened the school only one day a week, on Tuesday afternoons, for classes conducted in German. Although a wood stove and a tank were added to the school hall in 1891, the teacher's residence was let as a sure sign that the school was in a process of decline. The school did not close because there was a dearth of children; in fact students attending the church's Sunday School had increased to such a number in 1904 that the congregation had to build extra space at the back of the school building to accommodate them. There were attempts by the congregation to re-establish a full-time parish school after 1912. This was motivated by a desire to preserve the German language in the congregation, but it was interrupted by the Great War and was finally abandoned in 1919.[23] What happened in Toowoomba was indicative of the fate of Lutheran schools in Queensland generally. By 1895 there were no parish schools left in existence.[24] The legislation enacted at the turn of the century by a Labor government strongly influenced by Catholics to allow scholarships to be taken out in church schools was no help to the Lutherans because they did not have any secondary schools in Queensland.[25]

In Queensland the church's schools were established for secular as much as religious reasons. Langebecker, like many of his countrymen, wanted a local school which provided a basic education, but also taught in German. This was the language of the Lutheran church, the language of German culture and science and the language which opened up profitable commercial opportunities. In this, Langebecker's Toowoomba Lutheran educational experience was typical of what happened in the rest of that state. On the other hand it was in strong contrast to the southern experience of Lutheran schooling which was orientated more closely to the church and its mission.

Other Lutheran Schools

The German communities that new pastors like Langebecker found themselves serving in Queensland were far more disparate and less cohesive than the ones in South Australia. The only exception was the colony's single group of Old Lutheran migrants who settled in Bethania south of Brisbane near Beenleigh. In make-up they made an interesting contrast with the Toowoomba Lutherans. There were seventeen families in the group who came from the Angermunde district of the Uckermark in Brandenburg. They originated from the Prussian Free Church and belonged to the same Old Lutheran tradition as Kavel and Fritzsche's people in the south. However, by the time they emigrated to Queensland the persecution of their church had been over for more than a decade, and they came for the same social and economic reasons as most of their countrymen. Together with five other Lutheran families, mainly from Hesse-Darmstadt, they settled in Bethania, pooling their money and land orders to buy 500 acres. They arrived there in 1864, and in 1865 called a graduate from the Hermannsburg training centre in Hanover, Carl Hellmuth, to be their pastor. They soon moved to start a Lutheran school. It developed as another example of the diverse Queensland experience. As already pointed out, Bethania had some things in common with many of the early Lutheran settlements in South Australia. The village of Bethania was predominantly Lutheran and featured a Lutheran church and a Lutheran school.

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The school, however, had a fairly precarious existence. It operated over two periods, from 1864 to 1883, and from 1903 to 1909. As unsettled as the Lutheran school at Bethania was, it was one of the more durable of its kind in the Queensland setting. This was due, no doubt, to the strong Lutheran orientation of the local community. However, even in this positive environment, the Lutheran school waxed and waned before fading away early in the twentieth century.[26]

In one way it mirrored the Toowoomba situation in that Bethania Lutherans strongly supported their own school, but when a suitable teacher was not available, they turned to state schools. In 1866, for instance, they decided not to support an application to provide a state school because they had a teacher and a healthy enrolment of between thirty and forty pupils in their own. Yet by 1869 these same people were joining local petitions for a state school because they could no longer find a suitable teacher for the Lutheran school. In the period from 1903 to 1909, the congregational school flourished again because of the availability of Teacher Schulz, a graduate from the Lutheran college at Point Pass in South Australia. In those periods when their own school was not operating, the Lutheran students at the state school frustrated their teacher by absenting themselves to attend Friday German school conducted by their pastor. The ensuing conflict with authorities usually resulted in regular attendance at the Lutheran school being relegated to Saturdays, with German instruction in the morning followed by confirmation lessons in the afternoon.[27] Bethania Lutherans were flexible, indeed even ambivalent, when it came to providing their children with appropriate schooling. Some Lutheran instruction was necessary, preferably in their own school, but if that was not possible, they were quite happy to support state schooling supplemented by parallel congregational teaching.

Also at Bethania, which can be regarded as one of their most committed attempts to provide Lutheran schooling in Queensland, there was a strong emphasis on a balanced education. An account of a typical annual examination day in 1908 is evidence of this balance. The German and English flags were flown and Pastor Theile opened proceedings with a devotion. He then tested the children individually in their command of written and spoken German. There were exercises in translation between German and English. An English poem was recited. English reading, writing and spelling were also tested. Students were asked to display their knowledge of Bible stories, the ten commandments, the Lord's prayer, the creed and the history of the Reformation. Mathematics was tested in both English and German. Two other Lutheran pastors were in attendance. One of them remarked that German remained the main language of religious observance and was essential for the preservation of genuine Lutheran worship. In Toowoomba similar days were held at the school there and Langebecker was apparently an expert at utilising such days for promotional purposes.[28]

The Bethania Germans seeded other Lutheran settlements in the Logan area, a number of them establishing their own Lutheran congregations and schools in Beenleigh, Philadelphia (Eagleby), Alberton, Waterford and Pimpama Island. These schools grew out of local needs and were not based on any particular model. The Waterford and Philadelphia schools were owned and operated by the Lutheran congregations in those places. Beenleigh, on the other hand, was a private school which taught German but also attracted many Lutherans. The demise of the Alberton school which existed

between 1868 and 1897 was typical. They sought to make the school viable by trying to recruit students from Pimpama Island to attend. The islanders, however, decided they wanted a state school, and when it was established, it robbed the Alberton Lutheran school of some of its enrolments. In 1892 the Alberton congregation was forced to reduce its schooling to three days a week. They also had problems attracting and keeping suitable teachers. When they lost their last one in 1892, the local pastor tried to keep the school going by giving confirmation instruction one day a week. Alberton and Philadelphia enrolled between forty and fifty students each. In Loganholme, as in Beenleigh, a private German school attracted some English children as well. As in the rest of Queensland, these schools were developed for a wider variety of reasons than those in the south which were principally established to nurture young Lutherans in the faith of their fathers. In Queensland, a high priority was a general education. There was also an element of propagating ethnic pride and identity through the schools.[29]

Similar patterns emerged in other German settlements in Queensland with their own schools, in the Fassifern, Rosewood, Lockyer and Darling Downs districts, even in the smaller German populations of places like Maryborough, Bundaberg, Kingaroy, Mackay and Charters Towers. It was quite common for them, as in the Logan area, to have a Lutheran population sufficient to support their own schools. However, in the Fassifern, a different situation presented itself. The German Baptists in Boonah were more predominant in the population and provided their own school while the Lutherans combined with other settlers to establish a state school through an application to the Secretary of Public Instruction. Nevertheless the Lutheran pastor still ran German classes after school up until the Great War. There was, however, a Lutheran school established nearby at Dugandan which enrolled up to fifty students. In the Lockyer Valley a Lutheran school operated at Plainland where the old church was converted into a schoolhouse and about fifty students studied German and did their confirmation lessons. At Lowood and Hatton Vale there were up to fifteen children who attended a congregational school. In Tallegalla near Marburg, in the hills between Ipswich and Toowoomba, the local Germans petitioned for a government school, but teachers never stayed long because of poor attendance and the lack of English language fluency in their students. The problem was solved when a bilingual teacher from the Lutheran school at Alberton was recruited by the government to teach at Tallegalla, in an ironic twist, providing the mainly Lutheran locals with one of their own. In Charters Towers the Lutheran school opened three days a week, and the pastor, assisted by some ladies of the congregation, taught up to fifty children.

The life of this first main wave of Lutheran schools in Queensland was for the fifty years between 1857 and 1909. During that period a variety of Lutheran schools offered one or more days of instruction each week. Those which offered a full five day a week teaching experience, however, would have totalled about six. The nineteenth-century Lutheran school movement in Queensland was far less intense and purposeful than its counterpart in the southern states. It did not survive the advent of the state school movement which grew out of the *Education Act of 1875*. And all of this happened in a Queensland social setting characterised by a neglect of education generally, and where the compulsory schooling stipulated by the *1875 Act* was not enforced in some places for another quarter of a century. This was the wider setting in which Theodor Langebecker and his congregation in Toowoomba along with other Lutheran congregations in Queensland operated their schools.[30]

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Latter Days

As the years passed, Theodor Langebecker emerged as a major figure in the wider Lutheran Church in Queensland. In 1895 he founded a youth movement in the church through his own congregation's Young People's Society (*Jugendverein*). Until 1911, when the rival Evangelical Lutheran Synod of Australia (ELSA) was established in the state, the congregations organised by Schirmeister were the predominant Lutheran grouping and, by the end of the century, had amalgamated with the others, a process Langebecker supported and facilitated. He was also responsible for founding congregations in neighbouring centres like Aubigny and Meringandan. As early as 1869 there had been attempts to get the Lutheran congregations in Queensland organised into a synod. These efforts finally came to fruition in 1885 when a convention in Brisbane formed the Evangelical Lutheran Synod of Queensland (ELSQ). Schirmeister was elected as president, but Langebecker was supportively involved in the process and was chosen to preach to the assembly at the inauguration. In 1887 Langebecker and his congregation hosted the synodical convention of the ELSQ in Toowoomba, and next year, on the death of President Schirmeister, he was called to serve Schirmeister's Brisbane congregation, but he decided to stay in Toowoomba. In 1889 he was responsible for initiating a synodical decision to amalgamate his Queensland Lutheran synod with a number of other Lutheran synods in the south. After serving as vice-president of the ELSQ for a number of years, when its president Maier died in office in 1905, Langebecker was elected to replace him. He became president of what was now called the General Synod of the Lutheran Church in Queensland. In 1908 when his silver jubilee of continuous service in Toowoomba was celebrated, the event was attended by most of the Lutheran clergy in the state as well as local civic dignitaries. The next year, when Langebecker met an untimely death, the funeral was one of the largest Toowoomba had ever seen with over 100 vehicles and forty horsemen forming a procession along with various church and civic leaders who were in attendance. The floral tributes filled three vehicles.[31]

Emma Langebecker predeceased her husband in December 1891 at the age of fifty-one. She had suffered some ill health in America. The dry hot weather which suited her husband's condition was difficult for her, and after some years she developed a stomach complaint. This condition eventually improved on settling in Australia, which she attributed to hydropathic remedies she learned about in Toowoomba. She still died fairly young from what was termed a "malignant disease", probably cancer, although her obituary suggests it was from lung congestion. She suffered for about six months with it before she died. For reasons unclear she was not buried in the Lutheran section of the Toowoomba Cemetery. In her obituary, she was described as "a faithful, loving and humble woman who had tried to fulfil her duties as daughter, sister, teacher, wife and Christian, because she wanted to be the handmaid of the Lord." It is interesting to note that she was acknowledged as a teacher as well as for the more traditional support roles.[32]

Theodor Langebecker, for most of his life as a parish pastor, rode a bike or drove a horse and buggy whenever he needed to travel around his parish. It was on such an outing that he was involved in a road accident in May 1909. Although not seriously injured, the shock brought on a heart attack, and after two months of complications he died on 13 July 1909 at the age of sixty-four. He was buried next to his wife in the Toowoomba Cemetery, not in the Lutheran section, but the old Church of England area where she had been interred eighteen years earlier.[33]

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Queensland did not produce any nineteenth-century Lutheran educational leaders of significance beyond the regional level. Those schools that were established were the results of local initiatives and there was no system linking them together or providing them with policies or teachers. Theodor Langebecker founded one of the more successful ones. His Lutheran school in Toowoomba was typical. Its major function was to provide a thorough education in both German and English. Although it had clear religious aims like giving confirmation instruction and teaching basic Christian understandings, it also maintained a definite secular purpose in providing a general education for the young. There was also a strong element of German consciousness about the school. It considered that language important for commercial success in the region. It also saw it as the door which opened up German culture and its arts and sciences. Because such schools were not strongly rooted in a religious tradition, when state schools came along, there was less motivation to keep the Lutheran ones going, especially when it was costly to provide them and so hard to find suitable teachers. Unlike Lutherans in the south, Langebecker and others like him did not see Lutheran schools as having such a central purpose in the church. For that reason essentially, had it depended on the Queenslanders, the Lutheran school movement in Australia would not have survived the nineteenth century. On the other hand, the integration of Lutherans in Queensland with the wider community meant that when Lutheran schooling re-emerged in this state later in the twentieth century, it was not fettered by entrenched traditions and narrow perspectives, and consequently embraced a broader and larger clientele to become, by the end of the twentieth century, the largest state for Lutheran schooling in Australia.

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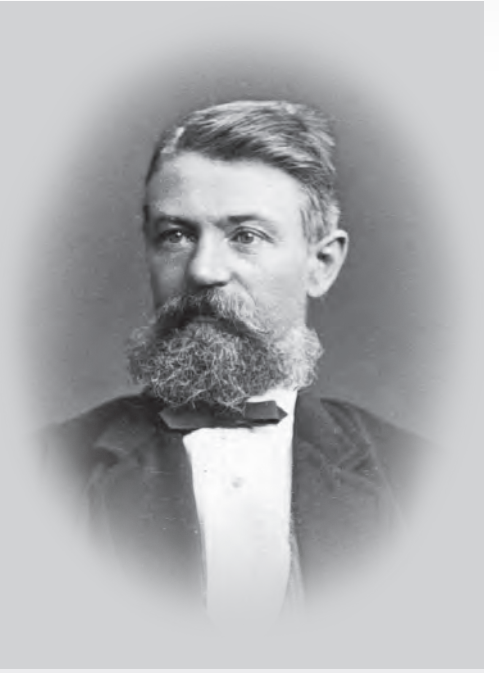
Chapter 7

Carl Krichauff
The Quality Alternative

"I will show you a still more excellent way." 1 Corinthians 12: 31.



Carl Krichauff.

With the advent of large state systems of schooling in the latter stages of the nineteenth century, Lutheran schools faced a major challenge to their existence. It was not just the fact that these schools were free, but that they had the potential to provide a higher quality of education. Carl Krichauff was a Lutheran educational leader during this period and contributed a great deal to the fact that Lutheran schools survived the transition. He was an unlikely candidate for such a role. An outsider, by nature somewhat irascible, he was not trained as a pastor or a teacher. He began his working life in Australia as an assistant shopkeeper. He finished it as a journalist. Nevertheless, he made a major contribution to the church as a leading advocate for Lutheran schools as a quality alternative to state schools. Among his Lutheran colleagues he asserted the importance of a solid curriculum including an increasing use of English, and the need for adequate resources to support it. He knew it was imperative to build an effective teaching service, properly trained and sustained by a professional learning program. He also understood the necessity of establishing key tertiary institutions for the provision of trained teachers. His essential contribution to the survival of Lutheran schools in Australia was a strategy of improving their quality to make them a viable alternative.

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The Family Background

Carl Krichauff was always able to take a broader outlook. He also had the confidence to make his point of view known, both within and outside the church. His perspective and self-assurance were at least partly due to his different origins. Carl Justus Gabriel Krichauff did not come from an Old Lutheran background. He was born at Altona near the free city of Hamburg in northern Germany on 27 December 1852. This major port is situated just south of the province of Schleswig-Holstein which is in the border region between Germany and Denmark. Dominion over this area was in dispute during part of the nineteenth century. In 1848 the Danish King Frederick VII tried to incorporate Schleswig into his kingdom, but the people of the province, supported by those in neighbouring Holstein, were opposed to this, and Prussia intervened to keep them independent in a war that lasted two years. Despite this, the matter was not settled permanently and led to another war in 1863 which resulted in Denmark being defeated in 1864 by an alliance between Prussia and Austria. Schleswig-Holstein, as a consequence, became part of a united Germany in 1871.[1] The Krichauff family lived in this disputed territory, and at various times its members served in official positions and government posts under both German and Danish regimes. They were accustomed to being part of a privileged leadership group in society.

Carl was baptised when he was seven weeks old, along with his twin brother, but there is no indication that his family was particularly religious. He came from a well-educated, upper middle-class clan whose members distinguished themselves in professional and public positions in both Germany and Denmark. His great-grandfather Johann Gottfried was a doctor in Denmark, and his grandfather Johann Carl served in the state legislature in the German province of Schleswig. Johann Carl's eldest son Ernst was also a doctor, his second son Carl held a Danish government post and married a countess, his third son Guenther also worked for the government in Copenhagen, and his youngest son Friedrich migrated to Adelaide in 1848 where he became a prosperous landowner and member of parliament in the colony of South Australia. Carl Krichauff was the son of Guenther and his wife Caroline.[2] He came to Australia as a young man in 1875, following in the footsteps of his Uncle Friedrich.

Friedrich Krichauff, who settled in Australia twenty-seven years before Carl, was the first German-born member of parliament in South Australia, the latter distinction bringing him into contact with the Old Lutherans and their schools. He was a successful farmer and land agent. He gained election in 1857 in order to support the *Torrens Real Property Act*. His greatest interests, however, emanated from his training as a botanist. He advocated the practice of reafforestation in South Australia and he was instrumental in establishing the Australian school tradition of Arbor Day. He had been trained as a botanist in Germany by Theodor Fischer, the curator of the Kiel Botanical Gardens. He and Fischer had migrated together, and Friedrich later married Fischer's daughter Dorothea. Most of the legislative initiatives Friedrich Krichauff was involved in were accomplished in his second stint in parliament after 1870. His first period did not last long because he did not have the time to walk the twenty-eight miles from his farm at Strathalbyn to attend sittings! Later he became a member of the Central Agricultural Bureau and the council of Roseworthy Agricultural College. He also published many articles on agricultural issues, including topics on the use of artesian water, making sugar

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Martin Luther School 1890s with Pastor Dorsch.

from beet and how to use fertilisers. By the time of his death in 1904 he had made a considerable contribution to South Australian government and the agricultural sector. Because of his German background, moreover, Friedrich was often called upon by the Old Lutherans in South Australia to represent their views to government. Sometimes their positions were different from his own, but since these Old Lutherans were his constituents, Krichauff would have had to appreciate their way of looking at things. In 1880, for instance, when the two Lutheran synods in South Australia joined forces to present a combined position disputing the right of the government to inspect their schools, he was asked to attend the deputation to the minister with them and spoke on their behalf.[3]

Friedrich Krichauff was a "48-er", one of those educated Germans who had migrated to Australia after the failed 1848 revolutions in Europe. This meant that he would have been more open-minded and progressive in his religious and political thinking. His sons, Carl's cousins, were educated at Boehm's Hahndorf Academy and went on to successful middle-class lives in the professions of stockbroking, surveying, architecture and engineering.[4] Friedrich's nephew Carl, therefore, would have had quite a different family background to the Old Lutherans who comprised the main Lutheran synods in South Australia. This explains his later reluctance to get involved in their narrow doctrinal disputes, and why he was broader in outlook than many of his contemporary Lutheran educators, and keen to see improvements in educational standards in the schools of the church.

Carl Krichauff arrived in South Australia in the mid-seventies, leaving his family in Germany. His reason for emigration, besides the presence of his uncle in the colony, was probably a result of his choice of career more than as a reaction to the unsettled political

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situation which had existed in northern Germany for some decades. Hamburg was a city of merchants, traders and shipping companies which often sent representatives to other parts of the world, including Australia. Krichauff was soon committed to settling in Australia and making his future here, choosing to become naturalised the year after his arrival. In Germany, besides a broad education, he had experienced some commercial training. He attended the Royal Christian School in Altona for his elementary schooling, and received his further education at the Johann School in Hamburg. In August 1870, aged seventeen, he started an apprenticeship with an export company, Irebsdorf and Luyken, in Hamburg. He completed his training with them in 1873 and continued to work for their firm until July 1875. In the following December he migrated to Australia. He originally went to Adelaide with the intention of becoming a clerk in a shipping agency, but unable to find continuing work in the area in which he was trained, he took a job as a clerk and draper's assistant in Tanunda amongst the Germans of the Barossa Valley.[5]

Carl Krichauff married Auguste Henschke, a widow eight years his senior, in June 1878. She had been born in April 1844 as a member of the Wilhelm family, German migrants who had settled at Bethany, the Lutheran village established by the followers of Daniel Fritzsche in the heart of the Barossa. She had been married previously to Traugott Gottlieb Henschke, a Barossa Valley farmer from Neukirch, and was already the mother of four children. She had five more children with Krichauff, four girls and a boy born between 1879 and 1886. Carl named his son Friedrich, an indication of the respect which he held for his uncle. Carl's stepson became a Lutheran teacher and his daughter Dora married Johann Friedrich Jacob who also served as a Lutheran teacher.[6] It was through his marriage that Krichauff became more closely associated with the Old Lutherans, and took on the cause of their schools.

Becoming a Lutheran Educator

In 1875 in South Australia, schooling became compulsory for all children aged between seven and thirteen. This engendered an era of rapid expansion of state schools, especially in the rural sector. The numbers of teachers naturally increased as part of this. By 1882 there were 210 provisional teachers working in South Australian schools and by 1910 this had increased to nearly 400. It was to this new job market that Carl Krichauff looked for employment. In 1878, the year of his marriage, he offered himself as a teacher in the government's education system and was put in charge of the state school in Siegersdorf, a predominantly German village in the northern Barossa, and then later, between 1881 and 1883, he served as principal of the state school in Stockwell which was even further to the north. He also served for a period at a small non-aligned Lutheran school in Neukirch near Stockwell. These earlier years were to prove an important formative experience for Krichauff. When he later joined the Lutheran school system, he came with a clear understanding of education from the perspective of the state. He also had first-hand knowledge of how English-speaking schools operated, the subjects which comprised their curriculum and what resources and methodologies they used. After this stint in state schools, Carl Krichauff went on to serve continuously as a teacher in Lutheran schools in South Australia for the next twenty-nine years. He taught in the Martin Luther School in Flinders Street, Adelaide for ten years, and then at Point Pass north of the Barossa Valley at the Lutheran schools there for the following thirteen years.

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The last six years of his work in Lutheran schools were served at Nuriootpa in the Barossa Valley and then further south at Springton. He taught at Springton, his last Lutheran school, for two years, finishing at the end of 1911.[7]

It was during his twenty-three years in Adelaide and Point Pass that Krichauff developed his thinking about and made his most significant contribution to Lutheran schools. It was a unique experience in that he worked for schools in both the Evangelical Lutheran Synod of Australia (ELSA) and the Immanuel Synod (IS). The fact that he did so was an indication that, as someone from a different background to the Old Lutherans, he took a broader view on theological issues and church politics. It also meant that he was able to exert his influence on both major synods of the church, and contribute to a closer understanding on educational issues between them. There was also the opportunity to introduce particular reforms, like his work in curriculum, to both synods. Both major synods gained from his indifference to the issues that divided them. In 1909 after he accepted a teaching position at Nuriootpa in the Barossa Valley, he wrote to the vice-president of the ELSA, indicating that he would like to rejoin. He explained that he had only joined the other synod because it was necessary to do so in order to take a job in one of its schools. He obviously did not have any sympathy with finer theological distinctions.[8]

Krichauff's first major experience of Lutheran schooling was in Adelaide. The Martin Luther School had been established by the Bethlehem Lutheran congregation which belonged to the ELSA in 1873. The first recorded teacher there was Heinrich Andresen who started the school with fourteen students in June of that year and this number increased to fifty by the end of the year. The school was named after the great reformer ten years later to mark the four hundredth anniversary of Luther's birth. A year after that, in 1884, Carl Krichauff became a senior teacher there, recruited from the government school at Stockwell. When Krichauff joined Martin Luther, it had just undergone an extension so that there was an extra classroom available. There was an original intention that this would be for a *Realschule* or high school. Reports mention Krichauff teaching higher levels of mathematics there as well as Latin and book-keeping. The reason for its establishment was the congregation's fear that if their children attended other schools for their secondary education, they would be lost to the church. Such a loss was considered inevitable if they became alienated from their German heritage. How long these older classes lasted is unclear but there is little evidence to suggest that attempts at secondary education continued for very long. Although there was an extra member on the staff in Krichauff's first year, for much of its history the school only had one teacher. One of his students at Martin Luther was the artist Hans Heysen who found the school a bit frightening and soon convinced his family not to send him there any longer.[9] Krichauff left the school in 1892 when it was forced to close for a period. Later in the decade it reopened and was one of the forty-nine Lutheran schools in South Australia which were shut down by an act of parliament in 1917, and was never to open again.

His Point Pass experience in the IS began in 1893. This small settlement just north of the Barossa had established a Lutheran school in 1871. By 1892 it had closed down, but the congregation was keen to reopen it. They appointed Krichauff for one year after it had been closed for twelve months to see if he could build it to viable proportions,

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especially in the light of the impending introduction of free schooling administered by the state.[10] He was successful in his efforts and remained there for another twelve years. It was during his Point Pass years that he had to grapple with the challenge presented by state schools and develop his own thinking about the issue as well as strategies for coping with it. He also became associated with the local pastor, Georg Leidig, and the establishment of Immanuel College. It was in this latter context that he exercised an influence on the church and its need to train competent teachers for its school system in an increasingly competitive educational environment.

By the 1870s some Lutherans in South Australia had moved away from Kavel and Fritzsche's opposition to state aid. There was a variety of opinion in the church as the issue of compulsory education and the provision of state schools began to loom on the horizon and then come to fruition in the *Education Act of 1875*. And, as the only member of parliament in the early 1870s with a German background, Friedrich Krichauff became the natural spokesperson for the Lutheran point of view, divided though it was because of the schisms in the church. There were five Lutheran petitions he put to the parliament on their behalf, two in 1871, and three in 1873. The main Lutheran synods were happy to support the provision of state schools and advocated that some Christian input like Bible readings be included as part of their curriculum. More importantly they wanted to have the right for denominational teaching to be provided, at least outside of school hours. They also desired that state schools be given the discretion of choosing their own teachers. This way schools in Lutheran communities could make sure they had one of their own as the local teacher who would be charged with perpetuating not only the Lutheran faith but also the German language which they considered to be its vehicle.[11]

In the end, however, the parliament decided not only that the appointment of teachers be done by a central administration, but also that the single concession to religious teaching would be a quarter hour of non-compulsory Bible reading at the start of the day. This was a turning point for the Lutherans. Hereafter they would regard state schools as irreligious. This made their own schools, independent of the state, a greater necessity. In fact there was probably a strong inconsistency in the Lutheran attitude to the main education questions at this time. On the one hand, coming from a German background where the religion of the ruler became the religion of the people, they wanted the government to ensure that Christianity was promoted in state schools. On the other hand, having come from a situation where they had been persecuted as a minority in such a regime, they contended that the Christian instruction of children was the responsibility of parents and, by extension, the church, and that the state should keep out of it.[12]

In 1875 schooling became compulsory in South Australia. However it was not yet free. As the public debate about government financial support to independent schools moved into the 1880s, the official Lutheran position was that if the government was going to demand a certain standard of schooling from the denominational sector, it would have to help finance it. In an 1883 petition to the parliament, for instance, the Lutherans asked for four considerations: no government interference in Lutheran schools unless there was assistance; state education to be free only to those who were unable to pay; the same assistance to private schools as was afforded state schools; inspection of private schools only if they received assistance.[13] Krichauff, who at the beginning of

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this decade was in charge of his first Lutheran school in Adelaide, was probably too new to the system to be considered a leader, but he took a lively interest and joined the debate in the papers. He was prone to taking a slightly different view from that of his fellow churchmen. While many of the official Lutheran group were arguing for the preservation of the German language and consideration for the special religious nature of their schools, Krichauff was more intent on making public assurances that Lutheran schools were quite assiduous in teaching English and were making great improvements in this provision. He was aware that the government's main concern was that students in Lutheran schools, while receiving a thorough religious education, might not be getting the training they needed to take up their roles in an English-speaking society. He was also at pains to point out that Lutherans were not hostile to the public education sector, but just wanted the right to provide their own schools as part of a wider system. He was inclined to take an independent view among fellow Lutherans as well. When they voiced opposition to the establishment of free state schools, he criticised their campaign on the grounds that it played into the hands of their opponents because it made them look as if they were venal, chasing government money rather than defending the integrity of their schools.[14]

When free state schools were finally introduced in 1891, the Lutherans were very concerned. They had seen this coming for some time. They thought that it would mean an end to their own schools. How could they compete with free state schools when their parents had to pay fees to attend Lutheran schools? At a meeting of church leaders in Adelaide a couple of months after the passage of the legislation, however, there was a realisation that free state schools were there to stay, even though it seemed unfair to them that their Lutheran schools had the extra burden of teaching German as well as English. Somewhat unexpectedly, however, they issued no call for state aid to Lutheran schools. In fact, in the ELSA which was the major synod with schools, the 1890s saw the gradual influence of Missouri Synod Lutherans from the United States taking hold. They had decided beliefs about the separation of church and state and opposed the acceptance by the church of any financial help from government. Carl Krichauff himself eventually came under the influence of Caspar Dorsch, the new Lutheran pastor from America who in 1888 took over the Adelaide congregation where Krichauff taught. So, writing in the church papers about the issue, we find Krichauff admitting he has changed his position on state aid. To accept it, he said, would be a sure road to destruction because the state, once it had a foothold, would gradually tighten requirements until the schools had to close because they were regarded as being inadequate.[15]

Quality Curriculum

Krichauff realised that if Lutheran schools were to have a chance of survival, they had to improve their quality. He turned his attention to the area of curriculum. The content of this was usually left to the committees and teachers in individual schools which made for an uneven quality across the system. He drew on his experience in government schools which had provided some clear ideas about what constituted a good education. This would have contrasted with Lutheran emphases on maintaining the German language and the passing on of biblical teachings which were their main concerns. For his part Krichauff insisted on a good balance of English and German instruction

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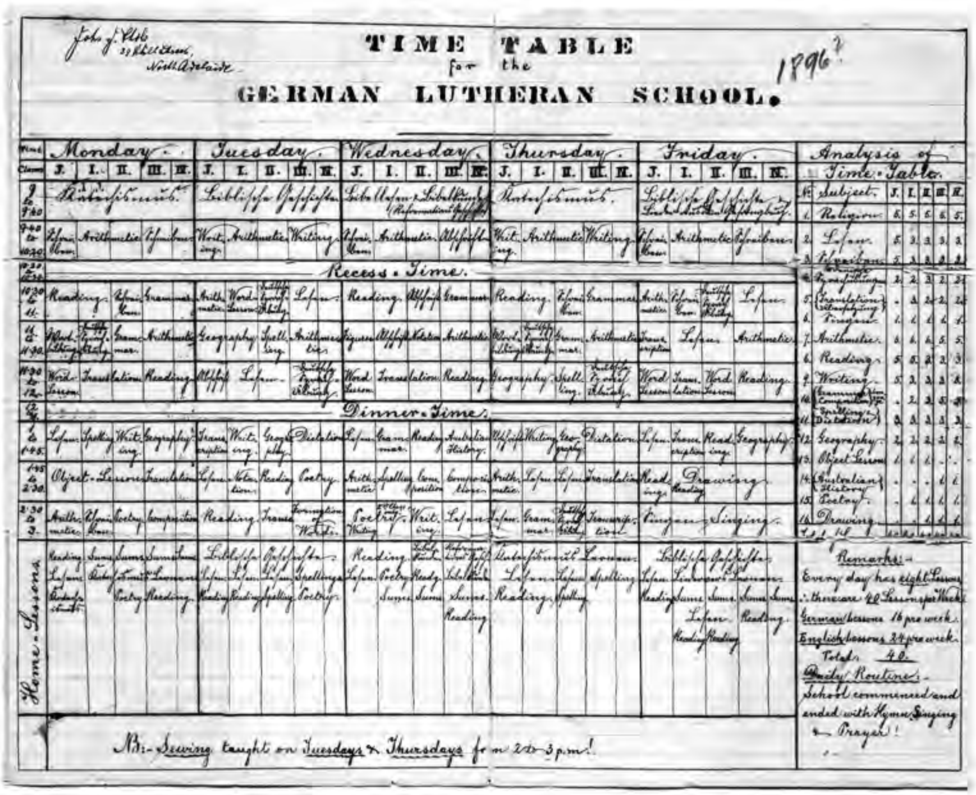
in the schools, in addition to a proper emphasis on secular subjects. Contributing to his concerns in this area would have been the fact that the issue of curriculum content was one of public concern in state schools at the time. In 1883, for instance, a report was submitted to the South Australian parliament which outlined the curriculum content and comparative line up of subjects in the different state education systems in Australia.[16] Krichauff, with his parliamentary connections and educational interests, would have been well aware of this analysis born out of a desire by South Australians to devise the best curriculum they could for their state schools.

Krichauff first introduced a well constructed curriculum to the Martin Luther School which he later developed into a model which was eventually adopted by the church and implemented by other Lutheran teachers in their schools. At Martin Luther, each school day started and ended with hymn singing and prayers. In between, the day was divided into eight forty minute lessons, beginning at 9.00 am and finishing at 3.00 pm. There were ten minutes for recess and an hour for "dinner". Two lessons were taught before the first break, and three lessons each before and after the midday pause. There were sixteen subjects in the curriculum and classes were divided into five grades, Junior and Levels 1 to 4, the same model as was prevalent in state schools. The subjects included religion, arithmetic, reading, writing, grammar and composition, spelling and dictation, geography, Australian history, poetry, drawing and an object lesson,



School Timetable in Carl Krichauff's handwriting.

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all conducted in English. German language lessons were conducted in singing, writing, translation and oral work. The girls did sewing two afternoons a week. Of the forty lessons each week sixteen were taught in German and twenty-four in English. There was also a homework timetable set for each day of the week with students expected to cover work in two to five subjects each night. Although there were five different class levels for students at the school, it is obvious that the timetable was designed for the employment of only one or two teachers. Within each period there was the possibility of combining a number of the classes, either because the same subject was scheduled in the neighbouring class at the same time, or because a lesson like composition did not need as much active teaching.[17]

This balanced and well organised approach to curriculum was probably Krichauff's greatest contribution to the improvement of Lutheran schooling. There was a much greater stress placed on English than was usual for Lutheran schools. There was still a solid emphasis on Christian instruction, but also on the provision of a thorough smattering of secular subjects as well. It took many years, but eventually his curriculum for Lutheran schools in South Australia was officially accepted and adopted by both the major Lutheran synods. The official model included many of the same features as the Martin Luther one. There was a good balance between German and English as the language of instruction, although this time, in deference to Old Lutheran sensitivities, it was tilted in favour of German. The courses of instruction comprised eight subjects. Arithmetic, reading and translation were the only ones conducted chiefly in English, while there were German lessons in religion, reading, writing, oral language and singing. There is also evidence of the provision of resources commonly used in state schools, like Nelson's *New Reader* and Nelson's and Piper's *Mental Arithmetic*, which were now utilised in Lutheran schools. This was one of the practices encouraged by Krichauff to ensure good standards of general education. At the same time Luther's catechism, the German Bible and German reading and songbooks were also used.[18] This course content and its resources bear witness to a Lutheran school system gaining a balance between German and English content as well as providing a thorough education which could be compared with that of the state.

So, from the beginnings of a basic Lutheran curriculum model created during the 1880s at the Martin Luther School in Adelaide, Krichauff built a program of instruction for Lutheran schools in South Australia and Victoria which became the official norm for all the schools. First of all he made his mark in the ELSA where he was initially employed in Adelaide. In 1891, as a prominent speaker at the Lutheran education conference which met in order to respond to proposed legislation before the parliament, he pointed out to the Lutherans that if they wanted to ensure the survival of their schools, they needed to concentrate less on exposing the weaknesses of the state system and more on recognising the inadequacies of their own schools and doing something about them. Lutheran schools, he pointed out, were often isolated. He advocated that the Lutherans should establish a Board of Education with responsibility for starting schools, recruiting staff as well as their supervision, including the appointment of a school inspector.[19] These latter initiatives were never taken up, but his curriculum measures were, ensuring an improvement in educational standards at a time of challenge presented by the emerging state school system in South Australia.

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Krichauff instigated the same reforms for the schools of the IS, after he took the job to re-establish a Lutheran school at Point Pass. It was there that he publicly proclaimed his aim to "prove to the world that in spite of free education . . . by the state, a German Evangelical Lutheran congregational school can hold its own perfectly well". As part of his strategy to accomplish this he founded a teachers' association in 1896, was its chair for thirteen years, and with the support of the president of the IS, he brought out another version of his curriculum model which was eventually adopted by that synod and made official for its schools.[20]

Krichauff's campaign to improve Lutheran schools was extended to other areas. For instance in 1896 he made a conference presentation to his fellow Lutheran teachers on ways of teaching English grammar. He continually campaigned for Lutheran schools to make use of the school texts published and used by the education department in South Australia. While sympathetic to maintaining German language and culture through Lutheran schools, Krichauff was also quite keen for students to be aware of their Australian context and background. Writing in the secular press he advocated that Germans in this new country should not only be loyal to the land of their origins, but should be patriotic South Australians as well. He worked to provide resources to support this cause. In 1898 the church newspaper published a series of articles, written by Krichauff, on the history of South Australia. They were intended for use in Lutheran schools.[21]

Quality Teaching

Throughout most of his career in Lutheran schools, Krichauff was a keen supporter of teacher associations. Again, the inspiration for these associations was probably the activity among state school teachers in South Australia at the time. Various efforts among them came to fruition in 1875 with the formation of the South Australian Public Teachers Association. This body was largely concerned with the treatment of teachers by their employers, but also supported projects for their professional development. Subsequent bodies of a similar nature appeared in 1885 and 1896.[22] Lutheran teachers, for their part, had been sporadically gathering for conferences as members of a *Lehrerbund* (teacher association) in the years from 1869 to 1877. Another one was formed in 1882. Membership of these was extended to both synods of the church. At the June meeting in 1882, for instance, almost all the IS teachers were present as well as six from the ELSA. Krichauff only joined the Lutheran system two years later, but immediately emerged as a leader breathing new life into their conferences. In 1896 he was successful in reviving the teachers association which he dominated for the next thirteen years.[23] Coming from a depth of experience, including some time in the state system, he had much to offer the Lutherans. It was through such associations and their conferences that he tried to raise morale within the system as well as promote good standards of education, sound curriculum content and professional development.

There was even a hint of industrial advocacy in some of their proceedings. For instance, at the conference of the Evangelical Teachers Association held in 1900, the teachers received a request from church leaders to hold their convocations at the same time as the church held its synodical convention. Krichauff passed the request on, but it was not accepted by the teachers who complained about the loss of holidays and the need to keep parity with state school teachers. There is no doubt that Krichauff, on behalf

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of the schools and their teachers, felt some antipathy towards the clergy of the church. When by 1891 Krichauff had developed a curriculum model for Lutheran schools which he wanted to share with his colleagues, he wrote a letter to the president of the ELSA, Philipp Oster, explaining his efforts, and noting the four days of his own time that he had spent preparing the materials. He mentioned the support of his fellow Lutheran teachers, but indicated a fear that its adoption would be declined by the pastors at their conference. This concern was symptomatic of his attitude. In 1906 Krichauff wrote to a fellow teacher in Nain that his former colleague at Point Pass, Pastor Georg Leidig, had failed to invite him, Krichauff, to a meeting of the Teachers Association to be held in Tanunda, even though Krichauff was its president. Krichauff therefore considered that he should resign his position. He asked his colleague to announce his resignation at the meeting and the fact that the association's money and books were available any time. He lamented the fact that Leidig was seeking to dominate the teachers association and restrict any lay freedom it might have enjoyed.[24]

Carl Krichauff believed very strongly in the provision of proper training for teachers in Lutheran schools. He was aware that if Lutheran schools were to compete with those of the state, efforts had to be made in this area. He would have been aware that since 1876, Adelaide Teachers College had been established for the training of state school teachers. Adelaide University had been incorporated two years earlier. The standards required to teach in a state school were increasing. From 1882 onwards only recruits with some classroom experience were accepted to train at Adelaide Teachers College. By 1885 four years of pupil teacher apprenticeship were required as a pre-requisite. Courses were thorough. Teacher trainees had a very full week of commitments made up of mastering various curriculum areas as well as two hours a week devoted to teaching principles. One morning a week was allocated to practice teaching.[25] At the same time there was a dearth of Lutheran teacher training programs. Such efforts at Hahndorf had petered out by the end of the 1880s. So Krichauff became a supporter of a new institution of higher education, including teacher training, at Leidig's Point Pass institution to prepare such workers for the schools. He was well aware that the efficacy and distinctiveness of the schools depended on the quality of teacher formation the church provided. This in turn necessitated the establishment of tertiary institutions capable of providing educators grounded in the church's teachings as well as sound pedagogical theory. Even towards the end of his career in Lutheran schools, Krichauff offered to the convention of the church his willingness to take children who wished to become teachers into his own home so that they could be trained in both theory and practice. After his years in Point Pass his efforts in teacher education were well known.[26]

Krichauff's role in the emergence of a higher educational institution at Point Pass has probably been underestimated. The drive and foresight behind its establishment is usually attributed to Georg Leidig, the young pastor of the parish. He, however, had originally been motivated to establish a common point for the young people in his parish to come together for confirmation instruction. The youth, he thought, could stay for some nights a week in provided accommodation, take confirmation instruction from Leidig and attend Krichauff's local school. Krichauff, who had a year to prove that his school was viable, would have welcomed the enrolments. However, Krichauff could see too that such a facility might also develop a higher education program for pastors and teachers who were needed for the congregations and schools of the church.

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Point Pass College: (Seated) Carl Krichauff at left and Georg Leidig centre.

The younger Leidig adopted this idea as his own and worked arduously to establish the facility which opened in 1895 and eventually became Immanuel College. In its early years at Point Pass, Leidig would teach the theological subjects between parish commitments, and Krichauff would come before and after his work at the Lutheran primary school to provide the older students with their general education.[27]

The passing of the *Education Act of 1875* in South Australia began an era of challenge for Lutheran schools. Not only were they faced with providing their own schools without any government help, but also the challenge of the competition engendered by the new state schools. The German schools, which had been independent of the Old Lutheran synods and happy to accept government grants before the 1875 *Act*, were gradually handed over to the state. For the two main Lutheran synods, the ELSA and the IS, the reaction to the *Act* was just the opposite. The view that the survival of their schools was essential for the survival of the church gained in strength. They therefore committed themselves to greater financial support for their schools as well as to renewed efforts to train teachers for service in them. Although these decisions were not adequately carried through, the loss of Lutheran schools to the state system was minimal. The ELSA, which had twenty-eight schools in operation when the *Act* was introduced in 1875, had increased their number to thirty by 1885. The IS increased its number of schools from thirteen to fifteen in the same period. In contrast to this, the Anglican school system in South Australia was reduced by about two-thirds over a similar period of time.[28]

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Inspection and Other Issues

At the time that Krichauff became a teacher, there emerged another major educational issue in South Australia which concerned the inspection of independent schools. Under the *Education Act of 1875* there was a provision that schooling was to be compulsory. There was no indication in the legislation, however, as to how attendance at independent schools fulfilled this requirement. In 1878, therefore, new legislation was passed which stipulated that independent schools were adequate for this purpose if they were found to be "efficient as to discipline and means of imparting instruction".[29] This naturally raised the issue of the inspection of such schools. There was also the associated point of whether the government should provide funds to ensure that such standards could be met in the private sector. For Lutheran schools, however, there were two other matters of concern. As conscientious objectors to government interference in religious matters in their land of origin, any suggestion that the government in their new country might scrutinise the activities of their schools which they regarded as agencies of the church gave them serious pause. There was also the German language question: because inspections would require educational standards to be demonstrated in English, the Lutheran schools, most of which were teaching predominantly in German, saw themselves at a disadvantage. The implied threat to the future of the German language was also considered to be detrimental to their ability to pass on the faith.

The issue lost impetus for a period because independent schools were not required to undergo such inspection, but could apply for it if they wanted to. Naturally most of them avoided it, although Krichauff, while he was in charge of the Lutheran school in Neukirch, in one of his moments of brash confidence applied for inspection and had his school ratified for its efficiency. In the meantime J. A. Hartley, the Director appointed by the Council of Education and a former Prince Alfred College headmaster, could see there would be serious political fallout if the elite private schools came under the requirement for inspection. It became a dead letter. The Council busied itself with issues like compulsory schooling instead.[30] Both Lutheran synods, however, were provoked to some action by the inspection issue, and in 1880 when the matter was again raised for debate in parliament, after various negotiations, they came together to form a united front to the government and presented a petition to the minister. They asserted their independence and their rights to keep complete control of their own schools without any interference by the state. This extended to the issue of choosing their own teachers. The matters of principle they pointed to were religious liberty and the rights of parents. There were also some assertions of assurance which explained how the church supervised its own schools and made sure they were efficient and had recently provided for teacher education at Hahndorf College.[31] Carl Krichauff's point of view formed as a result of these issues was that the Lutheran church should be less defensive about its schools and more proactive in the promotion of their virtues. In letters and articles in Lutheran publications, as well as through the spoken word at synods and conferences, he continued to urge the church to respond to the challenge of state school competition by making sure its own education system offered the best in curriculum, teaching standards and resources.

With the advent of state schools towards the end of the nineteenth century, Lutheran schools were subject to a strong challenge. Even if they possessed good teachers, used English instruction and boasted a balanced curriculum, putting them on a sound

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financial basis was very difficult. Krichauff tried to rally the church in convention to create a financial resource. He was successful in getting them to agree that every year the members of synod should contribute one shilling to a special school fund with him as treasurer. This money would be used to support the work of the church's schools. Although this program was never properly implemented, it made an important psychological impact, establishing the principle that the church was committed to maintaining its schools. Krichauff insisted that the church should be more positive about its schools and proactive in promoting their worthwhile contributions to society. The best argument and defence for Lutheran schools, he argued on one occasion, should be based on their ability to deliver a distinctive Christian education. This was something that the state could not offer. Krichauff insisted that Lutheran schools were viable, despite the advent of state schools, because they offered something better than secular education, the nurture of young people in their Christian faith. Krichauff could vary his message, according to his audience. Writing in the secular press, he took a different approach. He warned all German speaking people that their schools were under threat from state schools and that they should be vigilant in their defence if they wanted the German language to survive among their children.[32] When the legislation was passed in 1891 to abolish fees in state schools, the devastation feared for Lutheran schools did not eventuate. There were forty-two Lutheran schools operated by the Old Lutheran synods in South Australia at the time, and by 1900, despite the new legislation, their number had increased marginally to forty-five.[33]

Latter Days

His efforts for Lutheran schooling generally were of great importance, but Carl Krichauff's classroom reputation was checkered. The family memory of him is of someone more suited to teaching students in their secondary or tertiary years than at a more elementary level. Certainly he possessed a wide range of knowledge and skills. Besides his commercial training, he was a productive writer and historian who later took up journalism. He spoke and wrote at least four languages: German, English, French and Danish. He also played the violin which he used to accompany singing lessons. Many of his secondary students at Point Pass retained positive memories of his teaching efforts there. However, with younger students he was irritable and impatient, especially as he got older. By the time he came to the end of his career he had become a somewhat foolish figure, at least in the memories of a selection of his students. Friedensberg, his last school, meant Hill of Peace. By the time Krichauff went to teach there its buildings had been moved into the town of Springton proper and it was no longer a peaceful place. Some teaching episodes involving Krichauff had descended into the realm of farce. He was known as "Old Teacher Krichauff" and appeared a "comic-tragic figure with reddish whiskers who dressed in a long swallow tail coat [and who] had a terrible temper and little control over his pupils". Nearing sixty years old, he presented as a violent old man who made a great use of the cane, but with little effect. When upset he would sometimes absent himself from the classroom and enter his living quarters where he would calm himself, his students believed, with a nip of wine. In the end two elders from the congregation, Droegemueller and Rohrlach, had to intervene to help him restore order.[34] He lasted at the school for two years before retiring to take up journalism.

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Carl Krichauff.

Although Leidig, his colleague at Point Pass, was an avowed devotee to *Deutschtum* and a belief in the superior qualities of German language and culture, Krichauff was less committed. Occasionally he did appeal publicly for the preservation of German language and culture amongst his countrymen in Australia, but more often his argument was linked to the survival of the Lutheran Church rather than any nationalistic fervour for the fatherland. His last career was as a journalist. He worked mainly for Basedow and Eimer and their German language newspaper *Australische Zeitung* which had its headquarters in Adelaide. He was forced into retirement when the government closed down the German language newspapers in 1916 during the Great War. Krichauff, living in a mortgaged house in Evandale outside of Adelaide with two of his daughters, actually wrote to the Minister for Defence in Melbourne bemoaning the loss of his job and asking the government, since it had deprived him of his livelihood, to find him another one, however lowly, so that he might be able to support himself and his children. In the letter he made much of the fact that he was a British citizen and his offspring were British-born subjects. He stressed his attachment to Australia as the home of his choice. He wrote, somewhat dramatically: "I have forgotten Germany and Germany has forgotten me".[35] The minister was unmoved and did not comply with his request for a job.

It has been suggested that Krichauff "deserves to be regarded as one of the most important figures in the history of Lutheran education in Australia".[36] In the two decades spanning the turn of the century, Krichauff emerged as the major, if unofficial, spokesman and apologist for Lutheran schools, both inside and outside the church. Krichauff's involvement in the Lutheran cause was probably a result of circumstances as well as the exercise of his own special talents. Through his Uncle Friedrich he would have gained a wider understanding of and appreciation for the political questions of the day, including those involving education. As someone with a bent towards journalism he always found it easy to put thoughts onto paper, and was constantly writing articles and letters. His early experience in the commercial world and his time as a teacher in state schools gave him a more objective view of Lutheran schools. Yet his marriage into an Old Lutheran family and community also placed him in a position where he began to identify more closely with them, especially after he joined their teacher ranks. It meant that his considerable talents would now be utilised on their behalf. The crowning influence was his own personality, irrepressible and fearless before friends or foes. Given his broader background and understanding along with his predilection to express what he thought, his emergence as an activist on behalf of Lutheran schools was almost inevitable.

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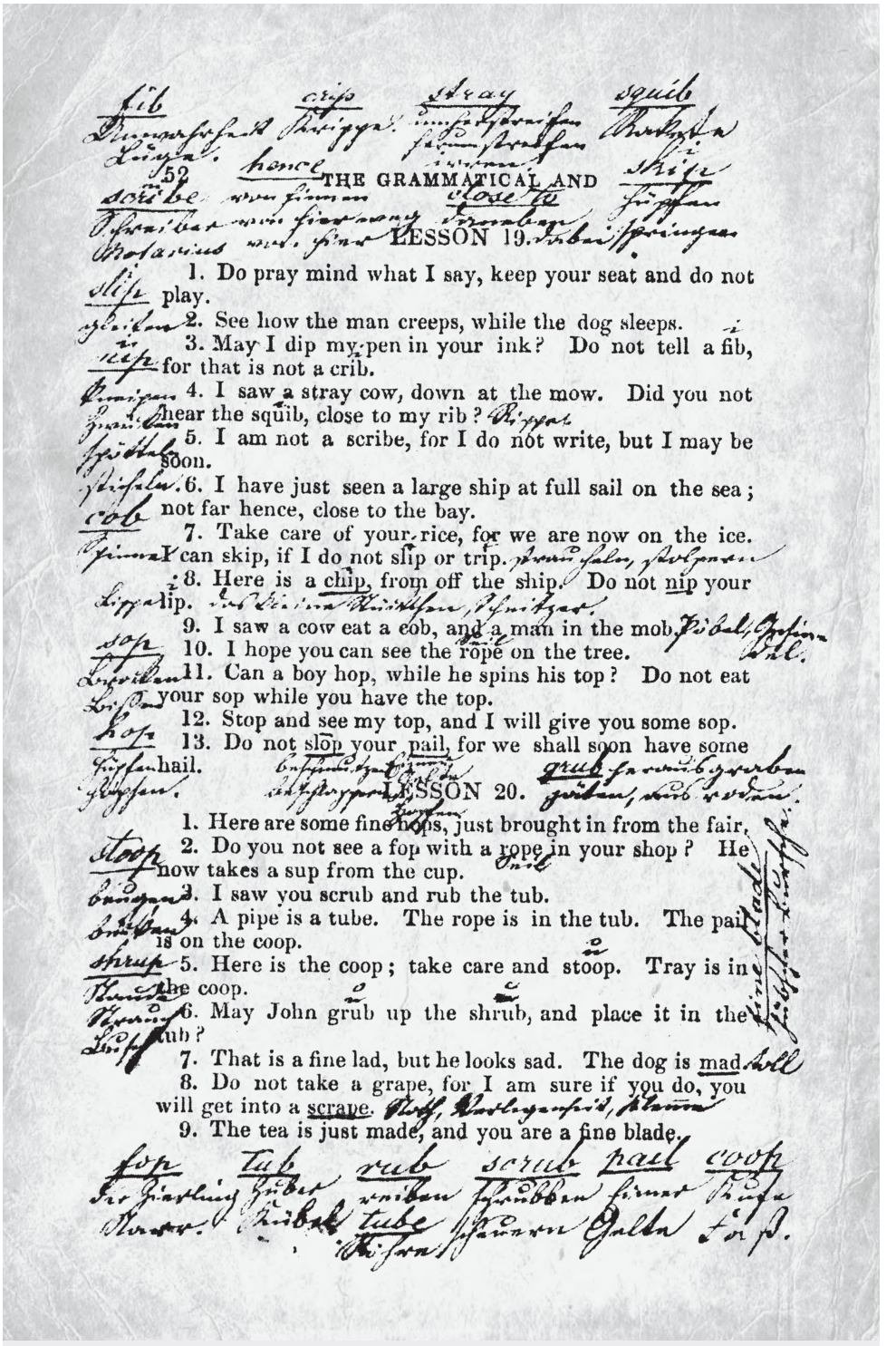

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LESSON 19.

1. Do pray mind what I say, keep your seat and do not play.
2. See how the man creeps, while the dog sleeps.
3. May I dip my pen in your ink? Do not tell a fib, for that is not a crib.
4. I saw a stray cow, down at the mow. Did you not hear the squib, close to my rib?
5. I am not a scribe, for I do not write, but I may be soon.
6. I have just seen a large ship at full sail on the sea; not far hence, close to the bay.
7. Take care of your rice, for we are now on the ice. I can skip, if I do not slip or trip.
8. Here is a chip, from off the ship. Do not nip your lip.
9. I saw a cow eat a cob, and a man in the mob.
10. I hope you can see the rope on the tree.
11. Can a boy hop, while he spins his top? Do not eat your sop while you have the top.
12. Stop and see my top, and I will give you some sop.
13. Do not slop your pail, for we shall soon have some hail.

LESSON 20.

1. Here are some fine hops, just brought in from the fair.
2. Do you not see a fop with a rope in your shop? He now takes a sup from the cup.
3. I saw you scrub and rub the tub.
4. A pipe is a tube. The rope is in the tub. The pail is on the coop.
5. Here is the coop; take care and stoop. Tray is in the coop.
6. May John grub up the shrub, and place it in the tub?
7. That is a fine lad, but he looks sad. The dog is mad.
8. Do not take a grape, for I am sure if you do, you will get into a scrape.
9. The tea is just made, and you are a fine blade.

Page from an English reader used in Lutheran Schools.

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Krichauff lived at Evandale for the last nine years of his life, cared for by his daughters, in neglected obscurity as far as the church and its schools were concerned. He liked to play chess with his grandchildren, as long as he won. He died in comparative poverty and was buried in an unmarked grave in Adelaide's West Terrace cemetery. While his health had been good for most of his life, he was often overextended in the extra work he took up, teaching after hours at Point Pass or attending and speaking at conferences. In 1910 he wrote to the president of the ELSA indicating that he would not be attending the church's convention that year, because his health was bad and he did not have the strength to make the journey. He died on 1 March 1921 at his home, called Altona after his birthplace, in his sixty-ninth year. Auguste Krichauff had predeceased her husband on 10 February 1912, a few months after he had given up teaching at the end of the 1911 school year. Her grave in the West Terrace Cemetery in Adelaide is marked with a headstone in her honour. When her husband died nine years later, and was buried next to his wife in a grave provided by his son-in-law, the family were not in a position to add his name to his wife's headstone.[37]

The study of Carl Krichauff's career in Lutheran schools provides us with an understanding of why this system of education survived into the twentieth century. He, and other Lutherans in Australia, came to understand that their schools could survive the challenge of free state education by providing a quality alternative with good standards of secular education as well as a distinctive program of Christian teaching. To ensure this quality, the provision of proper training of teachers, the supply of adequate facilities and resources for the schools and the continued support and professional development of their teachers was essential. In his endeavours for Lutheran schools Krichauff worked for such things. The continuing schools, perhaps, provide the monument that his grave lacks.

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Chapter 8

Wilhelm Peters
Dilemmas and Directions

"Let us choose what is right; let us determine among ourselves what is good." Job 34: 4.

Since the latter part of the nineteenth century the Lutheran church and its schooling system in Australia have been profoundly influenced by American Lutheranism. A study of the life and work of Wilhelm Peters offers an opportunity to observe how the American Lutheran Missouri Synod gained so much influence on the church and what implications it had for Australian Lutheran schools. Peters was the founder of Concordia College in the little western Victorian town of Murtoa. How Peters dealt with the dilemmas that confronted the Lutheran Church and his school at that time was critical for the directions Lutheran schools took into the future. His story has other dimensions as well. He is justly commemorated for his endeavours in establishing the oldest continuing Lutheran

Wilhelm and Emelie Peters and Family.

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secondary school in Australia. He also took up the demanding need for the training of pastors and teachers in the church. The story of Peters and his Murtoa college is also an interesting case study in the challenges facing Lutheran schools in the late nineteenth century. Peters' work was conducted in Victoria, and the history of Lutheran education in that state will provide the setting to his biography.

Family Background

Johann August Friedrich Wilhelm Peters was born on 1 January 1850 in Nemitz, a coastal town in the northern German province of Pomerania. The family also had associations with the island of Rügen in the Baltic Sea close to the German mainland. Peters' mother died while he was still quite young, although he was old enough to write, while she was still alive, an impressive poem in her honour which was published in a church paper. Peters' father died shortly after his son arrived in Australia. His family were among those Old Lutherans who had maintained independence from the state Protestant church during that period of persecution in the 1830s. Peters' religious roots, therefore, were very close to those of Kavel and Fritzsche who had come to Australia with their congregations to seek religious freedom nearly forty years earlier. Peters' family were members of a community of Pomeranian Lutherans who remained aloof from the state church because of its perceived spiritual barrenness and alleged false teaching. After he came to Australia Peters continued to follow their history with interest, occasionally writing about them in the church papers.[1]

As a young graduate he served as a tutor to the children of noble families who could afford such services. Eventually, however, he expressed a wish to study for work in the church, and did his theological education and training to be a foreign missionary at the seminary established by Pastor Louis Harms at Hermannsburg. When Peters graduated in 1877 he was sent to Australia in order to minister to the Chinese people who had come to Victoria to join the gold rushes. He arrived on 16 October of that year, one of ten missionaries trained for service in Australia. He was based in Melbourne, and from there he made his trips to the goldfields to do his mission work. He soon found, however, that there was less call on this kind of ministry than expected with these Chinese gold seekers already being served by other missionaries. More and more he found himself ministering to German families who had also settled in Victoria in and around Melbourne and further afield in Gippsland where he travelled by train.[2]

He finally accepted a position as pastor to the congregation at Murtoa in western Victoria in 1878. In 1880, two years after arriving there, Peters married Emelie Sudholz from a South Australian Lutheran family. Her father was J. W. A. Sudholz, a parliamentarian and prominent layman in the church. Wilhelm and Emelie had six children, four boys and two girls. Their three eldest sons, Albrecht (born 1881), Ernst (born 1883) and Theodor (born 1886) attended Concordia College at Murtoa and Albrecht went on to become first a pharmacist and then a doctor in Melbourne. The other two died prematurely, Ernst of consumption and Theodor died of typhoid in 1910. Their three other children were Alma (born 1890), Walter (born 1892) and Gertrud (born 1897). As was often the case for the wife of a Lutheran pastor, Emelie, or Mimi as she was called by her family, played a major supportive role in the parish and college at Murtoa which went largely unremarked.[3]

Victorian Lutherans

To understand Peters and his work there is a need to appreciate the population patterns of Lutherans in Victoria. Early German settlement occurred in two major locations: the Melbourne area around Port Phillip Bay, and the western part of the state, including the Mallee and the Wimmera. While overseas migrants accounted for most of the settlement in and around Melbourne, South Australian Lutherans formed the nucleus of those in the west. As early as 1846 there was some interest in the Port Phillip District in recruiting Germans to the colony because they were "most industrious, temperate, and peaceable in their habits".[4] This impression had been gained from their performance in South Australia. Eduard Delius, who had acted in the German states as an agent for the South Australia Company, was also active in recruiting German immigrants for Port Phillip. There had been some German migrants, not necessarily Lutheran, before this who had arrived in Melbourne in the 1840s. Some settled in what is now the Melbourne suburb of Doncaster. The first ships Delius organised arrived in 1849 and the passengers included many Lutherans from northern Germany. There were a total of five such ships before the gold rushes began. Unlike South Australia, however, the Lutheran presence in Victoria was so small as to be of little significance. For instance in the government statistics published in 1861, the main Christian denominations in Victoria were mentioned as being Wesleyan, Presbyterian, Methodist, Anglican, Catholic, Independent and Baptist, with the Lutherans not even worthy of a mention.[5]

The affinity of these Port Phillip Germans with Lutheranism was more in the style of their counterparts in Queensland who had emigrated for non-religious reasons. One of their first settlements was in Westgarthtown, ten miles north of Melbourne, where in 1850 sixteen German families took up adjoining land and built a Lutheran church and school. There was also Germantown near Geelong where German settlers acquired land in the same precinct and started their own church and school. There were no Lutheran pastors in the Melbourne area in the early days, although some worship services under lay leadership began as early as 1849. Weddings, baptisms and funerals for the German community were conducted by a Congregational minister called Morison whose Independent chapel was used for their earliest worship services. After a few false starts, a permanent pastor named Matthias Goethe was installed in 1853. He was recruited from Sydney where he had been a teacher. He had been originally trained in Germany as a Catholic priest, but on his arrival in Australia he obtained work with the Presbyterians. Dr J. D. Lang had met him in London in 1849 and hired Goethe to teach modern languages, mathematics and natural philosophy at his Australian College. On the basis of the theology Lang had taught him, he was also granted a licence to preach. Despite this diverse background, mainly because he spoke German and had been trained as a churchman, he became the father of Victorian Lutheranism, and by the end of 1854 had built a Lutheran church on land in East Melbourne. Goethe's ecumenical orientation ensured that Lutheranism in the Port Phillip area was quite different in style and focus from that of western Victoria where Old Lutheran confessionalism predominated.[6]

German numbers in Victoria were boosted during the gold rushes, rising from 4 000 in 1854 to over 10 000 in 1861. Some were Catholic. More were Lutheran and set up churches in Bendigo and on New Chum Flat. Goethe's Lutherans organised themselves into the Evangelical Lutheran Synod of Victoria (ELSV) in 1856. Under his leadership

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and encouragement they formed congregations and built churches. During the 1850s schools were established in Lutheran congregations at Bakery Hill, Berwick, Doncaster, East Melbourne, Richmond Flats, New Mecklenburg and Bendigo, as well as at Bayswater in 1874. Goethe himself took a great interest in education and was responsible for the drawing up of *Schulordnung* (School Regulations) for the Lutheran schools in 1856. This established a set curriculum, including some English instruction. Goethe applied to the Denominational Schools Board for government grants on behalf of these schools and he was successful in gaining some money to help pay for texts and teachers' salaries. However when state aid to independent schools was abolished in 1872 these schools began to languish. A lack of funds, an itinerant population and the availability of free state schools led to their demise. Requirements in the legislation for adequate teacher qualifications and English language competence also contributed to their passing. So as a result of the *1872 Education Act* which deprived ELSV schools set up in the 1850s and 1860s of access to government funding, these schools in and around Melbourne and Geelong were unable to pay their own way and were gradually taken over by the state. By 1875 there were no ELSV schools left.[7]

In western Victoria, however, it was a different story for Lutheran schools. In this area there were more tightly knit German communities originating from and influenced by the Old Lutherans in South Australia. They belonged to the Evangelical Lutheran Synod of Australia (ELSA) which was very keen to establish Lutheran schools. Some of these settlers had travelled along the Murray River as far as Albury and formed communities in the Riverina. Most of them settled in the Mallee and Wimmera districts. The first ones came to Portland as members of an agricultural settlement society which had been initiated in the Barossa Valley in 1851. When they arrived, however, language difficulties delayed their purchase of land and they dispersed to various districts. They formed small Lutheran communities in Hamilton, Tarrington and Penshurst. Although they were a generation on from the first Lutheran settlers in South Australia where most of them had been born, they were still ready to build churches and schools in the communities where they settled. As the century progressed other Germans were attracted to these communities from overseas and other parts of Australia.[8] There was even a utopian community established near Hamilton under the leadership of Johann Friedrich Krumnow, a former Lutheran who had been instrumental in establishing the Lobethal settlement in South Australia. With a band of followers somewhat mesmerised by his charismatic qualities, he founded, in 1853, the *Herrnhut* community which adopted a Christian communistic lifestyle and was regarded with suspicion and disdain by local Lutheran pastors like Clamor Schürmann.[9]

The Lutherans in the area owed much to the help of Pastor Schürmann, a former South Australian missionary who arrived as their pastor in 1853, was fluent in English, and assisted in negotiations for land. He also organised them into Lutheran congregations with their own schools. During the 1850s the ELSA established schools in congregations at Byaduk and Tarrington. Tabor built a school in about 1863. During the 1870s ELSA congregations and schools were established at Green Lake, Kirchheim, Kornheim, Murtoa, Natimuk, and Vectis East. Later, schools appeared at Arkona, Katyil, Kewell, Dimboola, Lake Linlithgow, Ni Ni Well, Pella, Sheep Hills, Warrayure and Winiam. Most of these schools were established after government aid was no longer available. Even if it had been, it was ELSA policy not to accept it. The financial burden for these

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schools was taken on by the congregations themselves and therefore many of them survived into the next century and some to modern times. The last quarter of the nineteenth century was a golden age of Lutheran schooling in the Mallee and Wimmera. Independent from the state, and with strong congregational support, they prospered as places of Lutheran education. They were really an extension of the ELSA system of schools in South Australia. They followed the curriculum structure, not of Goethe's *Schulordnung*, but of Carl Krichauff's "Course of Instruction for the Lutheran Schools of South Australia". By 1900 there were ten full-time Lutheran schools in western Victoria with a total of 400 students under the instruction of fourteen teachers.[10] Unlike their South Australian counterparts they were not closed down by parliament during the Great War. Instead there were severe restrictions put on the use of the German language and the prohibition of "the issue of school books published in Germany".[11]

It was in this fertile area of Lutheran schooling that Wilhelm Peters arrived in 1878. After only a year of mission work based in Melbourne, he received a call from the congregation in Murtoa in western Victoria to serve as their pastor. The Murtoa area, originally called Lake Marma, was settled by South Australian Lutherans from Mt. Gambier. This congregation was established in 1874 and the next year they built a church, which was eventually burned down in 1916 during the period of anti-German sentiment during the Great War. The first church service in Murtoa was conducted by the Wimmera district Pastor Schoknecht, a former missionary to the Aboriginal people. Pastor Bode took over the parish in 1876 and was followed by Jacobsen in 1878 and then Peters replaced him later in the same year. The church, constructed of wattle and daub, and with a wooden floor, was also used as a school. Its first teacher, a man named Meier, slept in the building as well. Because of Murtoa's mixed denominational population this Lutheran school did not have the numbers to survive and was taken over by the state in 1875. Another Lutheran school was established towards the turn of the century and lasted until the Great War. Peters served in this parish for twenty-five years, and it was here that he started his college.[12]

Closely associated with the Lutheran settlements in western Victoria, and an area which gradually became part of Peters' domain was the Riverina district of southern New South Wales. Migrants from South Australia, moving in wagons along the Murray arrived at Albury in late 1866 and early 1867. Unlike the western Victorians, however, they were drawn from both major synods of the Lutheran Church. One of the larger groups from the ELSA settled at Jindera, just north of Albury and almost immediately established a Lutheran school there which is still in existence today. A newspaper report of the time describes forty families taking up residence at what was then called Dight's Forest. Especially mentioned was the "erection of a Lutheran Church and school house".[13] The first separate school building was erected in 1874. Just north of Jindera another ELSA congregation was formed at Burrumbuttock in the mid-1870s. It was to this parish that Wilhelm Peters accepted a call after his days in Victoria. A little further to the north-east in the township of Henty another ELSA congregation was established in 1889, but its Lutheran school, also still in existence, was not put in place until 1932. An independent Lutheran congregation which later joined the ELSV was formed at Walla Walla north of Albury in 1869. It originally had its own Lutheran school established in 1873, but it closed in 1885 when it was replaced by a state school. However, in 1948 the people of this township established a Lutheran secondary boarding school which is still in operation.[14]

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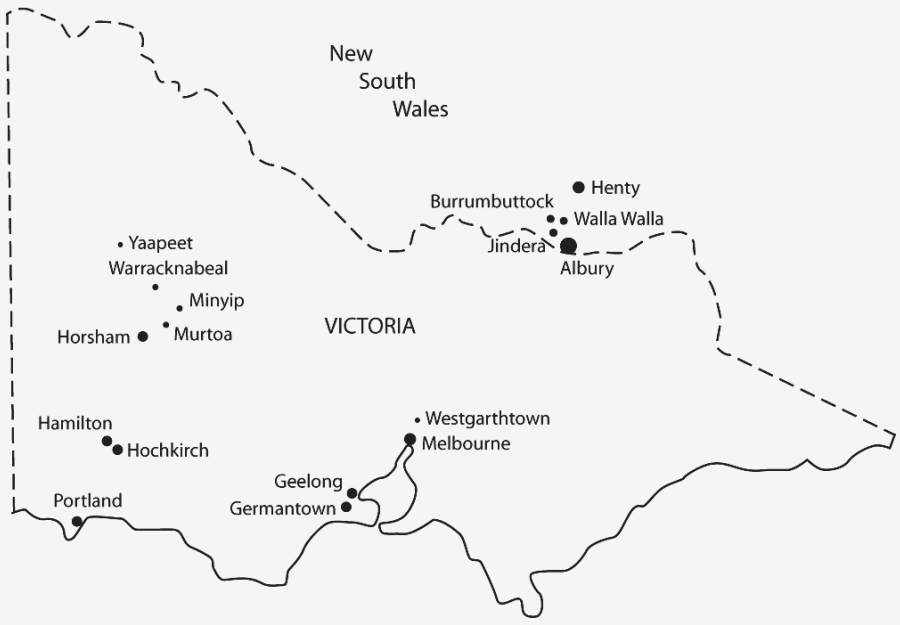

Patriarchal Places in South East Australia.

Wilhelm Boehm:
- teacher in Murtoa
- retired in Yaapeet
- died in Warracknabeal
- buried in Warracknabeal

Wilhelm Peters:
- pastor and teacher in Murtoa
- pastor in Burrumbuttock
- retired in Melbourne
- died in Melbourne
- buried in Melbourne

Victorian Education

Lutheran schools in western Victoria were established on similar lines to those in South Australia, but in a different setting. Although the education system in Victoria developed according to a similar pattern to most of the other states of Australia, it also had its own particular characteristics. After separation from New South Wales in 1850, the political backdrop to educational questions was a debate between denominationalists and secularists. The 1850s were dominated by two premiers, William Haines, an Anglican, and John O'Shanassy, a Catholic, who both championed denominational schools at the expense of national ones. Despite these sympathies there was so much sectarian bickering over the spoils of government aid that educational leaders like George Higinbotham, who chaired a Royal Commission on education in 1866, concluded that the greatest effect of state aid was to heighten religious strife.

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Victoria's adoption of secularism for its schools, a process which started in 1862 and was completed in 1872, came much earlier than in other states. The public reaction to aggressive Catholic leadership, the inability of denominations to take a common view, as well as what some termed the liberal and rational temper of Victorian colonial society were some of the reasons. A bill to abolish state aid to denominational schools was nearly passed as early as 1858. Legislation in 1862 increased government support for state schools. Higinbotham suggested a compromise position between the churches and the state in 1867 which was rejected by both Catholics and Anglicans. So by 1872 the transition to secularism was completed.[15]

The *Common Schools Act of 1862* curtailed the growth of denominational schools while strongly supporting the establishment of state schools. Under this Act grants were made to schools judged to be efficient which were called Common Schools. Religious instruction in these schools was neither hindered nor encouraged. The Act established a single Board of Education in Victoria with representative members from the various denominations. It made religious instruction optional for all schools and church schools received land grants and funds for teachers' salaries. The problem was that there were too many small schools, but because the Board reflected denominational interests, it would not close any of them. Schools receiving government aid were called vested schools and had to meet various criteria. Those denominational schools which were self-supporting were called non-vested schools and had more independence. In the period from 1850 to 1860 the number of denominational schools grew from 54 to 484, while government assistance to these schools increased from £1 227 (pounds) to £80 286 (pounds) per annum. In contrast, by 1860 there were 160 state schools costing the government £25 550 (pounds) per annum. During the 1860s, however, there was a gradual growth in vested schools, from 193 to 494, and a decline in the non-vested ones, 513 to 432.[16] Lutheran schools in the Melbourne area belonging to the ELSV began their decline in this era. However, this legislation pre-dated most of the ELSA schools in the west of the state which only started in the next decade.

The process of secularisation in Victorian education was completed in 1872. After a controversy in which the Catholic Bishop Goold tried to influence the situation by issuing a pastoral letter decrying the government's policy, the matter was settled by the *1872 Education Act* which abolished state aid to denominational schools altogether. It also set up a Department of Education, established compulsory school attendance for six to fifteen year olds and totally excluded religion from the curriculum except for out of hours classes. The Board of Education established in 1862 was replaced by the Victorian Education Department. Up until the *1872 Education Act* Victoria lagged behind other states in its attempts to improve the standards of schools and their teachers. This was partly due to the sectarian conflicts of the period which created pressures in favour of diversified, decentralised and potentially undisciplined schooling. Also, in the period from 1864 to 1904 the payment by results scheme was a constricting influence in state schools, encouraging cramming and rote learning.[17]

The story of John Walther, a Lutheran teacher of the period, gives us a personal illustration of what happened to the ELSV schools and their teachers around Melbourne. Walther, born in Silesia in 1831, came to Australia in 1849, one of 200 Germans imported by William Westgarth, to provide free labour in the colony. By 1854 he had bought land

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in Doncaster, east of Melbourne, had married, and had taken a job in a Lutheran school in Pastor Goethe's ELSV synod. In 1858 he moved to another Lutheran school at Eastern Hill. When it ran short of money in 1859 it applied for government assistance. It was successful in doing so and broadened its identity a bit, now calling itself the German Grammar School. Walther had to pass a competency examination, and having done so successfully, was paid £100 (pounds) a year, and his wife was employed by the school for £40 (pounds) a year as a sewing mistress. With the passing of the *1862 Education Act* and its encouragement of state schooling, the transition from church ownership was completed. Its church affiliation was lost altogether and the school was passed over to the state and became the East Melbourne Common School. Walther was now paid according to student results, which meant the numbers attending his school and their performance at examinations set by inspectors. In 1867 Walther resigned from this common school and moved back to a Lutheran setting to teach in a non-vested school near Germantown. When the *1872 Education Act* was passed banning religious instruction during school hours and cutting out the possibility of future state aid, this school too lost its Lutheran affiliation. In 1875 Walther decided to take up a new challenge, and as an employee of the Victorian Education Department moved to the western Victorian country town of Murtoa to start a state school in that township. The Lutheran school there had just closed down and he had to sort out wrangles with local Lutherans about use of their buildings. He continued as a principal in a number of western Victorian state schools until he retired to Murtoa in 1891 when he would have been a member of the local congregation which helped Wilhelm Peters establish Concordia College.[18]

By 1872 Lutherans in Victoria could no longer count on any government help for the survival of their schools. It was now clear that if they wanted a Christian education for their students, they had to provide it themselves. That resolve existed in the west where there was a will to preserve such schools, but not in the east where a dependence on state aid meant their schools closed down. Many independent schools in addition to the Lutheran ones closed down as a result of this legislation. The Catholics, who had created the crisis just before the 1872 election, suffered too because many of their members belonged to the poorest communities. On the other hand, because there were no state secondary schools provided under the 1872 legislation, this was the sphere where the Christian denominations began to establish a strong foothold. The Murtoa Lutheran college can be seen as part of this movement. During the Victorian phase of its existence there was no competition from state schools in the area. Even in 1910, well after Concordia College had moved to South Australia, there were still only nine high schools in the whole of Victoria.[19]

The Murtoa College

The Lutherans in Western Victoria began to plan for their own college to train teachers for their schools. There was not a lot of interest in this project from South Australia where there were still hopes that the Hahndorf Academy would be revived for such training. Meanwhile the ELSA was considering the Model School method of training teachers. This was a pupil-teacher system where the brightest primary graduates served an apprenticeship in a school while continuing their education there. This was in contrast to the Normal School method where students aspiring to be teachers were

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Teacher Students at Murtoa

trained at teachers colleges. Over time in the educational sector generally the training college method grew in favour. The Anglicans, for instance, were already running a teacher training school called St James' and St Paul's Training Institution in Melbourne in the 1860s. In Lutheran circles this was evolving as the preferred option as well.

The emergence of a Lutheran institution for higher education in the little township of Murtoa in western Victoria in the late nineteenth century occurred because of the confluence of a number of forces. First, there was a desperate need for the ELSA and its schools to find suitably trained teachers. The Hahndorf Academy in South Australia had been sold into non-Lutheran hands, and there was no other place where such training could any longer take place. Second, Wilhelm Boehm, who had been the proprietor of the Hahndorf Academy, and who had worked in various arrangements with the Lutheran church in order to provide teacher training, had moved to Murtoa in July 1887 to be closer to relatives, including his son who was farming in Victoria. He immediately began moves to establish a school in Murtoa. No sooner had he done this when the ELSA looked to him again as the provider of teacher training for their schools. It was agreed that if Boehm supplied their secular education, the local pastor, Wilhelm Peters would provide the theological formation. The third factor contributing to Murtoa being the venue for the new teacher training institution was the resolve of Victorian members of the ELSA, under strong instigation from Peters. They made the decision at their convention in 1890 to start a college themselves. The fourth factor was that there were a number of local laymen willing to provide the money to build a college on land in Murtoa provided by Pastor Peters himself. Where Peters had acquired the resources necessary for this investment is not clear, but he had married into the prosperous and philanthropic South Australian Sudholz family who were active and generous in their support of the church.[20]

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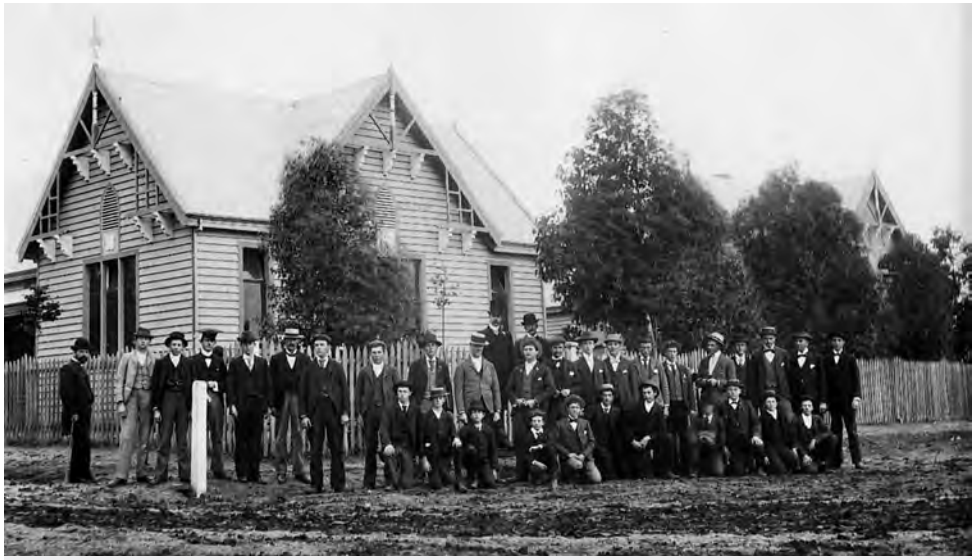
In 1890 the Murtoa college started as a teacher training institution, but soon local students wishing to get a high school education were added as well. Their program commenced in 1892. The next year a theological seminary was added where students wishing to get their preliminary training to become pastors could do so. As the concept broadened, there was the crucial matter of staffing. Besides Peters who was also in charge, and the local Lutheran primary teachers, Marks of Murtoa and Eckert of Minyip, there was Wilhelm Boehm who served as music teacher. There were two other major needs. One was the provision of a generally recognised secondary educator in general school subjects. The other was a theologian to provide future pastors and teachers with a solid Lutheran doctrinal understanding. The way Peters managed this dual challenge was to be the seed for later troubles. For the teacher of general high school subjects he initially used a Lutheran pastor, Alfred Brauer, from Dimboola, but when he was no longer available, Peters took the daring step of going outside the church. Alex Gray, an Anglican undergraduate of Melbourne University, formerly of St. Andrew's College, Bendigo, was appointed as the main assistant teacher. For the theologian, Peters, who was one of the ELSA pastors who harboured an allegiance to the Lutheran Missouri Synod in the United States, followed his own predilections and turned to that quarter. Already in 1890 Peters, on behalf of the Victorian district of his church, had written to the Missouri Synod asking them to supply a suitable theological teacher to join his staff. The Missouri Synod leadership finally agreed to do so in July 1892. J. F. Kunstmann, a young seminary graduate, arrived in May 1893. Peters and his Victorian colleagues alienated a number of their church's pastors in South Australia by taking this initiative without wider consultation, even though the main ELSA leadership was in agreement. Kunstmann was rushed into his new position without a proper colloquy to ensure his theological orthodoxy, and speedily ordained in a fashion that raised later objections. So in filling these major positions in his college, Peters had left himself exposed to criticism and opposition on two fronts: Gray the non-Lutheran who would have influence over the education of future pastors and teachers, and Kunstmann the Missouri theologian who had not been properly tested for confessional purity.[21]

An early prospectus described the college as "The Lutheran Seminary and Murtoa High School". Peters was named as headmaster, Theodore Marks as his assistant and Wilhelm Boehm as the music teacher. The management committee consisted of nine Victorian laymen and pastors with Peters the director, Marks the secretary, and Pastor Schürmann as treasurer. The prospectus stated that the main object of the seminary was the training of teachers for Lutheran schools and the preparation of students for the theological university at St. Louis in the United States, a Missouri training centre. In deference to these students dogmatics, biblical history, church history, catechetics and pedagogy were part of the curriculum. The prospectus also mentions that the college included a high school for giving the boys of the local area an education "of a high order". Subjects offered to them included English, Latin, German, arithmetic, geometry, algebra, geography, physics, history, book-keeping, gymnastics and drill. Students were also prepared for the matriculation and public service examinations. Fees were initially two guineas a quarter plus two shillings and sixpence per quarter for stationery. Boarding fees ranged from three guineas per quarter for day boarders to six guineas per quarter for full boarders. Books used as texts by the college included *Suetonius* (1829 edition), *T. Livii Paterius* (Roman History 1824), *Logic and The Art of Thinking* (Thomas Spencer Baynes 1850) as well as *Goethes Werke*.[22]

The Murtoa college was set up in a climate where higher education was still the province of independent providers, and more often restricted to males. Secondary education in Victoria was initially provided by private schools owned and operated by Catholic and Protestant churches with money and land provided by the state. Their chief purpose was to prepare students for Melbourne University. Scotch College (1851), Geelong Grammar School (1857), Melbourne Grammar (1858), Geelong College (1861), Wesley College (1865) and Xavier College (1878) were established in this era. They were later joined by the Presbyterian Ladies College (1875), Methodist Ladies College (1882) and Melbourne Girls Grammar (1893). Although tied to Christian denominations and established with the help of the government, they were elitist institutions educating the privileged children of landowners, businessmen and professionals. These schools, of course, were quite distinct from the proliferation of other private institutions which abounded, especially for girls. Between 1850 and 1875, for instance, over 700 ladies schools were advertised in the Melbourne press. Many of them were more like finishing schools which taught girls' "accomplishments" rather than a solid academic curriculum, the first females only being admitted to Melbourne University in 1881. In 1900 there were about 100 private schools in the Melbourne area which had passed the test for secondary registration, although this was a fairly broad definition. The elitist private schools had such a stranglehold on the university matriculation process that the first state high school only appeared in 1904, and then in the face of their strong opposition.[23]

The Murtoa college started with an enrolment of one student in the middle of 1890. Its faculty, the part-timers Peters, Marks, and Eckert, outnumbered the student(s). In addition to his parish and general church duties, Peters taught the theological curriculum, while Marks and Eckert, working in alternative monthly blocks, concentrated on the secular subjects. Lessons were taught mainly in the evenings or the weekends. There were no buildings, but some had been planned for on the land overlooking Lake Marma donated by Peters. By May 1891 a new building had



Concordia Murtoa.

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been completed and the student population of the college had grown to a total of six. By August there were eight. Significantly, seven of these were training to be teachers. By the end of the year there were also five local students enrolled in the high school course as well. In 1894 it was called Concordia College for the first time. Peters continued as its director and headmaster for the first twelve years of operation, as well as serving as the local parish pastor. Although the ELSA remained constant to its decision not to adopt the project, individual members continued to make donations. It was not until the turn of the century that the eastern district of the ELSA plucked up the courage to officially take over the college from the locals at Murtoa. By this time it had already graduated four pastors and twenty teachers. This was quite a feat given that during its first ten years of existence economic conditions caused 183 teachers in Victoria's state schools to be stood down, and Melbourne Teachers College to close.[24]

Although the college was established at a difficult time, its early days coinciding with the depression years of the 1890s, Peters and his supporters were determined on its success. He had always been a keen advocate for Lutheran schools. Long before he established the college at Murtoa he had been a vocal spokesperson in support of such congregational agencies. He was keen to point out that Christian schools were vastly superior to state schools because they provided the extra dimension of leading children to their Saviour and preparing them for God's Kingdom. Besides the college he also re-established a Lutheran congregational school in Murtoa. In 1891 a building big enough to house eighty students was dedicated next to the college. Not only was it designed to provide a Christian education for parish children, but it also created a facility for student teachers from the college to do their practical training.[25]

Wilhelm Peters founded a very successful enterprise in Murtoa. It was the proud centrepiece of the township's life. In 1893, for instance, a public concert held by the college for the people of Murtoa to celebrate Luther's birthday caught the attention of the local populace. Various faculty members gave lectures, including one from Pastor Kunstmann who spoke for fifteen minutes in Latin, and members of the Peters family were prominent amongst those performing musical numbers. As early as 1896 there were glowing reports in the local press. They commented admiringly on the fact that there were seven teacher students, five pastor trainees and a growing group of boys working towards their matriculation at the college. Buildings were added to cope with enrolments. In 1902 the college took the initiative and announced the end of the Boer War to the local townspeople by ringing its school bells as it had done at the relief of Mafeking during the same conflict. At the turn of the century Concordia College was flourishing on a number of fronts. It was continuing to provide suitably equipped teachers for the church's schools. In 1899 it had also graduated a class of three pastors, totally trained in Australia for the first time since Fritzsche's Lobethal College. And it was also functioning as a reputable secondary college preparing students for the university matriculation examinations. The ELSA in Victoria had taken it over in 1898 and it was also preparing to enlarge its faculty.[26] It seemed as if Peters' hopes for the college and its role in the church had been thoroughly fulfilled. Within three years, however, the college was forced to close, Peters had to give up his project entirely and the controversy surrounding the school threatened to split the ELSA. How this transpired, and its implications for the ELSA and its schools, is a revealing study of what happens in Christian schools striving for denominational distinctiveness at the same time as commercial viability.

A Difficult Dilemma

The school had experienced some rough times. Typical was the drowning of two of its students, Luy and Hirthe, in nearby Lake Marma in 1898, but this did not seem to result in sustained repercussions for the college. Student rules made it clear that Junior students had to be accompanied by a Senior if boating on the lake but it was considered that the Senior students involved in the accident had been old enough to look after themselves. There was concern about disciplinary problems at the college, but they did not emanate from any lack of structure put in place by Peters. There was a clear set of rules outlining behavioural expectations. The boys were awoken by a bell at 6.00 am every morning except Sunday. There were prayers at 6.20 am, and a routine put in place for cleaning and sweeping. Students under eighteen were not permitted to smoke, no-one was allowed to expectorate on the floors, students were required to be tidy, and care had to be afforded to hair, teeth and fingernails. Students were not to frequent a saloon, play cards or possess a firearm. Lights were to be extinguished at 10.00 pm and no-one was permitted to read in bed. Nor was it the case that the teachers at the college lacked ability. The first student at Murtoa, Wilhelm Hoffmann, in his memoir of the college speaks highly of the ability of all the faculty members. Peters and Brauer "were highly gifted and educated men" who provided "well-prepared lectures". Gray was "an excellent teacher".[27] The issues some masters experienced with their students could be sourced to another cause.

The problems centred on the employment of Alex Gray. He had been appointed to the college in 1892 when Pastor Alfred Brauer, the Lutheran minister at Dimboola, who filled in teaching at the college a couple of days a week, became ill and was unable to continue his services. Gray, an Englishman and an Anglican, had been appointed to replace Brauer to teach secular subjects to students at the college. As a classroom teacher he was a successful appointment. Over the years he was to establish a reputation as a very capable practitioner, especially effective in preparing students for the University of Melbourne matriculation examinations. With some help from Marks, the local Lutheran primary school teacher, he taught a wide range of subjects in his "Commercial and Matriculation Class". These included Greek, Latin, commercial correspondence, ornamental writing, English, mathematics, music, history, geography, science and German. The problem was, however, that Gray's appointment to the faculty of a Lutheran school remained a stumbling block for a variety of people within the ELSA. This confessional church, with its tradition of doctrinal purity and orthodoxy, could not countenance the contribution of a non-Lutheran to the education of its young men, especially as some of them were to become pastors and teachers in the church. It was even criticised by the rival Immanuel Synod back in 1895 as a "unionistic" action which jeopardised the Lutheran orthodoxy of the college and the church which sponsored it. The same criticism was made at the 1899 ELSA convention of Synod at Eudunda.[28] Peters, of course, could have dismissed Gray and put an end to the controversy. However, he was caught in a dilemma. Because pastors and teachers were given virtually free tuition at the college, the financial viability of the venture depended on the high school students from the local community who paid fees. As Gray's reputation grew, increasing numbers of these boys were attracted to the college. Peters came to see Gray as an essential ingredient in the success of the whole enterprise. He therefore defended his teacher against all criticism, including some from within the school itself.

Concordia Staff and Students. Teachers (from left) Kunstmann, Marks, Gray and Peters.

Gray himself grew surer of his position over the years and also contributed to the uneasy atmosphere at the college by not keeping his thoughts on sensitive issues to himself. This eventually involved him in conflicts with other faculty members. He first of all fell out with Teacher Marks with whom he shared responsibility for the education of the high school students. On occasion, Marks refused to teach with him, but was somehow persuaded to continue. Marks believed that Gray's disdainful attitude to him and other colleagues like the recently appointed Pastor Schroth, another Missouri Lutheran, was conveyed to the boys as well and resulted in discipline problems for the Lutheran teachers. Later Kunstmann also developed an antipathy towards Gray because the latter created divisions between the high school students and those who were studying theology, mainly under Kunstmann's direction. Gray made derogatory comments about the theology students and their lecturers whom he referred to as "sky pilots". Also, although nominally an Anglican, he expressed opinions at times which were interpreted as coming from an unbeliever. He also complained, with some justice, that the high school students, through their fees, were subsidising the theological ones. At the synod of the Victorian ELSA held in 1901 there were four alleged reasons given for his eventual sacking: open unbelief, undermining colleagues, neglect of duties and slander of Lutheran schools. Later his shortcomings were further magnified and he was referred to as a "murderer of souls" and a "blasphemer". He was obviously confident enough in his own standing amongst school families to think he could survive open conflict with his colleagues. This was at least partly well founded. After his dismissal he immediately started his own school in Murtoa called Wimmera College, and was successful in luring a goodly number of the students from Concordia to it.[29]

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Peters, despite his standing as President of the Victorian ELSA, despite his editorship of the church's newspaper, despite his reputation for establishing such a successful college for the training of pastors and teachers in the church, despite the generous contributions he had made in property and time to such a selfless project, did not survive the crisis that followed the dismissal of Gray. For a number of years he had refused to listen to criticisms of Gray which complained that he was a non-Lutheran in an influential position, or more seriously, that he was an unbeliever who was undermining the college's theological program and Christian aims. Even when the college's management committee ruled that Gray should be dismissed, Peters argued for his continued employment until a suitable replacement could be found. Eventually he hired another non-Lutheran called Lockwood to replace Gray until synod delegates demanded his resignation too. In the end, Kunstmann, who had been a close associate of Peters, even to the point of defending him in the local paper when Peters had been publicly accused of being unpatriotic, fell out with him as well. He refused to accept Peters' leadership in the college, accused him of being autocratic and hypocritical, and finally resigned and left the country in 1901. Schroth soon followed. There was much pettiness in Kunstmann's accusations, but the underlying problem was that Peters had failed to defend the Lutheran faculty members from Gray's sarcasm and disdain. Peters bowed before the waves of criticism levelled at him, apologised, resigned, and eventually accepted, in 1904, a position as a parish pastor in New South Wales. Concordia went into recess during 1903 while the ELSA worked out what to do. At the end of 1904 the college in Murtoa was officially closed down, and in February 1905, under the leadership of Carl Graebner, reopened in Adelaide.[30]

Peters, like Boehm before him in South Australia, had struggled to reconcile two competing demands faced by a Lutheran college of higher learning: the need to provide a quality secular education program recognised by the community at large while at the same time offering a solid Lutheran theological grounding for future church leaders of a confessional orthodoxy which the church would be happy to support. There was the added pressure of making it financially viable while offering theological students free tuition. This flowed from the problem of a church which wanted pastors and teachers but was unwilling to foot the bill for their training. When Peters devised the scheme of supporting such students through a fee-paying high school, the non-Lutheran status of some of these students and their teachers was condemned by the church. Part of the mistrust of these outsiders would also have been because they were not German. In order to provide a viable general educational strand in English attractive to people outside the church, native speaking English teachers were necessary. They, by their presence in the school, provided a challenge to the common Lutheran idea that an education in the German language was a superior one. As a result of Peters' Murtoa experiment, the ELSA turned away from its flirtation with non-Lutheran teachers and thereafter concentrated on the theological orthodoxy of all its staff members, increasingly looking to the United States for pastors and teachers for the church and its schools. The ELSA continued on this bent well into the twentieth century, even preferring pastors as principals of its colleges into the 1960s and 1970s. It also took a world war before it relinquished its use of German as its main language.

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Enter Missouri

The other telling consequence of the Murtoa experience was the ascendancy of the influence and power over the ELSA by the pro-Missourian faction of the church. This had been happening for some time and was resented by other Lutherans both inside and outside the ELSA. Pastor Georg Leidig, writing in the publication of the rival IS, condemned the program at Concordia for containing "propaganda for Missouri" and for spreading that church's "limited and incorrigible prejudices".[31] The ELSA finally solved its problem in Murtoa and resultant crisis in the larger church by asking the Missouri Lutheran Church in the United States for help. As a result Professor Alfred Graebner came to Australia in 1902 and presided over a special convention of synod called to sort out the Concordia problem. His authority and later pronouncements were unquestioned. He allotted blame, he presided over the apologies and rites of reconciliation, and then returned home promising to send someone from the Missouri Synod to take over the college and restore it to a firm foundation. His church eventually sent his brother, Carl Graebner, to lead Concordia into a new era in Adelaide. Not only he, but the majority of his newly recruited faculty, as well as the leadership of the ELSA in the first half of the twentieth century, were either Missouri born or Missouri trained.[32] It began the great American ascendancy over one section of Australian Lutheranism which lasted for more than half a century.

The American Missouri Synod of the Lutheran Church was established in 1847 under the leadership of Dr C. F. W. Walther, a German pastor who arrived in that country in 1839. There was a much larger influx of Lutherans to America during the nineteenth century than there was to Australia, and they formed no less than fifty-eight different synods during that time. The Missouri Synod, consisting of sixteen congregations and twelve pastors from the states of Indiana, Ohio, Michigan and Missouri, grew into one of the strongest and most enduring Lutheran Church groups in the United States. The distinctive feature of the Missouri Synod was its emphasis on a strict adherence to the teachings of the Lutheran Confessions written at the time of the Reformation. Walther reiterated its focus on the proper theological distinction between the law and the gospel as well as strong fellowship with those churches with the same confession, and rejection of those with errant theology. He was especially opposed to any form of unionism, the amalgamation of or fellowship between churches which had disagreements over doctrine.[33] This meant that Missouri influences contributed a great deal towards the divisions in Australian Lutheranism. Missouri Lutherans also opposed state involvement in Lutheran schools. On the other hand, they came from a church which had a strong tradition of Lutheran schooling, and an emphasis on the centrality of these agencies in the life of the church. There was also a stress on the complete separation of church and state which manifested in a strong resistance to state aid or any potential for government interference in Lutheran schools.

Within the ELSA some admirers of Walther and his theological positions made contact with him in 1870 and out of the newly formed relationship grew a strong culture of mutual admiration between the two synods. Rudolph Ey and Wilhelm Peters were two influential ELSA leaders who championed the Missouri relationship and made this preference felt through their editorship of the church's newspaper. It became more

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tangible when a number of Australians went to America to be trained as pastors at the Missouri seminary at St Louis. This occurred because, despite Fritzsche's early work, and some preparatory training given at Hahndorf College, there was no adequate provision for educating Lutheran pastors in Australia during this time. Between 1881 and 1904 eighteen Missouri pastors also came to Australia to serve in the ELSA.[34] The first of these was Caspar Dorsch who was called as a graduate to serve in Appila in South Australia in 1881 and later worked as the pastor at the Bethlehem congregation in Adelaide. He became an important influence in a number of areas, including Lutheran education. By the turn of the century the ELSA and its leadership began to depend heavily on Missouri for advice, leadership and theological direction and training.

It was in the area of Lutheran education that the Missouri Synod and the ELSA found a lot of common ground. Both bodies insisted on the necessity of this area of the church's work and provided their own Christian schools at primary, secondary and tertiary levels. They both had to face similar challenges, including the recruitment and training of suitable teachers for their schools and the resistance to state authorities whenever they tried to influence or legislate with respect to the church's schools, their curriculum and their teachers. Various educational publications produced by the Missouri Synod were utilised by Lutheran teachers in Australia. These included Lindemann's standard text on Lutheran education, and the recommended in-service journal called *Evangelisches Lutherisches Schulblatt* which was widely used in Australia. Unlike the smaller Australian church, the larger Missouri Synod was able to maintain a number of seminaries at Fort Wayne in Indiana, St. Louis in Missouri and Springfield in Illinois throughout the period.[35] It was only natural that Missouri admirers in the ELSA looked to these places to recruit new clergy, or as a venue for the training of their own young men who wanted to become pastors. So when Peters started his college in Murtoa, it was automatic that he looked to the Missouri Synod as a source of suitable staff. Even the name "Concordia" which was adopted for the college was borrowed from the Missouri Lutherans who used it for some of their institutions of learning.

The dominance of the Missouri faction in the ELSA also resulted in an historic turnaround often confusing to those wishing to understand the history of Australian Lutheranism. After the first schism which occurred between Kavel and Fritzsche in 1846 it had been Kavel's faction which had been the narrow and segregated one, obsessed with constitutional restrictions and obscure doctrines like chiliasm. Fritzsche's, on the other hand, was much broader in its orientation, welcoming into its circle those early missionaries like Meyer and Schürmann who had been rejected by Kavel. With the advent of the Missouri influence, however, Fritzsche's church, eventually called the Evangelical Lutheran Church of Australia (ELCA), took on restrictive attitudes to issues like relations with other churches including the Lutheran World Federation (LWF). They also adopted strong positions of opposition to lodges and relations with government. Kavel's church, through mergers with other Lutheran groups in Australia, became the broader, more liberal United Evangelical Lutheran Church in Australia (UELCA). As an extension of their respective proclivities, the ELCA became more isolationist and inward looking, concentrating on theological orthodoxy, focussing on the nurture of its own people and seeing its schools as providers of pastors and teachers of the church. The UELCA, while having some similar concerns, also saw schools

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much more in terms of a broader societal role and were more likely to embrace the wider community. For Lutheran schools, the Missouri influence was crucial. It ensured that Lutheran schools at primary, secondary and tertiary levels would continue as an integral part of the church's work. This became a strong tradition in the ELCA.

Aftermath

Despite his apparent demise as a result of the Concordia College crisis, Peters emerged from his time in Murtoa with his integrity and moral standing intact. His accomplishment in establishing the college which had produced pastors and teachers to meet the urgent needs of the church could not be denied. The personal contributions to the school made by Peters and his wife Emelie also deserved gratitude. His behaviour during the crisis when he was willing to publicly apologise for any of his own shortcomings as well as to step aside from his positions of director and headmaster witnessed to a disarming lack of ego. He could have, with some logic, blamed the ELSA for its lack of support which had left him with the responsibility for the financial viability of the college. But he chose not to do so and simply withdrew from the scene to take another parish position. The church was probably not ignorant of his personal sacrifice in establishing the college, and then his magnanimity in taking the responsibility for its problems, when some years later he was asked to provide the principal address at the laying of the foundation stone of the first new Concordia building in Adelaide in 1909. Even back in 1903, in the direct aftermath of the crisis in which he had been discredited, Peters, in the absence of the ailing President Strempel, presided over the convention of the church at the Minyip Synod which indicated his continuing standing in the ELSA.[36]

Wilhelm Peters.

Peters was an effective parish pastor and an accomplished educator, but he was also involved with the wider church. He was one of the main figures who worked to combine the Lutheran congregations in western Victoria and southern New South Wales into their own synodical organisation. This was accomplished in 1885 and Peters was elected as vice-president of this eastern district of the ELSA. At the same time he was a member of the church council of the mother ELSA church with headquarters in South Australia. In 1893 on the death of Clamor Schürmann Peters was elected as president of the Victorian and New South Wales district of the ELSA. In addition to that role there was the editorship of the church paper, *Der Lutherische Kirchenbote (LKB),* which he took on as well. He had some literary ability, and was a gifted preacher, a regular deliverer of doctrinal

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Pastor Peters and students boating on Lake Marma.

papers at conventions and synods as well as a writer of biblical commentaries on books like Revelations. While at Murtoa he found time to write and publish a theological treatise on the nature of the Lutheran church which was published in Germany. He also maintained contact with the church in his homeland, and in 1894 was requested by the Free Church of Hermannsburg to travel to New Zealand to check on their mission to the Maori people there. Accompanied by Wilhelm Hoetker, a member of his parish, Peters did not complete the journey but was shipwrecked on Barrier Island. Hoetker drowned at sea, but Peters survived, according to the account in the church papers, "his luggage lost, hatless, with only one slipper for his feet" having to "travel a day's journey on foot to the nearest habitation". Peters was also involved in the late 1890s with the establishment of the ELSA in Queensland.[37]

After a quarter of a century in Murtoa in 1904 Wilhelm Peters accepted a call to Burrumbuttock in the Riverina district of New South Wales. He worked as parish pastor there for another fifteen years, including a period as the first president of the New South Wales district of the ELSA when it became a separate entity from that of Victoria. He continued in this ministry until failing eyesight forced him to leave the active pastorate in 1919. He, his wife Emelie, and Gertrud (Trudy), their invalid daughter, retired to Melbourne to join the rest of their surviving children. They lived in the suburb of Camberwell, and Peters did some guest preaching in local churches and belonged to the Lutheran congregation in the city. He had an operation which preserved some of his failing sight, but continued to be restricted in his activities because of this problem. Peters died in August 1925 of heart failure and was buried

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in the cemetery at Kew by a former student, Pastor Nichterlein. Emelie and his invalid daughter survived him, supported by a modest church pension. When they heard news of his death the staff and students at Concordia College in Adelaide suspended work for the day and flew a flag at half mast. In 1927 when a new chapel was built at Concordia, opposite to one dedicated to Daniel Fritzsche, a bronze tablet was placed on the western wall in memory of Wilhelm Peters, the college's founder. Emelie, who was eight years younger than her husband, died in 1931.[38]

Peters has been regarded by some as a controversial figure. It might be more accurate to describe him as a committed and conscientious person who found himself in controversial circumstances. In later years the first teacher graduate of the Murtoa College, Wilhelm Hoffmann, described him as "a profound scholar, a born leader and an indefatigable worker". This was a fair assessment. Despite the problems that finally brought about the demise of the college in Murtoa, much was accomplished because of Peters' initiative, insight and proactivity in the thirteen years from 1890 to 1902. At a time when the church was seriously in need of workers, Concordia Murtoa produced nine pastors and thirty-three teacher graduates.[39] And although part of the blame for the crisis that enveloped the college can be attributed to him, he was faced with a problem that the rest of the church was responsible for as well but did little to solve. Concordia, without Peters, but to his credit, did survive, and continued the tradition of producing leaders for the church until 1968. As a secondary college it still operates today. The manner of his college's foundering bore witness to an essential problem, an inherent contradiction, an internal tension that is to be found in all Lutheran schools. How can you provide a genuine Christian schooling at a reasonable cost to all those in the church who want it, yet at the same time run a quality educational institution which has high community recognition and wider commercial appeal? Peters, at Murtoa, took on this challenge which Lutheran schools are still wrestling with today. But perhaps the greatest legacy of his college was that it produced a conduit through which the powerful American Missouri Lutheran influence was established over one major faction of Australian Lutheranism for most of the twentieth century, and which had major consequences for the Australian Lutheran school movement.

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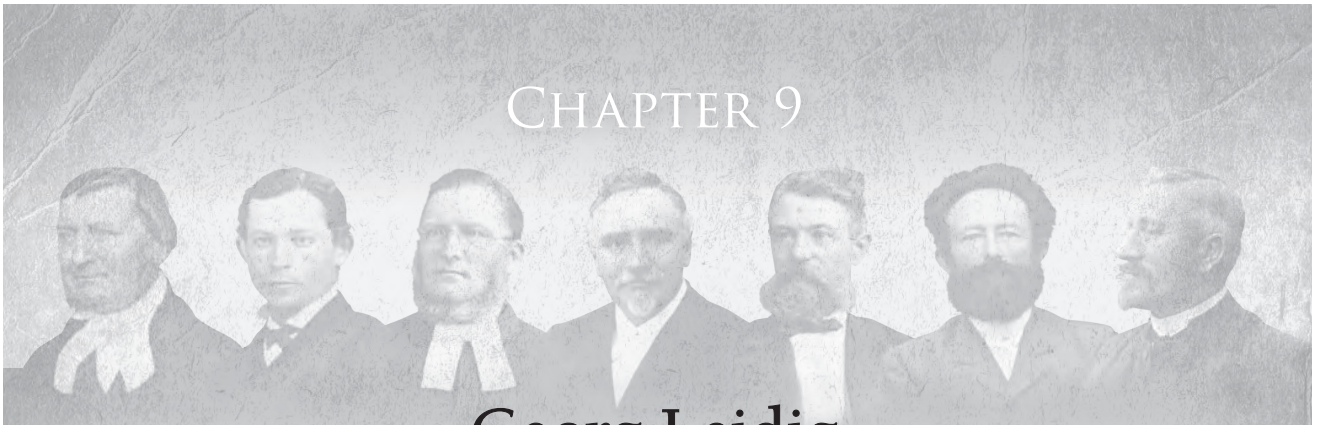

Chapter 9

Georg Leidig
Notions about Nations

"You are a chosen race, a royal priesthood, a holy nation." 1 Peter 2: 9.

Georg Leidig.

Australian Lutheranism has nurtured and cultivated its German roots for most of its history. German language and culture were not only seen to be a rich treasure in their own right, but were also the connecting point to a religious heritage. Nowhere is this more evident than in the life of Georg Leidig. In the thirty years between his installation as a South Australian pastor, and his forced retirement in 1921, he was a major force in Lutheran education as well as a keen supporter of the fatherland. When it came to education, there were others around him who possessed more insight and vision, but it was Leidig's drive to get things done, and his ability to cajole and persuade others to join and contribute to the cause, that were the reasons he was able to make such an impact. The lasting monument to his efforts is Immanuel College in Adelaide, which is still pre-eminent among Lutheran schools in Australia as well as one of South Australia's more reputable independent colleges. It has played a major role in the education of pastors, teachers and laypeople in the Lutheran Church for over a hundred years. Leidig, at the age of twenty-five, was its founder. In this chapter, however, it is his devotion to matters German that is of special interest. He believed in the superior quality of German culture and language. This dedication to *Deutschtum*, which led to a tragic family crisis during the Great War, was a major factor in his undoing. His life is a case study of the disastrous effects for Australian Lutheranism and its schools of their commitment to German culture and language at the time of the world war.

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The Background

Georg Friedrich Leidig developed his own goals for life very early. Born on 16 December 1870 in the town of Marktsteft situated on the Main River in the southern German province of Bavaria, he was the eldest son of Johann Michael Leidig and his wife Helene. His mother suffered years of ill-health before dying when Georg was only twelve years old. She continued to be an influence in his life, especially his predilection to be a pastor. His father, however, had more practical ideas for Georg and apprenticed him to a baker at Neuendettelsau, a small Bavarian village which was also a centre for training missionaries. It soon became clear that Leidig was more interested in books than bread, and with the financial help of his maternal uncle and the counsel of Pastor Bomhard, the clergyman who had baptised him and continued to take an interest in his welfare, it was decided that he should join the Lutheran Mission Institute at Neuendettelsau to train as a foreign missionary. That institution had a special focus on training pastors to serve German Lutherans who had migrated to other countries.[1]

He began his studies after the Easter of 1887. He was an able scholar and passed his examinations with honours. When he graduated in 1891 he considered for a while whether he might go to the United States. However, coinciding with his graduation came a call for trained missionaries to work among the Lutherans in Australia. Taking up this challenge, Leidig and a fellow graduate, Matthias Bogner, arrived at Largs Bay in South Australia on 24 September 1891. They were ordained as pastors of the Lutheran Immanuel Synod (IS) a month later by President Julius Rechner, assisted by Pastors Auricht and Löhe. The latter had been a fellow student of the two missionaries at Neuendettelsau and had arrived in Australia two years earlier. Bogner went on to serve in Aboriginal missons in Queensland and Hermannsburg in the Northern Territory. Georg Leidig, for his part, was commissioned to serve the Aboriginal Dieri people in north-eastern South Australia. This was one of the rare joint projects undertaken by the two major Lutheran synods of the time until the inevitable squabbling broke out between them in 1874 causing the Evangelical Lutheran Synod of Australia (ELSA) to withdraw from the project. The IS continued the mission and established another station among the Dieri people south of Cooper's Creek at Kilalpaninna, later known as Bethesda. Georg Leidig arrived there at the end of 1891. He stayed for less than half a year. However, it was not disillusionment with the work that caused him to leave, but an invitation from President Rechner who invited him to take up a parish recently left vacant at Point Pass, just north of the Barossa Valley. Situated between Eudunda and Robertstown, Point Pass consisted of a church and a manse and a school. Leidig took over the parish based on the congregation there in July 1892, and continued as their pastor until ill health forced his retirement in 1921.[2]

Less than a month after his arrival in Point Pass, Georg Leidig married Maria Eckhardt who had migrated from Bavaria to join him. She was eleven years his senior. The daughter of a teacher, she had spent her teens and twenties as a servant in various households of teachers and pastors. It was at such a home that she met Georg Leidig while he was a student. She later agreed to join him in Australia. Their wedding was celebrated at Point Pass in August 1892. They had three children, all sons: Paul, Wilhelm (Willie) and Emanuel (Marnie) born in 1894, 1896 and 1901 respectively.

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Georg and Maria Leidig and Sons.

Only Marnie was to survive to an old age. In April 1914 Willie died at school in Europe of a sudden illness. Some years later Paul drowned trying to rescue one of his sons while on a family holiday in Australia. Marnie and Paul both became teachers. Significantly, they alternated between Australia and Europe as they followed their respective academic careers. When in Australia they taught at the school their father founded. In Europe they were employed at various tertiary institutions. Like their father they could never quite let go of their European preferences and prejudices.[3]

Immanuel College

Leidig, trained as a missionary, but installed as a parish pastor, soon found himself involved in Lutheran education. The Lutheran school in Point Pass which had been foundering for some time had closed at the beginning of 1892, the same year that Leidig was installed in the parish. Initiated in 1871 it had struggled for some years, eventually closing in the face of free state schooling. In the assessment of the situation that followed it was agreed that a suitable teacher should be found and that the school would be re-opened in 1893 as a trial for a year to see if it could survive. The choice of a teacher was fortuitous. Carl Krichauff, who had been teaching in the ELSA's Martin Luther School in Adelaide, was given the job and came to Point Pass determined to make a success of the enterprise. He did so, and also became a powerful ally for Leidig's wider educational efforts in the parish.[4]

Early in his ministry at Point Pass, in addition to the reinstated primary school, Leidig began to entertain the possibility of another kind of educational facility to be provided locally. Leidig always had at least seven congregations and preaching places which he had to serve in his parish. At one stage there were nine. Each one had a confirmation

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class which he personally, as pastor, was expected to instruct. This was in addition to the preaching duties he fulfilled in all these places. The travel, time and duplication of effort for this requirement motivated Leidig to find ways of streamlining the process. To him it was more convenient to combine some of these classes, and it would be even better if the students did the travelling rather than him. So Leidig initiated the practice of accommodating children from more distant congregations in his own home. They would attend the local Lutheran school a couple of days a week as well as join the confirmation lessons he conducted for the young people from the Point Pass congregation. Out of this grew the idea that if all the confirmation students could come to Point Pass for a period of time each week, they would not only boost the numbers at the local parish school but he could also teach them all at once. But this would require somewhere more commodious for them to stay. So the initial concept of his *Anstalt*, as he called it, his institution, was conceived. He would provide, through his congregation, a boarding and teaching facility for confirmation students.[5]

Carl Krichauff at the Lutheran day school was quick to encourage him. He could see how such a facility might be developed into a full-time provision for higher education. Krichauff had long been an advocate for the proper training of teachers for service in the church's day schools, especially in the face of the increased competition offered by free education in the state system. If Lutheran schools were to survive they had to develop better standards, and one way of doing this was through the training of teachers. In his discussions with Leidig he planted the idea of a college which could also provide training for Lutheran teachers. Leidig adopted this thinking as his own and within a few years was espousing it to others in the church. Not that the idea was new. The rival ELSA had trained teachers and pastors at Lobethal and later at Hahndorf earlier in the century. There had also been attempts by other pastors of the IS to establish training schools. In 1863 some Victorian pastors initiated a proposal for a training centre to commence at Light's Pass in the Barossa Valley. Then in 1873 two Tanunda pastors decided to train teachers, and a similar attempt was made in 1876. However, all these efforts had come to nothing.[6]

Leidig's other major supporter for his project was Pastor Julius Rechner, the president of the IS since 1874. He had been impressed with Leidig's drive from early in his association with him. He himself was particularly aware of the need to train pastors for his synod. Rechner introduced Leidig's proposition to the church and gave it his blessing. His recommendation that synod donate £50 (pounds) to the project was "adopted with an overwhelming majority" at the next convention of the IS.[7] Despite this initial support, however, it was to be some years before the IS took responsibility for the venture. In the meantime it was left to Leidig and his parish to exercise ownership of the *Anstalt* and support it with their resources. There were also those church leaders who were quite dubious about the initiative. Leidig, after all, still in his twenties, must have seemed an audacious upstart to some of his fellow pastors. Despite the support of Rechner and Krichauff, there were those who gave him a difficult time. Dismayed by the lack of local support Leidig appealed for funds to the institution in Neuendettelsau where he had been trained. His former teachers were not impressed, considering him not to have the ability to run such an enterprise. In the end they donated £14 (pounds). Leidig was forced to take out a major loan of £200 (pounds) from a local storekeeper, Carl Leditschke, to ensure the establishment of the *Anstalt*.[8]

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By the time Leidig announced the commencement of his *Anstalt* at the Light's Pass convention of the IS on 5 September 1894 he had formulated two major purposes for its existence: to offer confirmation instruction to the children of his parish, and to provide training for teachers in Lutheran elementary schools. Starting here we can see the gradual evolution of the concept of the institution. The next year, at the dedication of the *Anstalt*, he made quite clear where the idea had started: "(the *Anstalt*) is there above all for the taking in of confirmees". He went on to explain that the youth of the church needed a time when their religious instruction was at the forefront of their education and not relegated to a secondary place or neglected entirely.[9] Later in 1902 at the Nain convention of synod he admitted that originally he had not intended "the *Anstalt* should develop into a college", and that students had been taken in for a higher education, partly at least, as a measure to pay for the project. At the same synod he explained that the *Anstalt* had developed four major purposes. To the teaching of confirmands and the training of church teachers he added the provision of a general education as well as special preparation for university examinations.[10]

Although it had been Krichauff's idea to include teacher training at the *Anstalt*, Leidig soon became a convert. He could see certain advantages in the arrangement because it gave him the right to solicit funds from the wider church. The education of confirmation students was the duty of his own parish, but the training of teachers was the responsibility of the whole synod. Early in 1895 he put a notice in the church's newspaper reminding all parishes of their obligation to support the project. He promoted his *Anstalt* as a needy cause and encouraged the church to contribute to it as to a Christian charity. By March 1895, when the college was dedicated, Leidig's ideas had developed even further. He pronounced the following aims: to provide confirmation instruction to the young people of his parish; to train teachers for Lutheran day schools; to uphold German language and culture; and to provide students with a general education. Later still he added the training of pastors for the church. Originally, however, he did not favour such theological training in Australia. He considered the teaching expertise and erudition needed for the proper preparation of pastors was not available. In 1894 he wrote an article critical of Wilhelm Peters' attempts to start a theological seminary in Murtoa in Victoria. Peters, from the rival ELSA, had established a college of higher education there in 1890. Leidig was contemptuous of it, not only because it was a vehicle for what he regarded as Missourian propaganda, but also because the faculty were not suitably qualified. According to Leidig, any enterprise attempting to train Lutheran pastors in Australia would result in "giving the people shepherds who are inadequately equipped."[11]

Immanuel College evolved from Leidig's *Anstalt*. Even though it was not entirely his own idea, it was definitely his drive which brought it to fruition. When Leidig made the announcement that he would start a college, he was only twenty-three years old. Some of the older pastors were antagonistic, and the synod was not prepared to make the project its own, but despite this Leidig persisted and with the help of Krichauff from the day school, he proceeded with his plans. He was also assisted by his wife who supervised the domestic care for the boarders, but none of them were rewarded with any remuneration for their efforts. Leidig provided his services in the intervals between his parish duties, and Krichauff would spend a couple of hours teaching at the college both before and after a full day at the primary school.[12]

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Of course Lutherans had established colleges of higher education in South Australia earlier in the century, at Fritzsche's Lobethal College and Boehm's Hahndorf Academy. And five years before Leidig started his college on behalf of the IS in 1895, Wilhelm Peters of the ELSA had founded Concordia College in Murtoa. Indeed, some of the motivation for Leidig's efforts would have been the rivalry between the two synods. There were also the examples of many other private institutions offering a secondary education at this time, most notably St. Peter's, Prince Alfred and St Aloysius Colleges in Adelaide. Private providers dominated the secondary scene. The first state high school in the state only appeared in 1908 when Adelaide High School emerged as a combination of the Advanced School for Girls and the Continuation School for Boys.[13] Leidig's college also offered a tertiary education, at first for teachers, but later for pastors as well.

The college offered a typical secondary education of the era, augmented by religious subjects. Religion and church history were offered in addition to English, German, Latin, Greek, arithmetic, history, geography, algebra and geometry. The confirmation students boarded there, but did not take lessons in the college itself, receiving their instructions with the congregational class and attending Krichauff's day school for their general education. At the college, lessons were intermittent, depending on the availability of the teachers who were often involved in other duties. In the early days there were no sports with only the dirt road for playing space. Students spent their spare time reading, stamp collecting, helping Mrs Leidig with the vegetable patch, harnessing horses for the director (as Leidig was officially called) or even roaming in the nearby hills. In later years there were bands and choirs offered as extra-curricular activities.[14]

Although its teachers drew no salaries, there were considerable costs, especially for buildings and boarding expenses. Some students paid fees but not enough to defray all the costs involved. The local parish provided gifts in kind and the college itself cultivated a garden, supervised by Mrs Leidig, to produce fresh fruit and vegetables for the boarders. But sometimes help arrived only after Leidig had made strong appeals to the church. On one occasion he threatened to leave the country because of the heavy burden of debt for which he was responsible. In 1900, after an appeal to synod, the church donated £30 (pounds) to the project. The fees were originally set at £26 (pounds) a year and the wider church provided foodstuffs and other material gifts as well. Money from synod harvest festivals were also directed to the project. Still it was difficult to make ends meet. The difference was covered by borrowing from legacies and dipping into a fund set up by the church. In 1897 an appeal was made to the wider church to make up for losses, and in 1902 Leidig reported to synod at Point Pass that in the previous year the college had sustained a deficit of £76 (pounds). By the time the IS decided to adopt the project as its own in 1907 it had accrued a debt of £400 (pounds). Students pursuing a general education had to pay tuition, but those training to be workers in the church were given reduced fees. When some of them chose, on graduation, or after a short period of service in a Lutheran school, to take a more lucrative position in a state school, Leidig was incensed and used every power he could to ensure they repaid the fees they had previously forgone.[15]

Leidig and Krichauff were the first two teachers. Unlike Krichauff who had a good general education and much more experience in teaching, Leidig had to spend a lot of effort preparing lessons in subjects with which he was somewhat unfamiliar.

These two founding staff members were gradually added to as the college grew. Teachers from other Lutheran day schools like Kuss in 1911 and Schwartzkopf in 1913 provided lessons after hours. Assistant teachers, usually trainee pastors and pre-service-teachers, were also hired at cheap rates in order to supplement the work force. Stephan Lehner and Paul Breier, both graduates of Neuendettelsau, were ordained as pastors on arrival in Australia and then served as assistants to Leidig in both school and parish during 1900 – 1902. Theodor Hebart, also from Bavaria, worked at the college during 1902 – 1903 as did the brothers Wolfgang and Johannes Riedel in 1904 – 1907 and 1908 – 1909 respectively. In the period 1908 – 1913, Hans Schomann, a highly trained philologist, taught classics to the college students. In 1914 Teacher Keller was added to the staff full time. When the local primary school was closed down during the Great War, Teacher Doecke joined the college staff, specialising in commercial subjects. In the early years the boarders were cared for by Maria Leidig herself with the help of the cook, Regina Knoedel.[16]

The college boasted only modest enrolments. Its first student in 1895 was Friedrich Jacob. He boarded with the Leidigs. The only other one that year was Otto Theile, son of the local blacksmith, who lived at home. He was to prove a precursor for the success of the college. After receiving his secondary schooling there he was sent to Germany, to Leidig's *alma mater* at Neuendettelsau, for his theological training. He returned to Point Pass in 1901 and was proudly ordained as a Lutheran pastor by Leidig. His first parish was at Bethania in Queensland where he ministered for over twenty years. He later served as district president of the Queensland church before becoming the national director of Lutheran mission work in Papua New Guinea. In 1938 he published a history of the Lutheran church in Queensland.[17]

In the second year of the college, three more students enrolled: Vogelsang, Schmidt and Schwartz. In 1897, the third year of the college, three more boys were enrolled: Hartmann, Michalk and Schulz. Significantly, however, there was also a girl, Emma Geyer. By 1900 there were a total of fourteen students enrolled. This might not seem many but in April 1900 Leidig was able to report to the church in convention that the college had already graduated six teachers for the church's schools. Literature published in 1905 advertised the college as a *Lehranstalt* (Teachers Institution) with three main courses, the Confirmation class, the University class and the Further Education class. Both boys and girls were enrolled and not all of them were being trained for a role in the church. Girls, however, were always in a minority. It was accepted they should receive a primary education as well as be confirmed, but their inclusion in higher education was probably a result of a need for the fees they paid. A higher education was not regarded as their prerogative, especially since they were never considered as candidates for the pastorate or even teaching. In the first twenty years only twelve females in contrast to seventy-one males were enrolled in the college. And during the first fifty years of its history Immanuel College employed a total of thirty-eight teachers of whom only eight were females and none of those took a position of higher responsibility. Despite co-education the Lutheran church was discriminatory in its attitudes to women. They were respected as wives and mothers but were not expected to take a public leadership role in the church or in society.[18]

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Facilities were improved. To one side of the manse was the primary school where Krichauff taught his children. Then a room was added to the manse for the first boarding students. Beside the church the first college building was constructed. It was a simple limestone erection with a gable roof which had a long corridor running along one side with seven rooms running off of it "like a railway carriage". One pastor thought it looked like a barn. Another indicated that it appeared "marvellous in our eyes". In 1900 a second major building was constructed and dedicated. It consisted of eight rooms, including accommodation for staff as well as boarding and teaching facilities for students. This multi-purpose building was of much higher quality, with a bluestone facade and tiled passages. There was a room to accommodate visitors and another one for a teacher, usually the young men from Germany who were brought out for a few years for pre-service work before being ordained as pastors. In 1914 further building additions were made. These included a new dining room and kitchen, bathrooms and a septic system as well as other extra space. In his report to synod Leidig placed the cost for these improvements at £1 200 (pounds). From around 1910 the school started to refer to itself as Immanuel College, obviously in recognition of its role within the Immanuel Synod (IS), although there was never any official decision to do so.[19] Through his persistence and drive, Leidig had not only made the college a successful venture but had also gained acceptance for it as an official agency of the wider church.

In 1923, two years before George Leidig died, Point Pass lost its status as an educational centre and his college was successfully transferred to Adelaide under the leadership of his Neuendettelsau classmate, Paul Löhe. The move was long overdue. In the government sector the early decades of the twentieth century saw considerable change in each of the Australian states which were active in establishing large education departments under central directorates.[20] The rival ELSA had moved its main educational institution, Concordia College, from Murtoa to Adelaide in 1904. In such a climate there was a

Immanuel College, Point Pass.

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risk for the IS (later UELCA) of its major educational institution being marginalised by its location in a remote country setting. Inadvertently Leidig had also contributed to this need for a shift in a number of ways. The amalgamation of the various strands of Lutheranism which he had worked to attain meant that the enlarged church was looking for a more significant centre in which to base its training institute for church workers. The newcomers to this church did not see Point Pass as an accessible and convenient site for their operations. After the war the Lutheran mission in German New Guinea was handed over to Leidig's synod, and its training needs for mission personnel added to the need for a more accessible location in Adelaide. But there was no doubt about the contribution the Point Pass college had made to the church. Besides the dozens of confirmation students it had accommodated over the years there were also thirty Lutheran day school teachers who were educated there, twenty-nine pastors received some of their training in its environs, five overseas missionaries were produced, two seminary lecturers received their schooling there, as well as three Lutheran college principals and the future inaugural president of the united Lutheran Church of Australia.[21]

The Great War

In nineteenth century Australia migrants were largely integrated into the monocultural mainstream. What ethnicity survived in Australia during this period was preserved in private schools. Just as Irish and Scottish culture and customs were preserved in Catholic and Presbyterian schools, so the German identity was nurtured in Lutheran schools.[22] This educational emphasis was particularly important to Leidig who was very keen to promote the importance of educating the young in the German tongue. Leidig was a great advocate of *Deutschtum*, the belief that there was something special about German language and culture. Of course he, like Kavel before him, saw the retention of the German language as essential to preserving the Christian faith amongst the Lutherans in Australia. German was the language of Luther's Bible, the Confessions of the Lutheran Church, as well as the doorway to its liturgy, prayers and hymns. Yet there was another aspect about the language that was important to Leidig as well. He was also a German nationalist and dreamed of a special place in Australian society for German language, customs and culture. At the dedication of the college in 1895 he stated as much. He spoke of the maintenance of the German character, the German language and its traditions as being essential to the welfare of those who had migrated from that country to this new land. More tellingly he claimed that the German nation had a role to play in Australia, and that it had "the opportunities and the right to expand" and that German Australians had a "solemn duty . . to hold what we have." Even his argument for the training of Lutheran teachers was based, at least partly, on this nationalism. The church needed teachers for its schools in order to teach the German language to the people. The church itself was dependent on the language.[23]

When a new building was opened at the college in 1900, Leidig spoke at some length on the theme of *Deutschtum*. After making the point that the college had been built in order to give young people sound instruction in the Scriptures, as well as serving as a teacher training institution, indeed even in order to prepare some for a profession, he went on to elucidate his ideas about the importance of all things German. The school provided,

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he said, an education "based on the Lutheran church and on the German spirit". In so doing it was contributing to the preservation of the German character in Australia. He went on to claim that German nationality was something special, appointed by God. Drawing a parallel with the Jewish race, he declared that if God were to choose a special nation to carry out his will in New Testament times it would be Germany. He based this claim on the idea that the German language has a particular profundity because it was created completely as a sacred language. He was referring to the fact that modern German is based on Luther's translation of the Bible, going on to claim that this translation of the Bible is the most excellent one in existence. He also highlighted the mission movements in the nineteenth century which had their roots in Germany and produced "hosts of prophets and evangelists". Germany, he claimed, was a rising moon which reflected to the rest of the earth the light of the "sun of righteousness". The great German reformer Luther, he said, was worthy to stand next to the apostles Peter and Paul in his significance to the church. He thus equated the preservation of the German language with keeping God's influence alive in Australia.[24]

Leidig saw his college as an outpost for German language and culture. When the German Consul General in Australia, von Buri, visited the college in 1903, it would have been regarded as a special distinction. Most Australian Lutherans did not share Leidig's enthusiasm. They took on British citizenship as soon as they could. Mostly they were rural folk who were not interested to any great extent in politics. The only issues that stimulated them to any action at all were education and land. The land issue was important because they were farmers; education because the church had its own schools. However, the Great War had its heavy consequences for German citizens living in Australia. After August 1914 they had to register their domicile, and after May 1915 were compelled to report to police on a weekly basis as well as surrender firearms, ammunition and explosives. Even those who had become British subjects were under suspicion and required permission to possess a gun or more than three gallons of petrol, as well as own a car, cycle, yacht, telephone, carrier pigeons or any signal apparatus. The publication of German language material was banned and schools were not permitted to teach the German language on pain of being closed down. German language worship services were also banned. German place names were changed and about 4 500 Australian residents were interned in the various states. This was out of a German-Australian community of about 100 000. Naturally they were the objects of some suspicion, and rumours of their treachery, often false, were rife. It was claimed that they sent messages to offshore enemy ships by means of flashing torches from coastal vantage points. In reality the vast majority of these people were loyal to Australia. In fact estimates of the number of Australians of German parentage who fought in the Australian army during the war go as high as 18 000. In the western Victorian town of Murtoa, twenty of the 119 names of Great War casualties inscribed on the war memorial are German. In nearby Jeparit, the count is twenty-one out of 116.[25]

Lutheran leaders were eager to assure Australians of their allegiance. They sent official letters to politicians and newspapers expressing loyalty and sympathy to the British cause. Pastor Darsow of the ELSA continually refuted claims that Lutheran communities were disloyal. Despite this some of the Lutheran leaders were interned and Lutheran schools closed down, especially in South Australia. In Queensland eight

Lutheran pastors were interned during the period of conflict. As the war continued, anti-German feeling grew more intense and workers of German background lost their jobs, including many in government employment. Late in 1914 six internment camps, one in each state, were established to imprison German nationalists and sympathisers. Lutheran churches were sometimes the target of vandals and arsonists. At the outbreak of the war South Australia, Victoria and New South Wales were the only states where there were Lutheran schools operating. The primary schools in South Australia were closed down. The ones in Victoria and New South Wales were allowed to continue, subject to ministerial discretion, with restrictions on teaching German.[26]

Even though Lutheran schools survived the war period in Victoria, they did so in a climate of adversity. In May 1915 there was a call for two unnaturalised Germans at Melbourne University to be dismissed. Eventually they failed to be reappointed. Soon after, the focus switched to Lutheran schools. Those concerned amounted to eleven and were attended by 300 students belonging to the ELSA in the state's south west. The use of German in these schools was opposed and a bill passed by the parliament to ban it. In the first two weeks of April 1916 Lesley Wrigley, a government inspector, visited these Lutheran schools and reported on their operation in the light of accusations which had been made against them. He could find no reason to validate their closing, in fact, he said, they exhibited many signs of loyalty and patriotism. In August 1916 a bill was introduced to the Victorian parliament to deregister schools suspected of disloyalty. It was aimed at these same Lutheran schools which had allegedly celebrated a German naval victory by taking a holiday. No evidence was found to support this but during the investigations some German text books were found. Pastor Darsow from Melbourne speaking on behalf of the church accepted the ruling that German text books should not be used but drew the line on worship. He pleaded section 116 of the Australian constitution concerning freedom of worship. During the war and its aftermath he also defended the schools in letters to newspapers. There were calls in parliament for the schools to be wiped out altogether. This was echoed in the newspapers. Frank Tate, the state's educational director, reminded the government that Lutheran schools in Victoria were quite different from those which were being closed down in South Australia. In the end, despite some cautionary voices, a bill was passed giving power to the government to control the language of instruction in registered schools.[27]

In South Australia where there were the most Lutheran schools, however, despite the state's foundation as a paradise of dissent, a rising tide of popular feeling turned against the Lutherans. This was instigated by a few political leaders, most notably the former Labor premier, John Verran, an avowed critic of German influence in South Australia. As well, groups like the All-British League were able to present a petition with 49 000 signatures to the parliament in 1916 demanding the closure of German schools. The catalyst was the failure of the conscription referendum to gain a positive result in October 1916. South Australia was one of two states with a significant majority who voted against conscription and this was blamed by some on its German population. A few weeks later parliament voted to close down the forty-nine Lutheran primary schools in the state. The Lutherans objected, of course, but unsuccessfully. They reminded the premier that they had come to Australia to find religious liberty

and that this was now being denied them. Other denominations were allowed schools; it was unfair that the Lutherans could not have theirs. The closing of the schools was a violation of the principle of religious freedom, they claimed. They also pointed out that Lutheran schools were not pro-German but rather pro-Christian. The premier told them that the legislation was not anti-Lutheran but anti-German, and that other denominations thrived without having their own schools.[28]

Although all the Lutheran primary schools in South Australia were closed down by the government in 1917, after special representations Leidig's Immanuel College, along with its ELSA counterpart Concordia, was allowed to continue. However, it no longer had a need to train teachers. Even though this generated an increasing emphasis on training pastors, the church's schooling program appeared to be destined for oblivion. The pressures on Leidig were many. First, he was now president of a Lutheran synod which was under threat of persecution from the government. Several Lutheran pastors were interned during the war and Leidig fully expected such a fate for himself and always kept a bag packed just in case. He was also the principal of a Lutheran college at a time when nearly fifty Lutheran schools had been closed down in South Australia. The college was searched at least once by security forces but nothing incriminating was found. In fact, under Leidig's leadership, the college took the attitude of ignoring what was going on in the war and refused to allow any newspapers on its premises. The boarding students went through the war years in quiet ignorance of what was happening in the battle zones. Leidig had earlier taken a strong stand in the church and in the public arena on issues like state aid. He expressed a message of rejection for any form of state aid to Lutheran schools which he saw as detrimental to religious freedom and the teaching of German. He was no supporter of state schools either, which he saw as secular and anti-Christian. As the world war unfolded, Leidig,

Last Day South Kilkerran Lutheran School 1917.

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of necessity, kept his pro-German sentiments more and more to himself. He left the public leadership of the Lutheran educational cause to men like Carl Graebner who was the head of the ELSA's Concordia College.[29]

Although few Australian Lutheran leaders shared Leidig's fervent devotion to the fatherland and its language, culture and influence in the world, his situation epitomised the crisis for Australian Lutheranism brought about by the Great War. In the years leading up to this world conflict, there had been a growing culture of promoting the ties Australia had with Britain, and nowhere was this more apparent than in the education system. In the period 1911 to 1931 compulsory junior cadet training was introduced into Australian schools. It was a reaction to the type of fears which gave rise to the White Australia policy and involved boys aged ten to twelve years old. Loyalty, citizenship, patriotism and devotion to duty were espoused in the schools, syllabuses were dominated by the history and geography of England and its empire and the exploits of famous colonialists and explorers celebrated in its reading books. In 1905 Empire Day was introduced in Australian schools along with its special rituals and stories and songs. Such occasions promoted not only the concept of British supremacy as a world power but also had racial overtones suggesting the superiority of the British race.[30] Indeed, in some ways, this was the British equivalent of *Deutschtum*.

In general, Lutheran schools and congregations were supportive of this commitment to the British Empire. They held flag raising ceremonies and supported the Australian war effort. At the Martin Luther school in Adelaide there was a healthy balance of loyalties: the two great days of celebration for the students featuring the suspension of classes were Empire Day and Luther's birthday. A Vigilance Committee was set up within the church to protect the reputation of Lutheran schools in a climate of public hostility and to assure fellow citizens of their loyalty to Australia and Britain. It was inevitable that their use of the German language in church and school, however, would be a cause of offence to some. Those like Leidig, who were particularly enthusiastic about Germany, its language and culture, as well the hopes they entertained for its role in Australian society, were in a minority, but this period would have been one of special unhappiness and frustration for them. For Australian Lutherans generally, after nearly eighty years in an English speaking country, there had to be some judgements made about the difference between being German and Lutheran. The problem for the minority who supported the ideals of *Deutschtum* was that this was a huge paradigm shift. After the war, English was adopted as the official language of the church and increasingly for its books and publications too. For Lutheran schools gradually re-established in the years after the war, it meant a step away from the dominance of the German language in the curriculum and a wholesale acceptance of English.[31]

For Leidig there were two great tragedies associated with the war. The first was the fate of his family. Believing in the superior quality of German education and culture, Leidig sent his two eldest sons to study in Germany. Aged sixteen and fourteen, Paul and Willie were sent to Germany in February 1911 to finish their education. In April 1914 Willie died there after a sudden illness. Paul, who had become a German citizen in order to enhance his study prospects, was conscripted into the German army when war broke out and was severely wounded on the eastern front in 1917. The only news the family back in Australia received was through the Red Cross,

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Australian Theological Students Interned in Germany.

and it was excruciatingly scant. Leidig's other tragedy was the fate of Germany itself. For years he had seen his home country as the chosen nation of God himself, the new Israel, which God would use to spread the Christian faith all over the world. The vehicle for this global conversion was German culture, language and learning. He would be one of its ambassadors in Australia. But now, with the advent of war the language was banned, the schools were closed down and German pastors and other Lutherans were locked up like criminals. There was also the added ignominy that those students who had graduated from Immanuel and gone to Germany to study theology at Neuendettelsau had, somewhat ironically, been interned there as aliens.[32] It was literally more than he could bear.

In general, Lutheran schools in Australia were crippled by the events of the Great War. South Australian Lutheran schools were allowed to reopen in the years after the war, but only five of them had reappeared by 1930. In the same period those in Victoria and New South Wales were diminished and demoralised and Queensland remained a state devoid of their presence. For those that were in existence the German language lost its foothold which meant the demise of the traditional catechisms and hymn books.[33] From Leidig's perspective this would have been a huge tragedy.

Final Words

It was the Great War, finally, with its pressures on Leidig's work as president of the church, with its disastrous consequences for his family, and with its significance for his deep commitment to *Deutschtum*, that contributed to the precarious state of his health. The first signs of his illness, according to his obituary, appeared on 10 September 1917. It was in the form of a nervous breakdown which went on to become a physical illness, including a serious eye infection, from which he never fully recovered, despite,

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at one stage, the employment of a faith healer. His last synod as president was at Point Pass in 1920. In 1921 he resigned as pastor in the Point Pass parish and retired to Tanunda. During the summer of 1923 he suffered a stroke and was bedridden for a number of months. His eyes, always a weakness, were not strong enough to read for a long time, and finally the bad one was removed through surgery. He did get back on his feet and actually preached the confessional sermon at the pastors conference in Adelaide in 1925. During the winter of that same year, however, he caught influenza and then suffered another stroke. A coma followed and he died on 11 August 1925. He was only fifty-four years old. A thousand people attended his funeral and he was buried in the same graveyard as Kavel in the Langmeil Lutheran cemetery. There were sixty old scholars as well as the head prefect of Immanuel College among those who were present. His wife Maria, after a few years, returned to Germany with their youngest son Marnie and died on 19 June 1938 at Ansbach where she had retired. Back in Australia the news of her death inspired past students of the college to add an inscription over her husband's grave which celebrated her contribution to their lives as students at Point Pass.[34]

The peak of Leidig's life and achievements probably came while still in his thirties. In 1907, newly elected as the president of the IS, and with his college at Point Pass a proven success, he was also serving as editor of the church's newspaper. He was to continue for another four years in his editorial role and another fourteen years as leader of his church. It was in 1907, then, that he closed down the college for seven months and took a trip to Germany. The immediate reason was, at the death of his two brothers, to visit his aging father. But he also found great refreshment and stimulation in revisiting a society and culture that he so strongly admired.[35]

Leidig's training at Neuendettelsau had been in an institution committed to the reconciliation of churches. So it is not surprising that his period as president of the IS was one where there were major amalgamations of Lutheran churches in Australia. In 1910 the Immanuel Synod merged with the major Queensland Lutheran synod to form what was called the Evangelical Lutheran Church Federation. In 1910, together with his old classmate from seminary days, Pastor Paul Löhe of Natimuk in Victoria, Leidig travelled to Queensland to negotiate this agreement himself. Starting in 1912, Leidig also began negotiations with Lutherans in Victoria in order to invite them into a larger union, a process that lapsed with the onset of the war, but revived shortly after, and came to fruition in 1920 when Leidig's federation was joined by the General Synod which had strong roots in Victoria, and in 1921 this emerging entity became the United Evangelical Lutheran Church in Australia (UELCA). Heading the process that culminated in the union of these various strands of Australian Lutheranism was a major accomplishment. Beside these efforts Leidig also worked towards opening new areas to the church. In 1910, for instance, he visited Tasmania where he made contact with twenty-five Lutheran families in Hobart as well as another group at a place then called Bismarck to the north-west in order to organise them into congregations. On his visit to Germany in 1907 Leidig also arranged financial support for an IS Lutheran pastor to be sent to Western Australia in 1908. The rival ELSA had arranged for an American pastor to start serving there in 1901 and had also opened a Lutheran school in Perth in 1904, so it was incumbent on Leidig to seed his synod there among the Lutherans who had moved to Western Australia from 1880 onwards.[36]

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Georg Leidig had great force of character, a single mindedness exemplified by the persistence early in life which brought him to study for mission work against the will of his father. In adulthood he proved to be an impatient man who loved fast horses for his buggy, and later he was quite proud of his De Largo car. He placed a great deal of emphasis on courage and its importance in taking on challenges. On the day his *Anstalt* was dedicated in 1895 he explained at length why necessary projects like his training institution were often neglected. People did not have the courage to take them up, he claimed. There were the three enemies of courage: indecision (allowing yourself to be diverted from a course of action), sluggishness (inability to rouse yourself to action) and faintheartedness (neglecting hope and trust and embracing doubt and fear). He could be very stubborn. For instance, in the period between 1904 and 1913 there was popular support given to moving his college to Tanunda, a larger centre of Lutheranism in the Barossa Valley. Leidig originally supported the transfer but at the last minute brought to bear his considerable influence against the project. Despite the availability of land and money for the transition, he managed to stifle the plans to shift the college to a more suitable venue.[37]

Leidig was infected by the nationalist spirit so strident in Europe during this era and took great pride in his German heritage. This, merged with the imperious manner he adopted in his dealings with others, made him a formidable personality. He was often confrontational in his approach to his fellow pastors. Sometimes he would threaten them with his resignation or with closing the college down. He did the latter in 1910 at a pastors conference when there was some adverse criticism of the way he ran the school. When he spoke to his fellow churchmen, he was frank and brutal in his comments. At the 1902 synod, for instance, while reporting on the finances of the college, he railed against the indifference to the project on the part of many members of the church. This was partly motivated by malice, he claimed. He complained that some of the very people who were trampling on the good name of the college were those who had sat at his table and accepted his hospitality. At times, when he had to, he could exercise understanding and charm. During the Great War he made a point of visiting his rival, Theodore Nickel, the leader of the ELSA synod, in a military prison, bringing himself under threat as well. He was never a team person, often critical of colleagues and seldom asking advice. Even though his college was ostensibly governed by a committee, it very rarely met, Leidig himself making all the decisions.[38] On the other hand, he was an impressive presence and natural leader. Even though he never courted favour with his fellow pastors or church members, they did elect him as their president in 1907 when he was still in his thirties.

Georg Leidig died early, but not before he had achieved a number of remarkable accomplishments. Two in particular stand out: his establishment of Immanuel College and his contribution towards the unification of Australian Lutheranism. He was a driving force for uniting disparate factions of the church and in ensuring quality educational institutions for teaching and training. On the other hand, his obsession with *Deutschtum* and his ideas about the inflated importance of German language and culture for Australian society contributed towards the marginalisation of the church during peace time, and during the period of the Great War nearly brought about the demise of its schooling system. The tragic repercussions of his attachment to *Deutschtum* for himself and his family give his story an added poignancy.

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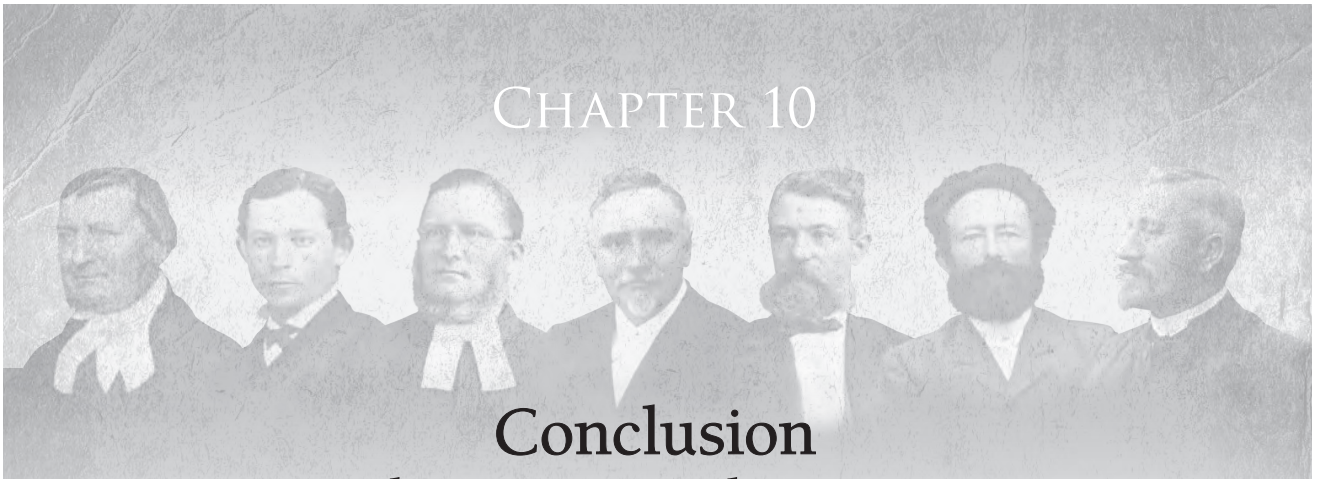

Chapter 10

Conclusion
Considerations and Contentions

"Consider the truths our fathers learnt." Job 8: 8.

At the end of the Great War, after eighty years of fluctuating growth under the leadership of the church's patriarchs, the Lutheran school system in Australia was in a state of decline. It had survived the advent of free state education towards the end of the nineteenth century only to be gutted by the anti-German sentiment and accompanying government legislation of the Great War period. The rest of the twentieth century was to prove that it had not been defeated but was only in retreat. It had the underlying strength to survive in modest proportions until the latter half of the twentieth century when a fresh wave of energy and enthusiasm carried it into a new era of growth. It had retained those elements which had not only given it a special character but also ensured its subsequent revival. Its roots in a persecuted church striving for religious freedom provided a strong sense of independence and ownership. This was augmented by the continuing belief that the schools were essential to the future of the church. Although gradual, and sometimes reluctant, Lutherans continued the process of embracing wider educational realities, accepting their role in preparing young people for life in Australian society. Growing out of a church with a strong confessional consciousness ensured the maintenance of their tradition of Lutheran distinctiveness. Admittedly, Lutheran schooling in Queensland had become extinct, but these regional differences only accentuated the ongoing spirit in the re-emerging schools in South Australia, western Victoria and southern New South Wales. Teacher training and professional development were in recess, but their necessity was well established in traditional practice. There was also a growing Missouri influence which favoured the maintenance of Lutheran schools as essential agencies of the church. And a realistic perspective on the place of the German language in Lutheran schools had been somewhat dramatically established. This was all the legacy of the previous eighty years.

August Kavel, the leader of the first migration of Lutherans to South Australia, set the pattern early when he insisted on forming separate communities for his people, with their own churches and schools under his influence, radiating their own beliefs and values. Lutheran schools have had a strong sense of independence and have stood somewhat apart from society and government ever since. This history has demonstrated how Lutheran attitudes to the state had several repercussions for Australian Lutheran schooling.

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Early Lutheran leaders like August Kavel and Daniel Fritzsche maintained two main attitudes to the government in their new land. The first was that they acknowledged the Australian government and the British monarch as their legitimate rulers to whom they owed their allegiance as British subjects. This was partly because it was their Christian duty to do so, partly because they really appreciated the religious freedom in this new country which had been denied them in Europe. The second attitude the early Lutherans in South Australia employed towards the government was that it should keep entirely out of the affairs of their church and its schools. Initially this meant that these Lutherans refused to accept state aid. Later on, when government inspection of independent schools was looming as possible legislation, the Lutheran sector offered spirited resistance. The positive result for Lutheran schools of this stance was the retention of the philosophical distinctiveness and financial independence which resulted from non-reliance on government funding. The negative implications inherent in this attitude were that the schools, for many years, remained isolated from mainstream education, rejecting the English language, ignorant of new resources and pedagogy as well as starved for funds.

One of the primary understandings uncovered by this history is the tradition among Lutherans in Australia that formal schooling is one of the church's essential activities. It originated with Luther himself who insisted that schools were the nurseries of the church. The great reformer had discovered what he considered to be the central truths of Christian teaching by studying the Bible. He came to believe that searching the Scriptures was the duty of every believer, and in order that they might do so he translated the Bible into German. Schools, which were set up to teach the basic literacy

Bethania Lutheran School Queensland, 1905/6.

St Michael's Lutheran School, Hochkirch, Victoria c. 1900.

needed to read the Bible, as well as to pass on the teachings of the church, were thus a natural legacy. The Lutheran patriarchs who came to Australia three hundred years later were strong adherents to this tradition. In addition, they had been persecuted for their Lutheran beliefs in Prussia, and were determined to keep them alive for succeeding generations in Australia. Schools were essential in this process. So it was that August Kavel, in those first villages he and his people established in Klemzig, Hahndorf and Langmeil, deliberately placed a school as part of the church complex in the middle of each settlement. So it was that Daniel Fritzsche, when he arrived in Australia with his people, was soon busy establishing a place of higher education at Lobethal so that pastors and teachers might be trained for the new Australian Lutheran church. So it was that Wilhelm Peters at Murtoa and Georg Leidig at Point Pass took up the same challenge towards the end of the nineteenth century. The depiction of schools as essential agencies of the church, fundamental to its survival, has always been a strong determinant force at work in the history of Australian Lutheran schooling.

The early Lutherans in the south, strongly influenced by the pietism and spiritual awakening movements in Germany, and determinedly embracing a religious confessionalism born out of persecution, segregated by language and culture from the rest of society and physically separated into their own villages and settlements, were not easily absorbed into the Australian community. Their first schools, mainly geared towards the needs of the church, did not initially provide an adequate education for fitting their young people into life and work in their adopted country. If, over time, their schooling system was to survive, it had to provide a broader education which included elements of the arts and sciences as well as the use of English. There were issues of curriculum and funding and standards and teacher training to be faced. So it was that Wilhelm Boehm fought the fundamentalist and conservative forces in his own community for the inclusion of science, music and English in the curriculum and insisted on adequate funding and resources for the Lutheran school in Hahndorf.

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Martin Luther School in Adelaide, South Australia 1906.

So it was that Daniel Fritzsche emphasised the need for a thorough educational experience for the church's leaders, as well as a deeper and broader formation for the church's teachers. Through such emphases Lutheran schools gradually assumed a commitment to a quality education for life in the real world which moved Lutheran schools from the ghetto into the mainstream.

Moving into the mainstream and offering a broader education commensurate with that offered in other sectors was an essential transition for the Lutherans and their schools. However, another aspect of survival was the need to retain their own distinctiveness. If they accepted funding from the government, and if they emulated the programs offered in other schools, there was a danger of being swallowed up by a bigger system. This indeed is what happened to some of them when they accepted state aid and, unable to survive on their own means, were eventually lost to the church. In the face of this challenge it was important to enunciate those qualities and practices which made Lutheran schools different and to make sure they were preserved. So it was that Rudolph Ey made a conscientious stand on the issue. He was adamant that the whole program of every Lutheran school should be permeated by the church's beliefs and teachings, and that at every moment of every school day Lutheran teachers should be able to witness to and impart the teachings of the church. No matter how broad or excellent an education they offered, this was still their main purpose. This view prevailed and was a major reason that Lutheran schools survived the challenge of free state schools. However, the insistence on religious orthodoxy which was part of the same mindset, contributed to the continual schisms that plagued Australian Lutheranism. This tendency towards fragmentation, fuelled by personal differences and doctrinal disputes, was both a destructive and enriching force for the church's schools. Naturally the divisiveness weakened efforts to organise schools, to provide a united face to government as well as the ability to provide consistent teacher education.

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When energy was spent on internal conflict rather than on presenting a united front to government, schism meant weakness. Yet, out of division there developed a variety of approaches to schooling which resulted in a richer tradition.

It is important to acknowledge that just as there were various schisms which divided Australian Lutheranism, the church was also divided along regional lines. There was a marked difference between the character of northern as opposed to southern Lutheranism in Australia which was reflected in the history of the schools. The south was the home of the orthodox, confessional Lutherans, committed to their schools, who had left their European homes in order to find and practise religious freedom in Australia. Their schools were regarded as essential to the preservation of the faith they had emigrated to protect. They were determined not to lose their schools whatever the challenge. Their leaders from August Kavel through to Wilhelm Peters believed that the schools were essential to the future of the church. In the north these ideas were repeated with less conviction by educators like Theodor Langebecker. The northern Lutherans who had emigrated for personal and economic reasons were not so devoted to a pure Lutheranism perpetuated through the schools. They too provided their own schools, but saw them as a means of passing on the knowledge and skills to fit into Australian society and exploit its commercial opportunities as much as a means of passing on the faith. When the challenges became too difficult they allowed their schools to fade away. Yet it was this greater openness to the rest of Australian society which enabled these northern schools to set the pattern in the late twentieth century and embrace a wide non-Lutheran clientele within their schools.

The recruitment, training and formation of teachers was a major element in the distinctive development of Lutheran schools. Their first teachers were recruited from some unlikely backgrounds, the most important criterion for their selection being their Lutheran affiliation. If the schools were to nurture the next generation of Australian Lutherans, their teachers had to have a firm grasp of what that church believed and taught.

Jindera Lutheran School in N.S.W. established in 1868.

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From the beginning of settlement in South Australia, the Lutherans, therefore, were determined to set up institutions of higher learning to train pastors and teachers steeped in Lutheran theology for the church and its schools. So it was that Daniel Fritzsche established Lobethal College in the 1840s; so it was that Wilhelm Boehm helped the church through the teacher program at his Hahndorf Academy in the 1860s and 1870s; so it was that Georg Leidig at Point Pass and Wilhelm Peters at Murtoa established higher education facilities in the 1890s for training the church's pastors and teachers. Carl Krichauff also saw it as essential that teachers in Lutheran schools should be provided with professional development opportunities to help them grow in their vocational knowledge and skills through the teacher associations he formed and led in the decades around the turn of the twentieth century. He was also instrumental in the devising and adoption of a balanced curriculum for Lutheran schools as well as the promotion of a wider range of teaching texts and resources. The preservation of a distinctive Lutheran schooling system into the twentieth century was strongly dependent on these initiatives.

One element of the rich tradition of Australian Lutheran schooling was provided through the influence of American Lutheranism. The Lutheran Church Missouri Synod provided advice, literature, training, philosophy and personnel to the Evangelical Lutheran Church of Australia (ELCA), one sector of Australian Lutheranism from late in the nineteenth century and onwards. Its influence was not only to confirm Lutheran schools as essential agencies of the church, but to emphasise the high calling of the office of the Lutheran teacher, as well as to encourage conservative and isolationist tendencies in the church. In this environment schools were strengthened even as the church was weakened by division. The Missouri Synod influence encouraged leaders like Rudolph Ey and Carl Krichauff to take uncompromising stands on issues like state aid to Lutheran schools. Another Lutheran leader, Wilhelm Peters, looked to the United States for theological lecturers for his college at Murtoa. A consequence of this was not only a split in his faculty, but in the crisis that followed, the emergence of the Missouri Synod as the entrenched influence over the education system of the ELCA was the result. This ensured a continued emphasis on schools as essential agencies of the church as well as a strong tendency towards an isolationist church resistant to government intrusion in its affairs.

Australian Lutheranism and its schools have also been shaped and influenced by its German roots. The identification of the German language with the church had many aspects. Luther's German Bible was the basic source of the faith, the Confessions of the church were in German, as were the liturgies and hymns and prayers which had been used for centuries. The preservation of the faith, it was considered, depended on the survival of the language. Lutheran schools, therefore, were the means of passing on the language to the next generation. In the early schools established by August Kavel and Daniel Fritzsche, there was no question that German would be the main language of instruction. Later Lutheran educators like Theodor Langebecker in Queensland and Georg Leidig in South Australia considered that German language and culture were of such a superior quality that they could have a civilising and Christianising effect on Australian society. This belief in *Deutschtum* was carried into the school movement as well. Ironically it was this commitment to the German language which nearly

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brought about the demise of Lutheran schooling when it was instrumental in placing Lutherans under such suspicion that many of their schools were closed down and some leaders interned during the Great War. The lowest point for relations with the state came with the compulsory closure of South Australian Lutheran schools by the government and the restrictions placed on Lutheran schools in other states during this world conflict. So this war proved to be a catalyst for the Lutheran school movement in Australia. With German no longer taught in their schools, and illegal as the language of their church newspapers, the Australian Lutheran community was forced to discern between their faith and the tongue through which it had been passed on to them. Although detrimental in the short term, this period of persecution was eventually liberating because it ensured that the Lutheran schools which re-emerged after the war adopted English as their main medium for instruction and made the church more accessible to the wider society.

In the aftermath of the Great War the Australian Lutheran schooling system was in a precarious state. As demonstrated in this history, however, despite the downturn caused mainly by its German connections, the elements which helped it endure the difficult years of the first half of the twentieth century would also fuel its later resurgence. This history has been an attempt to identify, through the stories of the Lutheran patriarchs, those elements that have shaped its earlier development. They probably still inform much of its modern character. However it develops into the future, it will no doubt continue to be influenced by these distinctive elements as well.

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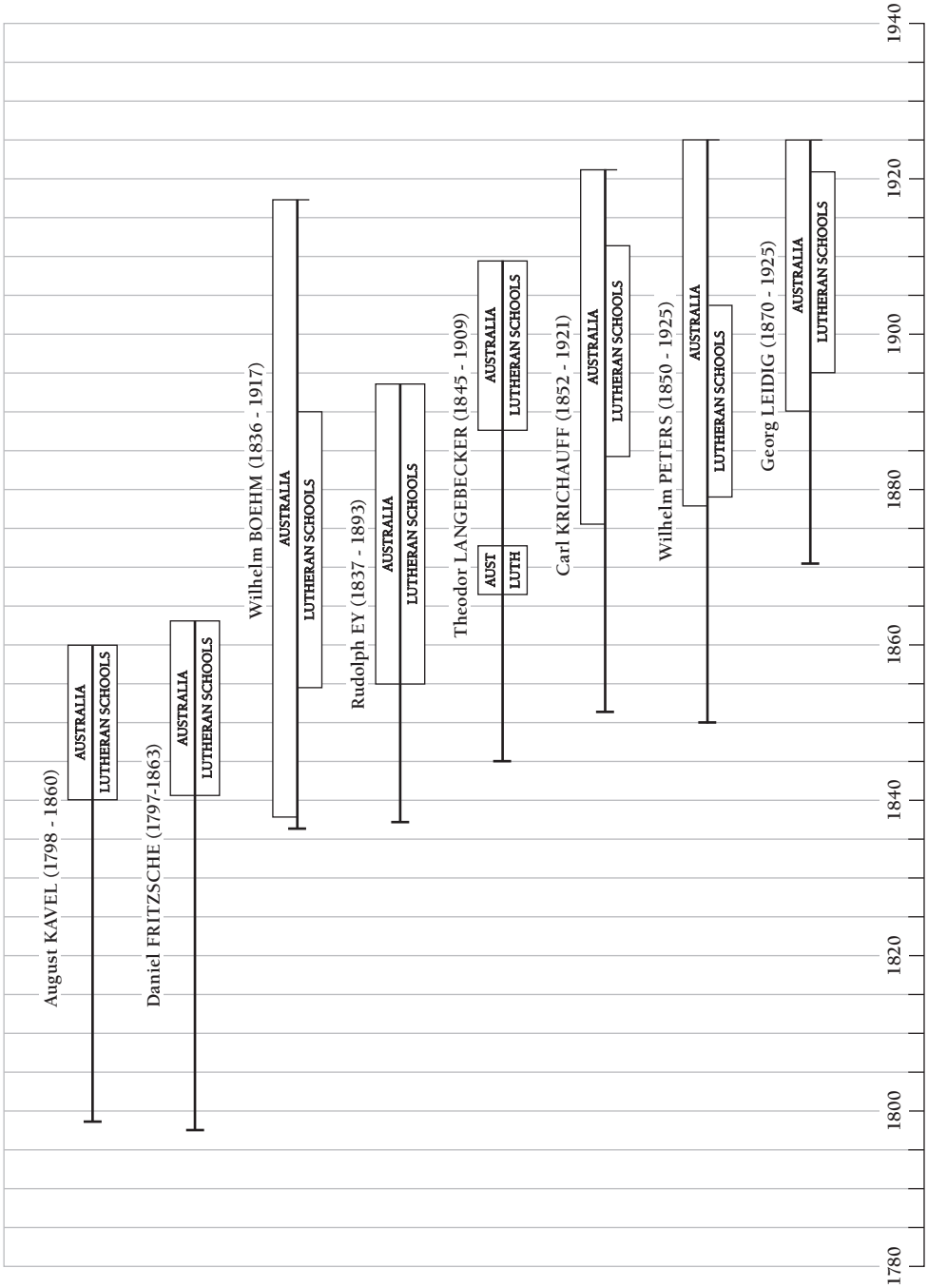
Appendix A

Patriarchal Lives



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Appendix B

Australian Lutheran Newspapers

Der Pilger in Victoria (The Pilgrim in Victoria)
M. Goethe (ed); 1853 – 1856; Lutheran Synod in Victoria;

Der Australische Christenbote (ACB) (Australian Christian Messenger)
M. Goethe (ed.), H. Herlitz (ed.); 1860 – 1917; Lutheran Synod in Victoria; General Synod official organ.

Kirchen und Missionsblatt (KMB) (Church and Mission Paper)
J. Auricht (ed.); 1862; Immanuel Synod.

Sued Australische Kirchenblatt (KB) (South Australian Church Paper)
J. Auricht (ed.); 1865; Also C. Strempel & P. Oster until 1869; Immanuel Synod (and Australian Lutheran Synod until 1869.)

Kirchen und Missionszeitung (KMZ) (Church and Mission Newspaper)
J. Auricht (ed.), **Georg Leidig** (ed.), J. Stolz (ed.), Also **Rudolph Ey** 1871 – 1873; 1870 – 1917; Immanuel Synod (and Australian Lutheran Synod for three years) and then Immanuel Synod official organ.

Der Lutherische Kirchenbote (LKB) (The Lutheran Church Messenger)
J. Homann & C. Strempel (eds.), **Rudolph Ey** (ed.) C. Schuermann & **Wilhelm Peters** (eds.), E. Darsow (ed.), E. Kriewaldt (ed.) T. Nickel (ed.); 1874 – 1917; Evangelical Lutheran Synod of Australia official organ.

The Australian Lutheran
A. Brauer (ed.) 1913 – 1966; ELCA official organ.

The Lutheran Herald
W. Basedow (ed.), Stolz (ed.), 1921 – 1966; UELCA official organ.

The Church and Mission News
1918 - 1921; Immanuel Synod.

The Pilgrim
1918 – 1921
General Synod.

Kirchenblatt (Church Paper)
J. Stolz (ed.), 1925 - 1940; UELCA.

The Lutheran
E. Wiebusch (ed.); 1967 - ; official organ of the Lutheran Church of Australia.

Copies of these church newspapers are available in the Lutheran Archives (LA).

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Appendix C

Overseas Sources of Lutheran Pastors for Australia

Europe

Basel Mission Society (Saxony) 1815

It supplied forty-eight pastors to Australia.
It grew out of pietistic and revivalist roots. Its orientation was not confessional Lutheran but ecumenical Protestant. Its liberal and unorthodox approach was a problem for confessional Lutherans. Its aim was to train professional missionaries for overseas service. It supplied pastors mainly for the General Synod.

Gossner Mission Society (Berlin) 1836

It was the source of several pastors and missionaries in Queensland.
Gossner, an ex-Catholic converted to Lutheranism, was the founder of this nondenominational and ecumenical society. He trained missionaries including lay people for overseas service.
Theodor Langebecker was trained here.

Dresden Mission Society - later at Leipzig - (Saxony) 1836

The four early South Australian missionaries, Teichelmann, Meyer, Klose and Schürmann came from here. It was a Lutheran missionary society, quite confessional and orthodox. These four missionaries were rejected by Kavel and joined Fritzsche's synod.

Neuendettelsau Society for Inner Mission (Bavaria) 1841

It supplied forty-five pastors to Australia.
It was established as a Lutheran mission to the *diaspora* Christians in other countries. Wilhelm Löhe was a founder. It aimed for reconciliation of all churches. It provided pastors for the Immanuel Synod.
Georg Leidig was trained here.

Hermannsburg Mission Society (Hanover) 1849

It supplied fifty missionaries and pastors for Australia
Established by Louis Harms to train pastors and teachers for overseas mission, it took a confessional Lutheran approach. It fell into disfavour with Missouri Lutherans and therefore was later rejected by the ELSA.
Wilhelm Peters was trained here.

United States

Missouri Synod (Springfield & St Louis) 1847

This American Lutheran synod provided seventy-two pastors to Australia.
Established by C. F. W. Walther, it was a confessional Lutheran church and had an educational emphasis. It was also against state aid and concentrated on pure teaching and doctrine. It dominated the ELCA.

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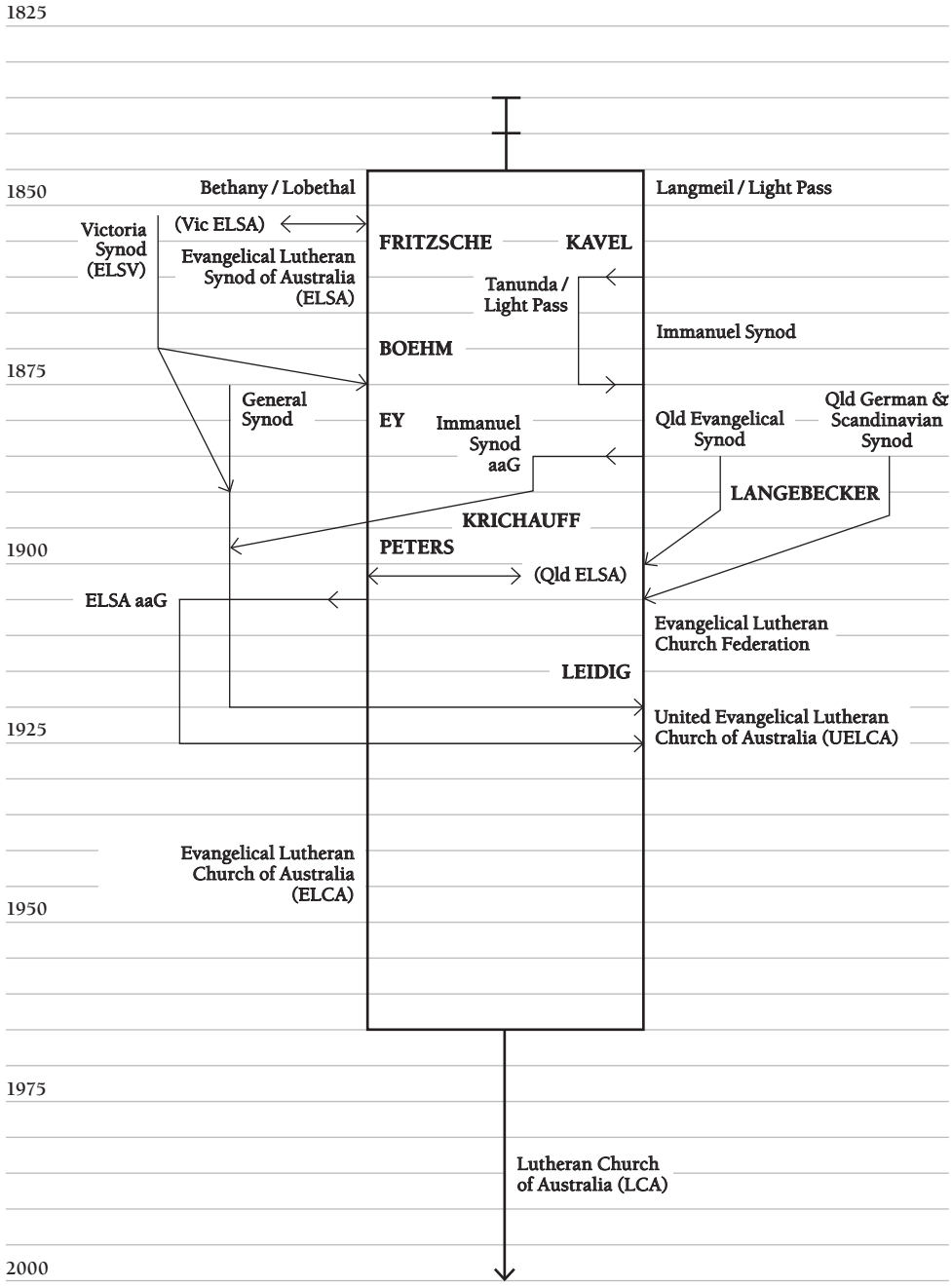
Appendix D

Australian Lutheran Synods



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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.

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 a 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 four grandchildren.

In Memory of

John Zweck (1937 - 1994)
and
David Schubert (1942 - 2008)

esteemed Lutheran educators and historians.